

Book Reviews

Political Theory

The Soul at Work: From Alienation to Autonomy by **Franco ‘Bifo’ Berardi**. Los Angeles CA: Semiotext(e), 2010. 229pp., £11.95, ISBN 978 1 58435 076 7

In his first book translated into English, Bifo, media theorist and member of the Autonomia movement, presents the history of workers’ struggle in connection with the intellectual history of the 1960s onwards in a clear and accessible language. In the brand of Marxism that the author adopts, the focus is on subjectivity formed under the conditions of contemporary capitalism. Similar to other Autonomists and following the work of Felix Guattari, Bifo concentrates on the often neglected aspect of capitalism: its emotional affects.

Within the post-Fordist structure that evolved as a response to workers’ struggles in the 1960s, work and life becomes pathological. Under the pretence of promotion of self-enterprise, individuality and creativity at work, the new kind of worker willingly submits to the prolongation of the work day only to perpetuate unhappiness. It is a condition of general depression whereby economic production of value insidiously enslaves the soul rather than the body, which was the site of control in the Fordist economic structure. Bifo argues that ‘No desire, no vitality seems to exist anymore outside the economic enterprise, outside productive labour and business’ (p. 96). The author aims to understand and prescribe a remedy to the situation in which depression, precariousness and panic prevail as capital absorbs all creativity and desire. True to the optimistic Autonomist spirit, Bifo puts forth ideas of wealth as ‘time to enjoy, travel, learn, and make love’ in opposition to wealth as ‘cumulative possession’ (p. 140), refusal of work in order to valorise human activities that escape from capitalist domination, and estrangement as a possibility for constructing an alternative to labour relations.

Although a minimum level of familiarity with Bifo’s concepts such as ‘semicapital’, ‘precarity’ and ‘cogni-

tariat’ (which are thoroughly explained in the book, especially in the preface by Jason Smith) is required to follow the arguments, the book clarifies some of the most contrived intellectual debates in Marxist and post-structuralist thought related to the concepts of alienation, subjectivity and desire. His analysis of Sartre’s existentialist Marxism and the debate between Baudrillard and Foucault, Deleuze and Guattari not only serves the unfolding of Bifo’s own argument but can also serve as an exceptional introduction to these thinkers. *The Soul at Work* is an inspiring and exciting text aimed not only at those who follow Bifo’s work, but also at those who are interested in contemporary Marxist thought and its historical evolution.

Irmak Ertuna-Howison
(Beykent University, Istanbul)

Democratic Governance by **Mark Bevir**. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010. 301pp., £20.95, ISBN 978 0 691 14539 6

Democratic Governance has a deceptively straightforward title which does not fully hint at its scope and ambition. The book has two main central aims. The first is seemingly more clear cut, as Mark Bevir seeks to understand why the concept of governance has become ubiquitous, while exploring its impact on democracy through a range of cases. The second aim of the book is more ambitious. Bevir seeks to establish ‘interpretive political science’ as a viable approach, and shift the focus away from ‘modernist social science’. He eschews the modernist tradition which seeks to establish general rules and theories and instead favours a more limited ‘interpretive social science’, which ‘can only offer us stories about how people have acted and guesses how they might act’ (pp. 4–5).

The book is organised into three sections. First, Bevir argues that rational choice theory and ‘the new institutionalism’ are two of the main drivers for the ‘new governance’. These theories seek to account for,

and apply remedies to, the crisis of the modern bureaucratic state. Second, Bevir explores some of the resulting reforms, focusing on New Labour's constitutional and judicial programmes. Third, he explores the impact of the new governance on public policy. The logic of Bevir's arguments is that a turn away from modernism implies a call for a much more radical, participatory and dialogic form of governance.

Overall, this is a compelling, lucid and accessible account of the emergence of the new governance. It serves not only as a useful reference for students, but also as a stimulus for wider debate. Yet it is a book that perhaps leaves a few too many unanswered questions. Bevir claims that the role of rational choice and institutional theory has been crucial in the emergence of governance, but there was more to be said about *how* this happened. In his second aim, Bevir may not fully succeed in converting more researchers to the interpretive approach. In my view, he overstates the extent of the claims to knowledge made by 'modernists'. However, at its best, Bevir's book forces the researcher to question the integrity and basis of their approach. Bevir also fails to critique his call for a more participatory and dialogic form of governance. While a worthy goal, it is far from clear how this can be achieved. Bevir is right though to question the almost blind faith in representative democracy 'buttressed by expertise' (p. 273).

Rob Manwaring
(Flinders University)

Hegel's Political Philosophy: A Systematic Reading of the Philosophy of Right by **Thom Brooks**. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009. 204pp., £19.99, ISBN 978 0 7486 3896 3

This book offers a 'systematic reading' of Hegel's *Philosophy of Right*. Brooks' aim is to transform the debate between 'metaphysical' and 'non-metaphysical' approaches to Hegel's political philosophy by 'settling on a middle position between the two'. Brooks argues that the real issue is not '*if* Hegel's work is metaphysical, but *how* metaphysical his work is'. Actually, 'the non-metaphysical approach is best understood as a *non-systematic* reading of Hegel's work'. A 'non-systematic reading' examines a given Hegelian work 'apart from Hegel's larger philosophical system', whereas a 'systematic reading' views each of Hegel's works in relation to his system (p. 3). Hegel expounds his system in

the *Encyclopaedia of the Philosophical Sciences in Outline*, which consists of three parts – *Logic*, *Philosophy of Nature* and *Philosophy of Spirit*. The *Philosophy of Right* elaborates the section on 'Objective Spirit' in the *Philosophy of Spirit* (pp. 3–4). Brooks says that, not only does a 'systematic reading' of the *Philosophy of Right* shed new light on Hegel's political philosophy, but this is how Hegel *intended* his work to be read and understood (p. 26). Brooks' 'systematic reading' is 'weak', viz. it employs 'a general picture of Hegel's system and its relationship to the *Philosophy of Right*', which non-metaphysical interpreters can accept. A 'strong systematic reading' would require a more detailed examination of Hegel's system and the place of the *Philosophy of Right* within it (p. 27).

Brooks examines several themes in Hegel's *Philosophy of Right* (including property, punishment, morality, the family, law, monarchy and war) within the context of Hegel's larger philosophical system. The 'systematic reading' is more evident in Brooks' discussion of punishment, the family and monarchy, and less so in his examination of other topics, such as law and war.

Brooks' interpretation is often original – for example, 'Hegel endorses an *internalist* natural law' (p. 82); the monarch 'is far from a rubber stamp' (p. 109; compare p. 110, p. 113). The book is well written, while the author's style is clear and accessible. Thus, the book is suitable for students as well as for Hegel scholars. Perhaps Brooks' discussion of Hegel's system in chapter 1 is surprisingly short, given the thesis of the book. But again, as he says, his is a 'weak' systematic reading (p. 27) and he invites readers 'to consider how a systematic reading might be developed further' (p. 28). All in all, the book is an important contribution to the literature on Hegel's political philosophy.

Evangelia Sembou
(Independent scholar)

The Legacy of Leo Strauss by **Tony Burns and James Connelly** (eds). Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2010. 280pp., £17.95, ISBN 978 1 845401955

This volume is the outcome of a March 2006 conference held at the University of Nottingham. It is an attempt to give a balanced examination of the legacy of Leo Strauss, not only with regard to the tradition of scholarship on political thought, but also on politics, especially American politics. The editors give the volume a balanced introduction which considers not

only the impact of Strauss on generations of scholars interested in the history of ideas, but also the trends in scholarship focused on Strauss himself, both in the US and Europe.

The book is divided into four parts. The first part deals with Strauss and his methods in the context of the different traditions of the history of ideas. The second part turns to the interaction between Strauss and some of his contemporaries, such as Collingwood, Schmitt and Arendt. The third part addresses the double-sided theme of the tradition of émigré scholars and the question of German/Jewish intellectuals (although the chapter on the comparison between Strauss and Rudolf Carnap might fit better in Part II). It is in this section that Anne Norton, known for her book *Leo Strauss and the Politics of American Empire* (2004), deals with a public lecture given by Strauss in February 1962 entitled 'Why We Remain Jews?', which only came to light when it was published in the mid-1990s. This lecture evokes much debate because there is a dispute over whether, if Strauss were alive today, he would still say some of the things he said in 1962 about the Jewish question in the US, given that, at the time, there was still the active social exclusion of Jews in many parts of Middle America.

The fourth and final part of the volume addresses Strauss and the Straussian impact on neo-conservatism in America. Except for the relatively balanced piece by Robert Howse, the articles in this section generally reflect the almost paranoid anxiety mainly from the left about the fact that a number of Strauss' former students now work for conservative Republican administrations and have worked their way up into some important administrative positions.

The major limitation of this volume is the lack of participation by some of the more well-known scholars on Strauss, as well as some of the better-known critics. Aside from this, the book nevertheless does offer some new aspects to consider about Leo Strauss and his legacy and thus adds to our understanding of Strauss.

Clifford A. Bates Jr
(Warsaw University)

The Platonian Leviathan by **Leon Harold Craig**.
North York ON: University of Toronto Press, 2010.
694pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 1 4426 4106 8

In *The Platonian Leviathan*, Leon Craig provides a multilayered critique of political philosophy. First, he

criticises the conventional readings of Hobbes. He questions the apparent Baconian scientific materialism, nominalism, causal determinism, hedonism, psychological egoism and logical positivism of *Leviathan*, systematically demonstrating that each is flawed. Interestingly, Craig assumes that Hobbes was aware of these inadequacies. In a rather Straussian reading, Craig argues that these surface-level arguments are Hobbes' pandering to various non-philosophical audiences, while concealing a Platonic strand embedded in *Leviathan*. While he avoids claiming that Hobbes is a Platonist outright, he acknowledges that 'My aim is the more modest one of showing the Platonic character of Hobbes's masterpiece, that the inspiration for *Leviathan* is from the dialogue which is in effect its complement: Plato's *Republic*' (p. 488).

Given the comprehensiveness of subjects covered, there is something in *The Platonian Leviathan* for almost every Hobbesian scholar. In particular, Craig succeeds in challenging the conventional readings of Hobbes in ways that must be addressed if the viability of each reading is to be maintained. Then, he draws interesting parallels between the *Leviathan* and the *Republic* (e.g., both states seem to invoke Platonic natural justice, both desire philosophers to be made kings or at least advisers to kings, both start from an analogy between man and the state, both found regimes using lie and myth, and finally both provide a similar treatment of philosophy [pp. 488–95]). While one's initial reaction is that Craig's challenges to the conventional readings and his claims about the Platonic elements are each by themselves weak, compounded one on top of the other they do combine into a persuasive alternative reading of Hobbes. Still, one is left wondering if Hobbes really is the brilliant rhetorician and political philosopher Craig makes him out to be or if Craig's reinterpretation is really a revision that gives Hobbes too much credit.

As one last point, Craig's treatise has a second audience. While Part I and Part II are primarily for Hobbesian scholars, the sidebars (the 'Prelude', 'Melvillian Overture', 'Conradian Intermezzo', 'Melvillian Coda' and 'Postlude') are for the contemporary political philosopher. The 'Postlude' represents a scathing critique of current political philosophy for being ideological and lacking comprehensive vision and analysis of real social problems. Craig combines the 'Postlude' with these other parts to show what political philosophy can (again) be – comprehensive literary satires of current

practices that highlight fundamental political problems in meaningful and productive ways.

Michael T. Rogers
(Arkansas Tech University)

Foundations and Frontiers of Deliberative Governance by **John S. Dryzek**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. 229pp., £25.00, ISBN 978 0 19 956294 7

For more than twenty years John Dryzek has been one of the dominant forces behind the development and evolution of both the scholarship and practical exercises associated with the idea of deliberative democracy. *Foundations and Frontiers of Deliberative Governance* wonderfully continues that tradition.

After reviewing the evolution of the scholarship on deliberative democracy, focusing on the developments since 2000 – in particular, the various ‘turns’ (institutional, systemic, practical and empirical) it has taken – Dryzek examines two ideas that he identifies as ‘foundations’ of deliberative democracy: namely, ‘legitimacy’ and ‘representation’. With respect to both ideas, Dryzek argues that their realisation in ‘large-scale [democratic] political systems’ (p. 22) is most effectively facilitated by using a discourse-based (i.e. *discursive*) approach to deliberation. A ‘discourse’ is ‘a shared way of comprehending the world embedded in language. In this sense, a discourse is a set of concepts, categories and ideas that will always feature particular assumptions, judgements, contentions, dispositions, intentions and capabilities’ (p. 31). Essentially, representation is secured in so far as all relevant discourses ‘get represented’ (p. 46), and legitimacy is achieved ‘to the degree collective outcomes respond to the balance of discourses in the polity’ (p. 22).

The other critical element in the puzzle of how to achieve meaningful and effective deliberative governance under conditions of substantial diversity is Dryzek’s concept of a *meta-consensus*. Dryzek asserts that, despite arguments to the contrary, the voluntary consensus which many suggest is essential to legitimating decisions, outcomes, institutional arrangements, etc., can be achieved if consensus is sought only ‘on the acceptable range of contested discourses’ (p. 108) – a ‘discursive meta-consensus’ – as opposed to seeking agreement on a particular policy position, for example.

Dryzek suggests that adopting a discursive approach that embodies the above-noted understandings is particularly useful when considering how deliberative governance might be implemented in a meaningful way in situations in which ‘a well-bounded demos is hard to locate’ (p. 45). To justify that claim, he considers the potential realisation of deliberative governance in situations of networked governance, in authoritarian states and at the global level, and explores the possible contribution of ‘mini-publics’ to such efforts – collectively, what he labels the ‘frontiers’ of deliberative governance.

With *Foundations and Frontiers of Deliberative Governance* Dryzek has again provided eloquent, powerful and provocative arguments which are sure to stimulate additional interest and new thinking about the task of establishing and maintaining effective deliberative democratic governance in environments characterised by significant political, cultural, religious, moral and philosophical diversity.

Shaun P. Young
(University of Toronto)

Political Leadership in Liberal and Democratic Theory by **Joseph Femia, Andras Korosenyi and Gabriella Stomp (eds)**. Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2010. 195pp., £17.95, ISBN 978 19781845 401726

This book provides a welcome addition to the field of political leadership and its role in democratic contexts. The purpose, as its introduction explains, is to ‘dissect, discuss, and evaluate descriptive, analytical, and normative arguments regarding the role and value of leadership in a liberal and democratic society’ (pp. 4–5). The book is structured in three parts, besides an introduction, and intends to provide a wide picture of the most relevant scholarship in less than 200 pages.

Although necessarily ambitious, as the book’s title suggests, *Political Leadership in Liberal and Democratic Theory* is predominantly focused on theoretical approaches, providing an interesting reading on a relatively vast scholarship. It covers the place of leadership in liberal theory (Part I), its role according to different types of democratic theory (Part II) and its significance in relation to sovereignty and governance (Part III).

The working premise is that research on political leadership, although not neglected by mainstream

political studies, has not produced relevant tools for an overall understanding of the phenomenon. This deficiency has become evident, especially in recent decades, despite the growth in the number of democratic countries and the revival of more or less radical approaches to participatory and deliberative strategies to expand the 'quality' of democratic decision making. These have, in fact, reintroduced the problem of the role of leadership in democracies. Joseph Femia and colleagues examine several arguments regarding this role, and consider the apparent neglect of the theme by mainstream democratic theory as a consequence of an egalitarian bias that considers political leadership to be in conflict with democracy's ethos.

The editors of this book aim to explain this neglect and intend to correct this deficiency. The first objective is particularly well achieved. However the proposed effort to provide further reasons to revive the issue deserves extra caution. It was intended that this work would come to grips with the wide range of uncertainties and conceptual mist that surrounded the extant literature. This book follows a similar track as it suggests plural approaches and is built upon the contributions of different authors, which has resulted in an unclear connection between chapters and the repetition of arguments.

Reading this book is recommended since it offers an accessible and succinct approach to previous scholarship and, more importantly, it presents a coherent argument for the revival of the study of political leadership. Research might take it as a lead towards new approaches to this theme.

Filipe Teles
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Kantian Thinking about Military Ethics by **J. Carl Ficarrotta**. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010. 135pp., £50.00, ISBN 978 0 7546 7992 9

Over the course of eight chapters, this concise volume offers a hard-hitting critique of fundamental principles that guide military decision making in the United States. Chapter 1 challenges the claim that military professionals are bound by a higher moral standard. Chapter 2 concludes that discriminating by generality to exclude all women from direct participation in combat is morally impermissible. The third chapter explains how certain institutional and cultural features

of the American military foster the vice of careerism. Chapter 4 makes a moral case for abandoning the policy known as 'don't ask, don't tell'. The next chapter argues that common approaches to moral education fail because they blur distinct levels of moral reasoning. Chapter 6 contends that members of the military are morally culpable for fighting in immoral wars and advocates a policy of selective conscientious objection. Chapter 7 rejects the Doctrine of Double Effect as a way of thinking about military targeting and collateral damage. The final chapter alleges that the much celebrated triumph of the just war framework is in fact a significant setback to international affairs. Ficarrotta's well-crafted sceptical arguments clear the way for fresh thinking about military ethics.

As the title clearly indicates, the author's approach is inspired by Kant's moral philosophy. Kant's theory is not in the foreground, however, and no deep understanding of it is presupposed. In fact, many of Ficarrotta's conclusions are derived from mid-level moral principles that are consistent with a variety of theoretical perspectives. Those who are not attracted to Kant's philosophy will still find the discussion valuable. Ficarrotta's arguments are also informed by his first-hand knowledge of America's armed forces (he served as Professor of Philosophy at the United States Air Force Academy). The issues addressed are timely and of great practical concern, as the cover image of headstones at Arlington National Cemetery suggests. The book does focus exclusively upon the American military, however, and would, perhaps, benefit from more comparative analysis. While rigorous and scholarly, the presentation style is informal and the material is readily accessible to a general audience. In sum, Ficarrotta has produced one of those rare works that functions well as a primer but at the same time makes an original and important contribution to the field.

Michael B. Mathias
(Frostburg State University, Maryland)

Anarchism and Moral Philosophy by **Benjamin Franks and Matthew Wilson (eds)**. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010. 248pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 0 230 58066 4

This collection of twelve essays concentrates on three goals: first, to foster a discussion of anarchism as a distinct school of thought; second, to integrate anarchist

theory and activist practice; third, to sow the seeds for a broader inquiry into anarchism's theoretical benefits in the wider field of philosophy. The contributions are grouped into three parts and are directed both at the general student of political philosophy and the interested activist.

In Part I we can agree with Paul McLaughlin that anarchists are 'fundamentally interested in the problem of authority' (p. 26) but neglect his somewhat erratic defence of a 'weak but engaged philosophical anarchism' (pp. 25–31). Samuel Clark's anarchist perfectionism interprets the problem of potentially unjustified authority in a challenging, partly counter-intuitive, way as an existential condition for the anarchist struggle for independence. The most engaging discussion of anarchism as a unique political philosophy, however, we find in Nathan Jun's contribution. In emphasising the relevance of ethics and practice – exemplified by anarchism's populism, its aim to link theory and practice, and its systematic underdevelopment – it yields valuable impulses for a renaissance of anarchist philosophy.

Of the three subsequent essays, which commonly engage in the excavation of classical topics from the anarchist tradition, it is Matthew Wilson's discussion of freedom and order that stands out. He convincingly shows 'that there is much anarchists can learn by looking at the difficulties that liberalism has in defending freedom and difference' (p. 113). Arguably, one of the most difficult lessons is to acknowledge the role and frequent inevitability of value conflicts.

Since anarchism is a predominantly practice-orientated – if not *pragmatic* – philosophy we rightly find proportionally more essays sketching ethical understandings of anarchist concerns and traditions. Whereas Thomas Swann and Jones Irwin lead us along largely conventional, albeit post-structuralist, debates, we find a more innovative perspective in Benjamin Franks' relating of virtue ethics (according to Alasdair MacIntyre) to anarchist methodology. In Elisa Aaltola's 'Green Anarchy' and Jamie Heckert's ethics of direct relationships the borders of the anarchist project are explored interestingly.

Despite the differences in intellectual rigour and philosophical upbringing of the authors, a rejection of anarchism as unsophisticated irrationalism or justification of anarcho-capitalism is a common theme. The book performatively lives up to the idea of anarchism as a theory of practice and a way of practising theory as

it embodies the idea of sharing knowledge, acknowledging differences and engaging in critical thought.

Mara-Daria Cojocaru
(Ludwig Maximilian University, Munich)

Habermas: Introduction and Analysis by **David Ingram**. Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 2010. 360pp., £17.95, ISBN 978 0 8014 7601 3

David Ingram offers an interesting and comprehensive introduction to the work of Jürgen Habermas, one of the twentieth century's most important academics. He allows the novice philosopher easily to immerse themselves in even the most complex of Habermas' philosophical ideas, making it accessible for both undergraduates and postgraduates who require an introduction to the ideas of such an influential man. This is not to say that Ingram's analysis is basic, but rather that it has explanatory value that allows the work to be readable for those who may otherwise avoid Habermasian philosophy. Ingram offers us a breakdown of the ideas associated not only with Habermas but also with his predecessors and influences. While the descriptions of the work of theorists such as Kant, Hume and Descartes are in parts complex, they offer an interesting insight into the historical and theoretical background of Habermas' revolutionary and reactionary work. Ingram is also conscientious in providing us with signposts throughout the text as to the ideological and metaphysical perspectives in which Habermas' ideas have their roots. For example, he regularly indicates the inspiration for a particular line of thought while in the midst of a complicated explanation; this makes Habermas' work not only easier to root but also to access, as an understanding of the historical grounding makes it less daunting to the reader.

Ingram lays out his exploration of Habermas in a logical and detailed way, covering each of Habermas' key works, as well as looking at the key ideas and schools of thought into which he falls, in a progressive and useful structure. In doing this he explains the ways in which Habermas' arguments changed and developed across his canon and highlights the areas in which they did so. The author also offers us a valuable critique of the areas in which Habermas could be criticised for being inconsistent as well as describing the debates he has been forced into to defend his stance.

As a successful discourse theorist himself Ingram risks using this book as a method of advancing his own ideas. However, he is successful in separating his own work from his study of Habermas and creating a balanced, detailed and important account of the work of one of the twentieth century's most influential philosophers.

Gemma Bird
(University of Sheffield)

Valences of the Dialectic by **Frederic Jameson**. London: Verso, 2009. 625pp, £29.99, ISBN 978 1 85984 877 7

In part a collection of previously published articles and book chapters, Frederic Jameson's *Valences of the Dialectic* is an in-depth exploration of different readings of what could be understood as the dialectic. Discussed as a philosophic system or method as well as an idea with a surprising operational and intellectual scope, Jameson dissects the enduring relevance of the concept through dialogue with thinkers as varied as Aristotle, Paul Ricoeur and Slavoj Žižek while maintaining an expectedly constant engagement with Hegel and Marx.

Jameson seeks to make the reader aware of the 'dangers' of thinking of the dialectic as an unsurpassable philosophical endeavour; that is, of the dangers of not being able to think otherwise than the dialectic. But he also argues for a re-conceptualisation of the concept so as to fit better with a more globalised (spatially ordered) understanding of the world (as opposed to temporal understandings of contemporaneity). More than simply a historical phenomenon, Jameson situates the dialectic in 'spatial' terms where space at this moment in time becomes a prominent means through which to think of the dialectic and to think dialectically. Playing with the notional nuances of 'space' and 'time', Jameson grounds the dialectic in a properly historical understanding of contemporaneity, throwing into question the appropriate valences through which to interrogate the traditional historical notions of the dialectic. Interrogating the spatio-temporal being of history itself, Jameson makes a novel contribution to new ways of thinking about the dialectic.

Outside these philosophically pointed arguments, the book is difficult to summarise. Its wide-ranging critiques and commentaries on Hegel and Marx's interlocutors and critics as well as occasional forays into

tenuously related engagements with Derrida, Deleuze and others makes for a laborious read. Jameson's engaging (though long-winded) style eases the reader's initial apprehension at the prospect of tackling such a dense topic but nonetheless does not relieve the reader of the need actively and attentively to rehearse and re-dissect Jameson's often in-passing and matter-of-fact contentions.

The book is aimed at seasoned professional philosophers as well as theorists of all stripes and at times can be quite inaccessible to those not in the profession. Effortlessly jumping from tenuously related (and often arcane) topics to vital currents in contemporary debates on the dialectic, Jameson presupposes familiarity with, to state one example, the phenomenological tradition, particularly substantial acquaintance with Heidegger's thought, as well as a conversational ease with the post-Marxist Continental tradition. A noteworthy contribution to dialogue on the dialectic, seasoned theorists will find it a valuable resource in tackling this timeless idea in our newly re-conceptualised spatio-temporal intellectual and historical order.

Joaquin A. Pedroso
(Florida International University)

Sovereignty in Fragments: The Past, Present and Future of a Contested Concept by **Hent Kalmo and Quentin Skinner** (eds). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. 269pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 1 107 00004 9

With *Sovereignty in Fragments*, Hent Kalmo and Quentin Skinner bring together an impressive mix of scholars to explore the relevance of sovereignty in the twenty-first century. Kalmo and Skinner note that the goal is not 'working towards something like a master theory', but rather 'to create bridges between fields of inquiry' (p. 24). This is the strength of the collective work. The fact that they were successful in getting political philosophers, historians, international relations and international law scholars to come together and talk to each other in one work is no small feat given the highly differentiated and specialised nature of academia.

As a whole, the collection does not contain any revolutionary contributions to the literature on sovereignty. For one, the grounds that many of the works traverse are rather predictable. For the works grounded in modern political thought (Skinner and Baranger),

there are rich, in-depth contextual analyses of the history of sovereignty and the state. Nevertheless, these two works inevitably gravitate to the same key figures – Jean Bodin and Thomas Hobbes. Similarly, from the contributions to contemporary political thought, there is a diverse use of scholars (Lipping draws primarily on Arendt, while Negri uses Deleuze, Foucault and Luhman, among others). However, one finds Schmitt having a prominent role in both. While there is a commonality in the use of scholars for the theoretical contributions, a similar pattern emerges in the scholarship of the international relations and international law scholars when it comes to subjects. While each contributor approaches the issue of sovereignty from (as Koskeniemi nicely summarises in the conclusion) either a political or a legal positivist perspective, the core issues are readily reflected by the recurrence in multiple chapters of discussions of Westphalian sovereignty, the European Union, and *Rechtsstaat* and/or the rule of law. Overall, while these chapters have some worthwhile argument and analysis, they largely create an opportunity for the contributors to develop further their well-established arguments about sovereignty or to continue their internal debates. For example, Krasner's piece is representative of the former, while the contributions by Troper and MacCormack combine to represent the latter.

Thus, like most edited volumes, *Sovereignty in Fragments* provides a good introduction to current scholarship on sovereignty. Beyond scholars specialising in the subject matter, this text is best suited for upper-level undergraduate and graduate students questioning the viability of sovereignty as a concept at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

Michael T. Rogers
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Rethinking Democracy by **Rajni Kothari**.
London: Zed Books, 2007. 176pp, £15.99, ISBN 978 1 84277 946 0

Rajni Kothari's *Rethinking Democracy* principally focuses on the inevitability of democracy despite several philosophical/conceptual challenges to it. The book has a strong theoretical argument seeking the conditions of adaptability in civil and political spheres to changing situations, outlining the reasons for strengthening

democracy for a more fair society. The book also critically pins down the failures of democracy. The author rightly argues that democracy is possible only when it is protected against various tumultuous situations, making the discussion more pertinent by bringing both Western and Indian perspectives into focus. There is a greater need for democracy, the author opines, in post-colonial societies, amid the strong influences of the free market and globalisation and the equally strong urge for egalitarianism. There needs to be a positive role for the state, sufficient for the egalitarian goals of democracy. For Kothari, such new impetus is a harbinger of revolutionary change and possibly plays an emancipatory role in realising the goals of freedom, equality, justice and self-determination while we are surrounded by the aggressive logic of capitalism.

Rethinking Democracy succeeds to a large extent in making a case for directing democracy towards its proposed goals. While serving as a strong theoretical statement, it also has several empirical reference points throughout. Central to this book is the need constantly to mould democracy according to contingent conditions while retaining its conceptual/philosophical foundations, and therefore it has a genuine claim to save democracy from being a mystical idea. The author conjures the nature of democracy in our time very well. However, certain things could also have been the focus of the understanding of contemporary democracy. First, conceptualising democracy ought to be freed from unrealistic idealisations. Second, we should note that democratic character also incorporates certain assumed non-democratic factors concerning both traditional forces and progressive democracy, especially in post-colonial societies. Third, relinquishing unrealistic assumptions would draw out the difference between the promise of democracy and the practice of democracy. Fourth, the author could have taken a more critical approach to the Indian framework, leaving all biases behind. And finally, despite our belief in democracy, we have to be honest that it is not as emancipatory as we imagine it to be, although preferred over other socio-political forms. Nevertheless, the author's treatment of democracy turns it into an ethical question and thus provides sufficient ethical arguments toward a workable democracy.

Chidella Upendra
(Indian Institute of Technology, Indore, Madhya Pradesh)

Spinoza and the Specters of Modernity: The Hidden Enlightenment of Diversity from Spinoza to Freud by **Michael Mack**. London: Continuum, 2010. 222pp., £19.99, ISBN 978 1 4411 1872 1

Michael Mack reassesses the continuing legacy of Baruch Spinoza in this wide-ranging and intriguing volume, which has as much to teach us about literature, politics, culture, ethics and human cognition as it does about philosophy and theology. In *Spinoza and the Specters of Modernity*, Mack identifies the characteristics of Spinoza's diversity-embracing modernity, explains how this opposes the universalising telos sought by the modernity of Descartes and Kant, and traces Spinoza's influence through the direct representation of his ideas by later thinkers. The first two chapters treat Spinoza's theory of *conatus* and his critique of teleology, which he believed was derived from an erroneous anthropocentric theological belief in an anthropomorphic God. The next three chapters focus on the transmission of Spinozan thought through Herder, and the final four chapters show Spinoza's influence on Kant, Goethe, George Eliot and Freud. As evidenced by this list, Mack is concerned with Spinoza's effects in literature as well as in philosophy, and this is key to understanding Mack's provocative methodological foregrounding of a philosophy that 'implicitly discusses the historical within the broader context of the literary' because the literary is 'the realm of the unpredictable, the diverse and the potentially new' (p. 133). Using these schemata, Mack freely discusses a myriad of complex themes in an invigorating style that impresses the contemporary reader with the prescience of Spinoza and his interlocutors.

The book is intended for those with a working knowledge of Spinoza's writings, but it is so diversified that it will also appeal to readers from many different fields. Indeed, Mack's intellectual appetites appear to echo the Spinozan theory of diversity that he aims to elucidate, in that he explores a plethora of questions about history and time, violence, nationalism, racism, Nature, death, inadequacy, poetry and narrative, autonomy and sovereignty, and humanity itself. The volume does end somewhat abruptly with Freud, and one suspects that Mack could add another chapter or even a second volume to treat Spinoza's more recent hauntings of, for example, biopolitics or deep ecology. Overall, Mack has achieved a masterly presentation of

Spinoza's legacy and his alternative modernity, modelled an elegant method for reading philosophy and history adopted from literary studies, and offered compelling arguments that will provoke readers to question many modern assumptions about the human condition.

Kelly C. MacPhail
(McGill University)

Rawls: An Introduction by **Sebastiano Maffettone**. Cambridge: Polity, 2010. 388pp., £17.99, ISBN 978 0 7456 4651 0

This book is no mere introduction. It provides a meticulous, comprehensive overview of the entirety of Rawls' corpus. The author aims in this work to provide 'the most complete introduction' to Rawls' work (p. viii). In addition to offering an overview of the entire body of Rawls' work, this book also offers Rawls scholarship, both in responding to criticisms of Rawls at each stage of the exposition, and in advancing a unifying argument throughout the book. It argues for the continuity of Rawls' thought, despite Rawls' many revisions and developments over the years. This argument is set out at the beginning in three hermeneutical hypotheses: interpretive, methodological and theoretical. The first concerns the continuity of Rawls' thought; the second the centrality of the priority of right; and the third the dichotomy of justification and legitimation. With regard to the first, the author claims that 'one can conceive of Rawls' work as a continuous project from the beginning to the end' (p. 17). The second is the basis for the first: the fact that Rawls never abandoned the priority of right provides the cornerstone of the continuity claim.

The third thesis invokes a distinction of the author's own. Maffettone claims that Rawls' thought on the justification of justice in *Political Liberalism* (1993) is difficult because Rawls oscillates between normative and descriptive, and presents liberalism in a dual form – as the result of a theory of justice as fairness, and as the result of a broader political conception that makes concessions to reasonable pluralism (p. 222). Although Rawls does not draw the distinction, Maffettone claims that by distinguishing justification – which is substantive and rooted in moral/metaphysical bases – from legitimation – which is based on institutional practice (p. 21) – we can better understand Rawls' theory. A

Hegelian Rawls emerges, for whom the public culture of liberal democracy provides the roots of the hypothetical contract. Rawls advances a 'normative institutionalism' (p. 23), according to which liberal democracy is legitimated through liberal democratic institutions and culture which no 'reasonable' person could do without, prior to justification through moral/metaphysical theories.

The overall argument is original and well made, and presents an important reading of Rawls which provides a response to many critiques. It will be of considerable interest to philosophers familiar with these critiques, and to those interested in Rawls scholarship. However, as an introduction for non-specialists it is quite technical and not readily accessible. It is rather a meticulous, scholarly interpretation of Rawls.

David Marjoribanks
(University of Kent)

Contemporary Political Movements and the Thought of Jacques Rancière: Equality in Action by **Todd May**. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010. 162pp., £19.99, ISBN 978 0 7486 3983 0

This book is a companion piece to *The Political Thought of Jacques Rancière: Creating Equality* by Todd May, published in 2008. Where the emphasis in the first book was on theory, the emphasis here is on practice, and May tries – successfully, I think – to spell out the political implications of Rancière's political philosophy. Most of Rancière's writings have been translated into English over the last decade, but most of the work published on Rancière is theoretical, so this book fills a gap in the existing literature.

May's careful reading presents Rancière through the author's own post-structuralist anarchist approach. He is particularly interested in Rancière's conception of equality. Within a given order, some subjects are counted as equals. Equality (in Rancière's sense) disrupts this through the claim to be counted on the part of those who are not presently counted and whose voices do not presently count. Thus understood, equality is not simply the extension of equality to new constituencies (from men to women, for instance), but also the creation of a new norm of equality, of what it means to be counted as an equal. As such, equality is more a practice than a norm, and it has a performative dimension: it 'creates' new

subjects as equals, and it creates new understandings of equality.

In the first chapter, May introduces Rancière's political philosophy, in particular key concepts such as democracy, equality, subjectification and the distinction between politics and police. Chapters 2 to 5 contain five case studies of political movements that, to a greater or lesser extent, work according to Rancière's conception of equality: Algerian refugees in Montreal, the first Palestinian Intifada, the Zapatistas, a food co-op in South Carolina and the AK Press in Oakland, California. In the course of analysing the cases, May raises various theoretical issues, such as subjectification or the creation of new political subjects, the role of violence, identity politics and the possibility of institutionalising equality. Finally, in chapter 6, he examines the possibilities of radical politics along Rancièrian lines in the present and the immediate future.

This very welcome book will be useful for those with an interest in Rancière's work as well as those with a practical or theoretical interest in radical politics. It is very well written and makes Rancière and his otherwise idiosyncratic terminology accessible to a larger audience.

Lasse Thomassen
(Queen Mary, University of London)

Beyond Animal Rights: Food, Pets and Ethics by **Tony Milligan**. London: Continuum, 2010. 168pp., £12.99, ISBN 978 1 4411 5753 9

An Introduction to Animals and Political Theory by **Alasdair Cochrane**. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010. 167pp., £19.99, ISBN 978 0 230 239265

In *Beyond Animal Rights: Food, Pets and Ethics* Tony Milligan explores man's relationships with other animals. The bulk of the book addresses questions around the production and consumption of animal products. Rather than using either a rights- or consequentialist-based approach to animal ethics Milligan instead weighs up different context-dependent reasons for the ways in which we treat and think of animals. In the first five chapters he evaluates the trade-offs between animal welfare, human cultural practices, environmental considerations, personal morality and contingent circumstances to determine whether the use

of animals for food is morally justifiable. Along the way he tackles some of the most familiar arguments for and against the use of animals, applying a combination of empirical, normative and theoretical assessments to judge their relative strengths. Milligan concludes that by and large, and certainly in circumstances of plenty, it is not justifiable to consume animal products. However, his position is not one of moral absolutism and he acknowledges that there are contexts and reasons that might justify weaker positions than full veganism. In the final two chapters Milligan first looks at the peculiarity of our relationships with our animal companions, and then explores the ethical implications of animal experimentation. The chapters are interesting and engaging and taken together illustrate the incongruity between our treatment of companion and other animals well.

Milligan's book is well written and presents a convincing set of arguments for his case. While he is clear at the outset of the book that he writes as a vegan, his arguments both for and against the positions he adopts are nevertheless both comprehensive and fair. The book is written in an accessible style with complex theoretical arguments conveyed clearly and comprehensively. Milligan provides an interesting and informative examination of the topics covered in a manner that will appeal to both animal ethicists and those without a theoretical background alike. Although the book covers ground that has previously been trodden by others,¹ Milligan does so in a fresh and sufficiently different manner to make his work a worthwhile read for those familiar with the literature. At times the chapters on pets and animal experimentation seem a little out of place in comparison to the relative weight given to food issues, but they nevertheless provide an interesting added dimension to the book and both chapters address some provocative questions.

An Introduction to Animals and Political Theory provides a broad overview of contemporary and historical debates on the relationship between non-human animals and politics and justice. Alasdair Cochrane begins by tracing the history of philosophical and political thinking about non-human animals from Ancient Greece, through the Enlightenment and up to the late nineteenth century, situating contemporary political theory in relation to its historical roots. The preceding chapters then each cover particular political perspectives and their approach to the moral stand-

ing and place in relation to justice of non-human animals: utilitarianism, liberalism, communitarianism, Marxism and feminism. While the book is about non-human animals and political theory, the approach taken by Cochrane and the arguments he develops make the book a good introduction to political theory and some important debates within it whether readers are specifically interested in the moral standing of non-human animals or not. Cochrane's approach in each chapter is to introduce the reader to key thinkers writing from a particular theoretical perspective, provide an overview of their theories, and then to examine how they have conceptualised the place of non-human animals. Cochrane then provides a synopsis and assessment of different critical responses to the theory, together with the arguments with which each has responded. In his concluding chapter Cochrane outlines his view that together the political theories of liberalism and utilitarianism offer the most scope for an account for justice for animals, and he attempts to combine the value placed by liberalism upon the individual with the importance placed in sentience by utilitarianism in an interest-based theory of animal rights. While his idea is interesting and worthy of further consideration, and provides food for thought at the end of an interesting book, there is insufficient space devoted to the argument. Cochrane acknowledges that his theory deserves greater attention, but nevertheless the book could have benefited from having this section slightly expanded. Overall, the arguments the author provides for thinking that utilitarianism and liberalism offer the greatest scope of the theories he describes for political justice for non-human animals are convincing. However, the wide range of topics that he covers forces him to sacrifice some depth in the process. Fortunately, the literature that Cochrane engages with provides the reader with ample scope to use the book as a starting point for their own exploration of the various theories. The book is recommended for readers interested both in the moral and political standing of animals and in political theory in general.

Note

- 1 See, for example, *The Ethics of What We Eat: Why Our Food Choices Matter* by Peter Singer and Jim Mason, 2006.

Steve Cooke
(University of Manchester)

Michael Oakeshott: The Concept of a Philosophical Jurisprudence by Luke O'Sullivan (ed.). Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2008. 384pp., £30.00, ISBN 978 1845 400309

In this book, Luke O'Sullivan presents us with Oakeshott the philosopher and Oakeshott the political commentator. The philosophical Oakeshott is younger and committed to comprehending the 'whole character' of the subjects he examines. The political Oakeshott is older and less ambitious. Moreover, a note of world-weariness runs through his work. For he finds himself surveying developments that he considers unattractive.

We meet Oakeshott the philosopher in the essay from which O'Sullivan's collection derives its title. In 'The Concept of a Philosophical Jurisprudence' (1938), Oakeshott bemoans 'the chaos of modern jurisprudence'. He identifies the chaos to which he points as the upshot of 'a number of different, mutually exclusive and unrelated types of theory'. This leads him to argue for a 'philosophical jurisprudence'. He explains that such a jurisprudence is not 'merely one among a number of unrelated explanations of law'. Rather it is an account of law that, in embracing a 'hierarchy of explanations' (e.g., analytical, historical, sociological), yields an authoritative account of law's nature.

Oakeshott's account of 'philosophical jurisprudence' contrasts sharply with a meditation on a prominent feature of the British cultural scene written eleven years later. In 'The BBC', the analysis is the work of Oakeshott the political commentator. He is critical of the 'enterprise of evangelization' in which he finds the BBC (at that time a monopoly) engaging. On Oakeshott's account, the BBC exhibits a 'schoolmasterish disposition towards its patrons' which finds expression in 'a severe and self-determined policy of social uplift'. He also notes that those to whom the BBC broadcasts are 'never at a loss for an escape from [their] own thoughts'. These points lead Oakeshott to conclude that the power wielded by the BBC makes it 'dangerous'.¹

While politics came to occupy a place of prominence in Oakeshott's mind as he grew older, his commitment to analytic precision remained a feature of his thinking. We see it in, for example, 'Contemporary British Politics' (1948). He is critical of the crudely majoritarian approach to democratic politics advocated by John Parker (a Labour supporter). However, he also finds fault with the alternative proposed by Quintin

Hogg (a Conservative MP). For Hogg identifies 'natural law' as a basis on which to secure the interests of individuals. But Oakeshott dismisses Hogg's argument on the ground that it fails to exhibit the clear-mindedness of others (e.g., Burke and Hegel) who have staked out similar positions.

O'Sullivan's collection merits close attention, for it records the process of development that saw Oakeshott the philosopher become Oakeshott the political commentator.

Note

1 Recent analyses of the BBC by Michael Buerk and Peter Sissons exhibit family resemblances to that offered by Oakeshott (except that now a less nuanced vocabulary, e.g., 'political correctness', is doing the critical work). See M. Buerk, 'Blowing the BBC's Gaff', *Standpoint* (April 2011).

Richard Mullender
(Newcastle Law School)

Aristotle, Adam Smith and Karl Marx: On Some Fundamental Issues in 21st Century Political Economy by Spencer J. Pack. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2010. 260pp., £69.95, ISBN 978 1 84844 763 9

Overall this book does exactly what the title indicates: Pack conducts a three-way conversation between Aristotle, Smith and Marx before taking the key themes of this conversation and applying them to the political economy of the new millennium. Focusing on exchange value and money, the role of character in the economy and the relationship between government and economic change, Pack identifies which elements of Aristotle's 'seminal position' were carried forward to Smith's and Marx's analysis of capitalism and which elements they amended. Starting with excellent focused treatments of the key texts and only marginal examination of the secondary, this method usefully concentrates the discussion on what these three authors actually wrote rather than a series of explorations of what might be read into the texts. The final section, of course, is the pay-off: how do these ideas inform our understanding of the contemporary political economy? Deploying the work of Piero Sraffa to further interrogate the analyses, Pack suggests that whatever the national origins of money an effective form of world money is likely to continue to gain ground. As there have often been shifts from one standard to another in the history of money, Pack concludes that although global money will continue to be manifest there is

nothing to suggest that this will necessarily continue to be the dollar. Moving to the role of character, Pack offers a timely critique of managers rooted in Aristotle, Smith and Marx, noting that the pursuit of a narrowly defined self-interest actually does little to serve the wider economic interest. This leads to a consideration of the role of government, again drawing on the book's three subjects, where Pack suggests that the requirement of administrative responses to current problems does not suggest the smaller state often regarded as axiomatic by (self-avowed) followers of Smith; rather what is required is more socially focused governance. This book would make an excellent foundation for a focused history of political economic thought Masters course; working through in detail the three analysts' primary work (establishing close reading skills) followed by an application of the ideas informed by the final section. However, as it is only available in hardback it is likely to be prohibitively expensive for most postgraduate cohorts. Nevertheless I can thoroughly recommend this book for its interest to political economists and as an example of how history of economic thought can be made clearly and easily relevant to contemporary political economists.

Christopher May
(Lancaster University)

Constructions of Neoliberal Reason by **Jamie Peck**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. 301pp., £25.00, ISBN 978 0 19 958057 6

Perennially our search for the constitutive logic of a phenomenon or process greatly diminishes with its gradual normalisation. Neo-liberalism is no exception in this regard. The more we tend to internalise the 'inevitability' of the neo-liberal order, the less we seek to explore its nuts and bolts. However, there are some rigorous academic endeavours to the contrary, such as Alasdair Robert's *The Logic of Discipline: Global Capitalism and Architecture of Government* (2010) and Nick Couldry's *Why Voice Matters: Culture and Politics after Neoliberalism* (2010). The book under review is a welcome addition to these exceptional ventures.

Constructions of Neoliberal Reason reveals from various vantage points how the logic of neo-liberalism floats the impression of its singular dominance, thereby making free market fundamentalism the 'only' ordering principle to constitute a better order. Jamie Peck clarifies

that his analysis has a structural orientation, based on the interplay of agents and agency, and he has little to offer in terms of 'bottom-up alternatives'.

In problematising its key theme the volume strikes at the ontological roots of the highly elastic idea of 'neo-liberalism' by shuffling concrete data and public policy perspectives with ideas, imaginaries, analogies and metaphors. It arrives at the conclusion that there is no single way of perceiving and interpreting neo-liberalism; even the author consciously steers clear of a postmodern interpretation. The thrust here is more on the 'situated' stance, rather than on free-flow relativism. This is in accordance with the author's methodological strategy to develop a sort of down-to-earth account that would not present neo-liberalism as an 'extraterrestrial force'.

Tracing the 'winding path of neoliberalism from crank science to common sense' – by scrutinising the ideational construction of the architecture of neo-liberalism from the Hayek–Mises debate to the Friedman-led Chicago School, and the modes of practical policy negotiations by Thatcher, Reagan and Obama – the volume explains the deft management of tensions, contradictions and crises – the creative dynamics of neo-liberalism, which gives it a remarkable surviving power. It also identifies the paradox of neo-liberalism – its inherent compulsion to live with and retain the state that it publicly seeks to disempower. Peck concludes that despite its incredible power of adaptation neo-liberalism is to face crisis under the weight of countervailing forces and socio-ecological limits. However he leaves the critical question of its possible demise tantalisingly open.

The volume is a 'must read' because it indulges in the delicate dialectics of abstract ideas and concrete actions without being polemical and rhetorical, a rare trait in the literature on neo-liberalism.

Dipankar Sinha
(University of Calcutta)

Immigration and the Constraints of Justice: Between Open Borders and Absolute Sovereignty by **Ryan Pevnick**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011. 210pp., £50.00, ISBN 9780521768986

At the beginning of this book, Ryan Pevnick announces that he will eschew both the open borders and sovereign control of borders positions that con-

tinue to dominate debate around the ethics of immigration in favour of a third way where immigration decisions are, as the title suggests, subject to the constraints of justice. In practice, however, the position he argues for is much closer to the sovereign borders view since Pevnick believes that states are basically entitled to admit whom they see fit with the exception of refugees and the destitute. However, this is not to impugn a well-argued book that is a fine addition to the political theory literature on immigration.

The core of Pevnick's argument is a theory of 'associative ownership' according to which citizens who have contributed to the maintenance of a set of political institutions (for example, through paying taxes) come to own those institutions and are therefore presumptively entitled to decide who can make use of them. Only in extreme cases, as with refugees and the indigent, can that presumptive right be overridden by considerations of justice. I was not sure whether citizens could really have a property right in their political institutions; and even if they did, whether this gave them the right to exclude outsiders. In addition, the associative ownership view seemed liable to the objection that outsiders do not really choose not to contribute to a state's political institutions; they are simply not able to, for reasons which may themselves be unjust. At times, Pevnick suggests that if a previous generation has established ownership of its political institutions, then subsequent generations can come to inherit them, but that seems to raise questions too. Moreover, in a book with a US focus, it was odd to read nothing about family reunification, this being one of the chief categories of immigrants to the United States.

These concerns notwithstanding, Pevnick skilfully combines philosophical argument with a contemporary policy focus in this book. He has interesting things to say about the nature of coercion, the site of distributive justice and the benefits of temporary labour migration. I would have liked to read more about what the associative ownership view implies in practice; a great deal of space in the book is devoted to criticisms of views in conflict with Pevnick's own, which gives it a slightly defensive feel. Overall, however, this is a very good book which will certainly be of interest to all scholars of immigration.

Jonathan Seglow
(Royal Holloway, University of London)

Gender and Culture by Anne Phillips. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010. 172pp., £15.99, ISBN 978 0 7456 4800 2

Gender is socially constructed. It is indeed, a product of, among many other things, culture. Although culture is not a universal phenomenon, some cultures appear to dominate others. In that situation, the dominant cultures may force the weak ones to behave as they do. In her thoughtful work *Gender and Culture*, Anne Phillips thoroughly faults cultural determinism in explaining the situation of women in Western societies. She contends that most of the time cultures have wrongly been viewed as comprising unchanging values, distinct from each other and hence incorrectly conceptualised as 'things' that inform the actions and attitudes of their members (p. 4). Certainly, this is a total rejection of cultural relativism, which appears to place culture at the centre of occurrences of every social phenomenon. Thus, a key subject matter running throughout this volume is that, while it is important to appreciate cultural specificity and context, it is erroneous to consider culture as a catch-all explanation of what individuals from minority or non-Western groups do. As an alternative to this weakness, Phillips insists on the significance of recognising women as agents as opposed to being captives of culture. This simply means that although women worldwide suffer from oppression and exploitation, they have the ability to make choices and improve things.

The book has eight chapters. Each chapter is well structured and presented with a clear-cut argument. The author does well when she engages the existing body of literature on the subject matter, thereby drawing areas of strengths and weaknesses. It is by so doing that the author is able to add some new insights on the topic of gender and culture. Nonetheless, the volume contains three shortcomings. First, key terms such as democracy are not defined at all. It has to be noted that democracy is an elusive concept and hence it connotes different things to different people. Second, overemphasising that women are agents capable of making a difference is problematic since, apart from homogenising women as identical beings, it presumes that women are conservatives. This would suggest that the current position and status of women across societies are their choice. Third, the use of 'gender-neutral abstraction' such as 'individuals' camouflages the male dominance. Hence, the patri-

archal problem seems to be protected rather than engaged. Despite these shortcomings, the volume will be useful to students of politics, practitioners, feminists and politicians.

Alexander Boniface Makulilo
(University of Dar es Salaam)

Gender and Culture by **Anne Phillips**. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010. 192pp., £50.00, ISBN 9780745647999

Communitarian and liberal individualist approaches to culture bear contrasting implications, especially about whether people should have distinct non-negotiable rights or equalities that must be respected in the pursuit of multicultural citizenship. Especially challenging for a liberal society is to determine how much latitude culture should be given to inculcate values and offer experiences to its members. Engaging her contemporaries on these contrasting approaches over gender and culture Anne Phillips offers a collection of eight essays that present her distinctive arguments on multiculturalism. What preoccupies Phillips is the determinism present in scholarly writings that reject cultures as separate but represent minority or non-Western cultures as more determining of behaviour and beliefs than other variables. While arguing for an anti-essentialist reading of culture she repudiates exaggerated presumptions of cultural difference that embrace a justification for group-differentiated rights and public policies that derive these from the value of cultural diversity.

Given that many of the issues raised in this volume are not new, the most important contribution of Phillips' work is her engagement with conflicts over cultural practices in domestic constitution and EU law which offer resources for people to mobilise against traditional cultural practices. She examines cases where reliance on cultural tradition is widely regarded as legitimating crimes against women. The case of forced marriage provides a vivid example of the contests generated over women's agency. She views public policies that interpret a narrow definition of forced marriage as discriminatory while at the same time infantilising people belonging to minority cultural groups. Lying further beneath these arguments is her concern for responsive legal frameworks to address cultural collisions escalating due to high levels of mobility across national borders.

The main solution she endorses lies in formulating strong policies for gender equality that do not 'feed into cultural stereotypes' (p. 14) or to 'reframe discourses of sex equality so as to detach them from projects of cultural or racial superiority' (p. 14). However, this solution sets limits on what institutions no matter how designed can achieve in themselves as it entails reinterpreting the notions of dignity, autonomy, bodily integrity and sexuality of women that are embedded in the religious and cultural norms of different societies. While sorting through the promise and peril of group rights, this volume raises the need to reconcile commitments to individual agency and to communal traditions and meanings. Overall the author draws attention to a whole new set of questions about the relationship between gender and culture and provides directions for future research in this area.

Vidhu Verma
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Critical Theory of International Politics: Complementarity, Justice, and Governance by **Steven C. Roach**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2010. 171pp., £23.99, ISBN 978 0 415 77485 7

Critical Theory of International Politics: Complementarity, Justice, and Governance is a tale of two halves. Part I is an exposition of the philosophical underpinnings of critical theory where Steven Roach gives a thorough summary of the contributions of theorists such as Kant, Hegel, Marx, Nietzsche, Freud, Gramsci and Weber, before moving on to a more detailed study of the Frankfurt School. Interestingly, Roach approaches these authors from an international perspective, showing us how internationalism has always been an important point of reference for normative and critical theories, rather than taking the social theories of critical theorists and extrapolating them on to the international level, which gives his analysis an original perspective sometimes lacking in the discipline of International Relations.

Part II is a detailed application of critical theory to the concept of complementarity which is a key instrument of the International Criminal Court (ICC) in enforcing international law to domestic systems. Complementarity is utilised primarily to mitigate the illegitimacy of externally derived juridical procedures by giving preference to domestic courts if and when they are able to carry out justice, and taking action

when they are not. This situates complementarity in a social hierarchy which Roach argues can be understood through a reading of Bhaskarian critical realism and Wendt's application of Bohrian quantum physics to the social systems, creating a social ontology in which structure becomes a transformative element of social relations. Roach also argues in favour of positive complementarity over negative complementarity through a reading of Honneth's discussions on the origins of disrespect, which Roach believes gives a more holistic analysis of reconciliation rather than relying on Habermas' communicative action theory.

The major difficulties in Roach's work present themselves in his section on social ontology. Particularly, the discussion of Bhaskar's concept of critical realism read alongside Wendt's application of quantum physics is an underdeveloped one and poorly applied to the concept of complementarity. The degree to which the ICC in using complementarity constructs the social ontology of involved parties is arguable, and readers may find difficulty in applying these ideas to Roach's more practical discussions.

Despite these shortcomings, this book is essential reading for those interested in both critical theory and complementarity. Part I will speak to students new to critical theory while Part II will be of interest to postgraduate students and researchers working on complementarity. Roach's book is accomplished, widely applicable and an invaluable source of knowledge.

Edmund Arghand
(London School of Economics and Political Science)

Jacques Rancière: History, Politics, Aesthetics by **Gabriel Rockhill and Philip Watts (eds)**. Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2009. 358pp., £18.99, ISBN 978 0 8223 4506 0

Political theory has increasingly turned toward the thought of French philosopher Jacques Rancière. Those engaging his work are drawn by his attempt to map a middle ground between top-down, elitist models of administration and order – what he would call *la police* – and an utterly unclassifiable modality of free play. By contrast, Rancière deems 'politics' (*la politique*) quite rare, achieved in the spasmodic dis-sensus and 'interruptions' where equality is affirmed by those alleged to be equal, yet not counted within the established order. However, Rancière can be chal-

lenging, as he resists notions of normativity, eschews traditional intellectual divisions and generally shuns attempts at systematisation and classification.

This volume offers sixteen essays which sympathetically and critically engage Rancière's thought, organised according to the themes in the subtitle – history, politics and aesthetics. These contributions are largely drawn from a 2005 conference at the University of Pittsburgh, but the editors have added contributions from Alain Badiou, Etienne Balibar and Jean-Luc Nancy, as well as a brief response from Rancière himself. The essays offer important insights into Rancière's work: situating Rancière in relation to his contemporaries (Badiou), examining his engagement with the classics (Ross, Méchoulan), highlighting the utility of Rancière's thought in understanding contemporary injustice (May), analysing the promises and risks inherent in his unique understanding of politics (Bosteels, Hallward), as well as the synergy Rancière sees between politics and aesthetics (Rockhill, Conley, Parker).

This collection has many positive attributes. It contextualises Rancière's work in a way that one cannot achieve through reading him directly, offering a companion to his core writings. In addition, nearly all of the pieces infuse Rancière's work with a sense of urgency and timeliness that can often be lost in volumes focused on a single thinker. The intellectual and political 'stakes' of engaging Rancière are eloquently articulated here. The downsides are endemic to this type of volume. There are points of repetition, as the authors present the same central ideas and claims in their respective contributions. In addition, as the volume aims to be comprehensive in scope, some pieces are of far greater interest to scholars in film and literary studies than political theorists. These minor shortcomings aside, the volume is an impressive and much-needed discussion of Rancière's thought and should prove invaluable to those with an interest in his work.

Robert Glover
(James Madison University)

Marx: A Guide for the Perplexed by **John Seed**. London: Continuum, 2010. 191pp., £12.99, ISBN 978 0 8264 9335 4

John Seed's book is a masterly introduction to the thought and politics of Karl Marx. The book is, first,

ambitious, reflecting on a wide range of material: the 1848 revolutions in Europe, materialist historiography, political economy, the politics of labour, reform and revolution, and the fate of capitalism. Throughout, the study is well organised, rhetorically sharp and engaging, but it is most impressive in the clarity and direction it imparts to difficult concepts within Marx's *oeuvre*, including texts co-authored with Engels. To be sure, shedding light on the conceptual plane of Marx's thought is no easy task and this book succeeds brilliantly in helping us to understand why this is.

Beginning with the book's first chapter, 'Introduction: Reading Marx', the author presents a fair and nuanced treatment of the difficulties of approaching Marx's work, acknowledging that '[a]ny approach to Marx has to take some measure of his complex relations with Marxism, or rather, Marxism's relationship to Marx' (p. 1). Indeed, Seed takes measure of these relations – opening and closing his study with a deep reflection on the fate of Marxian politics within capitalism – with a very careful eye to key political, historical and biographical contexts. The reflection on these contexts in the earlier chapters can seem a bit pedantic in detail, but should be viewed as part of the author's rightfully ambitious attempt to explain the political lessons Marx learned and which we can see, under Seed's guidance, worked out in his writings, especially in relation to his views on labour. The book should also be commended for resisting the kind of polemics that too easily frustrate beginners' attempts at understanding Marx, even as it does not shy away from thornier issues of interpretation and politics.

Nonetheless, one recognises that Seed puts these issues to the service of rendering a consistent interpretation of Marx's key themes and concepts – most evident in the book's exceptional fourth chapter, 'Political Economy and the History of Capitalism' – a strategy that stunningly brings together and illuminates quite a lot in the large, diverse body of Marx's work. Perhaps best suited for advanced undergraduates capable of appreciating the importance of connecting Marx's concepts to their various contexts, *Marx: A Guide for the Perplexed* should not only serve as an excellent aid to reading Marx, but qualifies in its own right as an original contribution to Marx's thought and politics.

Robert D. King
(Sierra Nevada College)

Žižek and Politics: A Critical Introduction by **Matthew Sharpe and Geoff M. Boucher**. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010. 252pp, £22.99, ISBN 978 0 7486 3804 8

Even the Foucauldian phenomenon of the 1980s and 1990s has been eclipsed in the academy by Slavoj Žižek's stardom. It has been fuelled by documentaries, YouTube rants and numerous papers and books. Also, similarly to Foucault, Žižek has been attacked from across the political spectrum including shots from liberals and critiques from conservatives. Concomitant with this has been the growth of a body of secondary literature exploring the connections of Žižek's work to every conceivable discipline. Matthew Sharpe and Geoff Boucher's *Žižek and Politics: A Critical Introduction* provides an accessible and in-depth discussion of Žižek's foundational work, influences and legacy for political theory.

The volume is organised into two main parts that chart a split in Žižek's work. The authors assert: 'Our claim is that there are, conceptually speaking, effectively *two* Žižeks: the Radical-Democratic "Žižek₁," and the Revolutionary-Vanguardist "Žižek₂"' (p. 24). This new interpretation of his ideas advances a theory that adds to the analytical literature while not leaving readers less acquainted with his work in the dark. This structure helps to define the different and often contradictory elements in Žižek's texts. Also, one of the most useful presentations of the book is sections that are bumped out from the main body of the text. These in-text notes are just the type of interruptions and discordances that Žižek would approve of as well as aiding readers in getting deeper into Žižek's own writings.

The conclusion of the volume provides the most reflective context for Žižek's use in politics and social movements. Sharpe and Boucher state: 'A brilliant theory of ideology and the subject, such as are present in Žižek's work, is a necessary part of this task. But it is not sufficient, even in the realm of theory, and certainly not for a new praxis' (p. 233).

Overall, the text is recommended for readers well versed in Žižek as well as those who have just seen one of his films and are looking to learn more.

Aaron Cooley
(New England College)

Political Philosophy: An Introduction by **Richard G. Stevens**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. 309pp., £18.99, ISBN 978 0 521 16901 1

Richard Stevens offers what is in fact an introduction to the study of political philosophy. He dares do so because after a long career teaching political philosophy to diverse types of students at American institutions – public and private, military and civilian – he has tended to find most introductory books on the subject either too specialised and advanced (thus losing many students starting out on the topic), or so simplistic that students feel they are being talked down to as though they are idiots. Stevens also found that such general introduction texts were often too time- or topic-specific, or too superficial or dogmatic, or tended merely to tell the student what thinker X or thinker Y thought. Instead, Stevens wanted to offer students something more and something better, and indeed he has.

By dedicating this book to his teacher/mentor Leo Strauss this will most likely automatically lead many people to come to a prejudgement about the value or worth of the book by this fact alone. But if one can suspend one's prejudice about Strauss and his students and read what Stevens has produced, one will find a gem that will be useful to students and teachers alike. In this book, Stevens not only introduces the reader to the key thinkers of the history of political thought but also to the questions they were concerned with, and so the reader comes to see that those questions are not so dissimilar to the questions that they themselves face today concerning political matters.

Stevens is able to show how the great thinkers of the past still speak to us today by helping us think about the issues and questions of politics and society that we are confronted with. He does this not by insisting that the great thinkers of the past and the answers they suggest are the answers for us; rather, he shows how by learning to understand how those thinkers considered the questions and reached their answers students can also learn how to think (and think more clearly) about such matters. By being reintroduced to the great thinkers and their concerns we can ourselves learn how to think, how to reason about the concerns of politics.

That Stevens' text does this, and that it is written in such a way that it pays great attention to what the thinkers themselves write and argue, in a style that is full of passion and easy to follow, makes this one of the

best general introduction books to the topic to be produced for over 30 years.

Clifford A. Bates Jr
(Warsaw University)

Michel Foucault: Key Concepts by **Dianna Taylor (ed.)**. Durham: Acumen, 2011. 200pp., £14.99, ISBN 978 1 84465 235 8

This book explores Foucault's principal ideas. Given that Foucault challenged the assumptions of the Western philosophical tradition, his work was met with much criticism. Some scholars 'contend that the critical aspects of his work undermine or even prohibit Foucault from being able to promote positive social change through his philosophy' (p. 2). The contributors to this volume reject this latter claim; moreover, *contra* his critics, they regard Foucault's unsystematic and unconventional approach as a 'strength' (p. 3).

The book is divided into three parts, each of which focuses on a key concept, examining how Foucault re-conceptualises it. Part I concentrates on the concept of power. Richard A. Lynch examines Foucault's 'theory of power', showing how it contrasts with the 'juridico-discursive' understanding of power; Marcelo Hoffman discusses 'disciplinary power'; Chloë Taylor offers an overview of 'biopower'; while Ellen K. Feder explicates the composite 'power/knowledge'.

Part II focuses on the concept of freedom. Todd May considers how 'Foucault's conception of freedom' 'interacts' with the two traditional understandings of freedom, viz. '*metaphysical*' and '*political*' freedom (p. 71), and contrasts Foucault's view of freedom with that of Merleau-Ponty; Johanna Oksala looks at how in Foucault the body is implicated in resistance and, hence, practices of freedom, and discusses how Foucault's work influenced queer and feminist theories; Karen Vintges examines Foucault's idea of spirituality as (a practice of) freedom; lastly, Eduardo Mendieta shows that Foucault developed his understanding of freedom through his study of three key figures in the Western philosophical tradition, namely, Socrates, Augustine and Kant (p. 113).

Part III centres on subjectivity. Edward McGushin explains 'Foucault's theory and practice of subjectivity' (p. 127); Brad Elliott Stone explicates 'Foucault's conclusion about the divorce of subjectivity and truth', and considers 'whether or not we can recreate a meaningful relationship between subjectivity and truth' (p. 143);

Cressida J. Heyes examines how power creates subjects, according to Foucault; finally, Dianna Taylor offers ‘an overview of Foucault’s account of the origins of modern Western subjectivity in early Christian practices of the self’, practices that involved self-sacrifice, and demonstrates how critique ‘functions as a Foucauldian response to the problem of the self-sacrificing subject’ (pp. 173–4).

The collection is a valuable resource for students. Simultaneously, as it offers novel insights into and interesting applications of Foucault’s thought, it is a significant contribution to scholarly debates and a welcome addition to the literature. On the whole, the book achieves its objectives.

Evangelia Sembou
(Independent scholar)

Rawls, Dewey and Constructivism: On the Epistemology of Justice by **Eric Thomas Weber**. London: Continuum, 2010. 176pp., £65.00, ISBN 978 1 4411 6114 7

Eric Thomas Weber’s *Rawls, Dewey and Constructivism* is a comparative analysis of the epistemologies of John Rawls and John Dewey from the standpoint of pragmatic constructivism. Although Rawls gets first-name billing in the book’s title, it is clear from the outset that it is Dewey who will leave with the intellectual laurels. However, Weber’s critique is respectful rather than polemical, remaining robust but also judicious and collegial throughout.

After a short introduction the work begins with a succinct overview of the most serious accusations levelled at both traditional and contemporary social contract theories. Enlisting some stellar argumentative support in the forms of Hume, Hegel and of course Dewey, Weber succeeds in convincing that social contract theory in general (foundational to Rawls’ work) is a fatally flawed concept. This sets the scene for Weber’s primary critical move, developed in the ensuing chapters. This consists of a forensic disinterring of the residual Kantian tension in Rawls’ theory of justice; a tension that is characterised by the existence of a latent representationalist strand in Rawls’ thinking which contradicts his putatively constructivist stance. Weber neatly marks this paradox as an epistemologically untenable ‘construction within a construction’ (p. 82) which inevitably destabilises Rawls’ wider thesis. As

Weber has it, philosophically speaking Rawls seems subtly to wish to have it both ways. Ultimately, however, he is either epistemologically coherent or he is ‘riding the fence’, which will not do (p. 99).

Rawls’ non-committal approach has been noted by other critics before Weber. R. M. Hare famously said that Rawls’ views were ‘hard to catch’;¹ and Jürgen Habermas (no stranger to normative rationality) once commented that Rawls’ theory of justice is ‘open to competing interpretations’.² What distinguishes this work is its comprehensive identification of Kant as the primary source of epistemological ambiguity in Rawls and the subsequent force of Weber’s rich illustration of the merits of Deweyan philosophy in plugging these deficiencies and more. Without denying the empirical potential to be found within normative theory, Weber paints a cogent picture of Dewey’s rich and fully committed constructivist epistemology, so loaded with history and attentive to context. Alongside this, Rawls’ ‘thin’ alternative is made to seem too detached and hypothetical to be of practical value. Naturally, some will disagree with his pragmatic assessment, but Weber has delivered a powerful, if at times perhaps slightly repetitive, case for making those who would rejoin at least reflect well before doing so.

Notes

- 1 ‘Review: Rawls Theory of Justice – I’, *The Philosophical Quarterly*, 1973, 23 (91), 144–55.
- 2 *Between Facts and Norms*, Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Richard Cotter
(National University of Ireland, Maynooth)

International Relations

The Human Right to Development in a Globalized World by **Daniel Aguirre**. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008. 351pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 0 7546 7471 9

In this illuminating book Daniel Aguirre advances the literature in the areas of globalisation, development and human rights. While it is easily readable and extremely informative, Aguirre does not provide the background information that would make this work accessible to undergraduates, his purpose being to extend the debate, not to describe it. He approaches development and globalisation through a consideration of the increased role corporations play in guaranteeing, or reducing, the uptake of human rights, offering a

defence of the important role international human rights law can play in ensuring that corporations cannot act illegitimately by simply crossing borders. The book argues that national law cannot keep up with the movement of multinational corporations and the answer to just globalisation is in guaranteeing the human right to development. His work acts not only as a defence of human rights but also as an advocate for their role in solving the development crises attached to globalisation. He states that 'Global governance should be based on international human rights law obligations' (p. 16) before going on to offer his triadic model of how this can and should be achieved as well as offering evidence of its necessity. He answers the neo-liberal argument, 'there is no alternative', effectively and convincingly and demonstrates how states already interfere in the market to the advantage of corporations, so why not to guarantee rights. If progress 'can be made on governing economic globalisation when the interests of dominant states are at stake' (p. 308) then there is no excuse for failing to regulate in favour of others.

In the concluding chapter Aguirre recognises that globalisation is a double-edged sword for human rights; while 'it undermines the ability of many developing states to fulfil human rights while empowering unaccountable corporations', it also 'fosters increased awareness of these problems' (p. 307). This balanced reaction is achieved throughout; this is not an attack on globalisation but rather a defence of the human right to development as the answer to unavoidable globalisation. His belief is that human rights adherence gives legitimacy and stability to states, which in turn promotes the conditions for corporations to thrive. If this can be proven, those corporations and states that determine the international markets will hopefully move towards a solution. Aguirre's book is, in my opinion, an adept description of why this should happen.

Gemma Bird
(University of Sheffield)

Fast Forward: Ethics and Politics in the Age of Global Warming (Revised Edition) by **William Antholis and Strobe Talbott**. Washington DC: Brookings Institute Press, 2011. 144pp., £12.99, ISBN 978 0 8157 2219 9

Fast Forward argues that the accelerating pace of anthropogenic climate change requires a swift political

response. Its subtitle, however, is somewhat misleading. Ethics does serve a role in Antholis and Talbott's argument, mostly to help establish climate change as an existential threat and to define our duties towards future generations to reduce emissions rapidly; and the authors do also provide a historical survey of relevant political initiatives. However, this monograph is principally a policy prescription addressed to the US context and often, very particularly, to President Obama.

Given the unwieldiness of negotiating international binding agreements and the difficulties of securing a US Senate supermajority to ratify treaties, Antholis and Talbott suggest an approach based on politically binding commitments. Their admittedly pragmatic approach seeks to gain consensus through shared agreement among a core of nations, which would then grow as more nation states came on board. The authors uphold the success of the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty, which responded to a similar anthropogenic existential threat, and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade as models of how such agreements can grow from a core group of nation states to become very effective on the global scale. Here we come to the authors' definitive policy prescription presented in the monograph: their advocacy of the need for a General Agreement to Reduce Emissions (GARE) based on the principle 'legislate locally, coordinate globally' (p. 93). Aristotle's distinction between logos, ethos and pathos helps to frame Antholis and Talbott's method for the implementation of the GARE. According to their analysis, the form of persuasion that this distinction represents, appealing to facts, personal integrity and feelings, dovetails well with Obama's style of politics on both the domestic and international stage.

Because *Fast Forward* presents specific recommendations and was first sent to the publisher in April 2010, it is already showing its age in some respects. For instance, even in this rather lightly revised edition (June 2011), Antholis and Talbott place a good deal of emphasis on the now defunct Kerry-Liebermann initiative for a US climate bill as creating momentum for a robust agreement at the Cancun climate change summit, which also failed to materialise. Additionally, they bizarrely continue to express support for 'nuclear renaissance' in power generation, without addressing its problematic nature in light of the Fukushima radiation leaks. Nonetheless, *Fast Forward* remains an extremely accessible and

well-crafted monograph which can serve to stimulate conversation on one of the definitive issues of our times.

Christopher Hrynkow
(University of Saskatchewan)

After the Nation? Critical Reflections on Nationalism and Postnationalism by **Keith Breen and Shane O’Neil (eds)**. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010. 278pp., £60.00, ISBN 978 0 230 57653 7

This edited anthology is organised around two themes. The first concerns empirical and theoretical changes in our conceptualisation of the modern nation state while the second addresses the philosophical questions surrounding the nationalism and post-nationalism debate. The editorial introduction chronicles the nascent political realities and ideologies allegedly responsible for attenuating the nation state’s organisational structure.

The essays in the first section attend to the spatio-temporal specificities of self-determination, ethnicity and nationalism using carefully structured theoretically-led explanations. This is evident in Nimni’s calls for a paradigm shift towards a reconfigured state sovereignty that approximates to the political requirements of indigenous peoples and stateless nations. A virtue of this anthology lies in its wide-ranging empirical, comparative examples ranging from national self-determination disputes in Northern Ireland (McGarry and O’Leary), cultural autonomy as a means of assuaging the effects of violent conflicts and ethnicism in Eastern Europe (Smith) to questions about the disdain towards the US’ imposition of Iraq’s constitution and establishment of democracy in Iraq (O’Leary) as well as Keating’s theorisation of the gathering renaissance of Scottish nationalism within a new post-sovereign federal union. Hutchinson’s contribution will, in all likelihood, disabuse the reader of the notion that violence is inherent in nationalism.

In the second section, there is intertextuality in the first three analyses of national solidarity *vis-à-vis* democracy. Miller maintains that efforts to advance global democracy must not be at the expense of strengthening democracy within states. McBride defends cosmopolitan democracy by delineating a deliberative model of democracy. Weinstock’s contribution defends the rights of individuals who hold dual or multiple citizenship to vote in two or more nation

states. The subsequent two contributions segue to discuss the theorisation of national sovereignty and self-determination in pluri-national states (Nootens) and multiculturalism’s positive preservation and transformation of national identities (Frost). The remaining two philosophical chapters on redistributive justice explain why, on the one hand, the allegedly contradictory demands of domestic and global justice can be harmonised (Moore), yet on the other, extant concerns with self-determination are at variance with the spirit of global justice (Armstrong).

Although wide-ranging and diverse, there are inevitable gaps. The anthology does not address an issue about time raised in the introduction, viz. that of nationalism embodying an ahistorical, millenarian model of time that excluded peoples have traditionally used to recover their pasts in the future through their retrospective utopias. As most chapters are well written, this anthology will enjoy a wide readership.

John Lowe
(Independent Scholar)

The Practice of Global Citizenship by **Luis Cabrera**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. 328pp., £55.00, £18.99, ISBN 978 0 521199360, 978 0 521128100

Luis Cabrera has written an important book that will be of great interest to political theorists as well as empirically oriented researchers of transnational politics. The first part of the book develops a cosmopolitan theory of global human duties, which are identified with reference to a global institutional framework that, according to the author, would be particularly well suited to ensure the protection of fundamental human rights throughout the world. This institutional approach is then defended against alternative approaches to global obligations, notably those that to some extent hold people in poor countries collectively responsible for their poverty and those that focus on the harms allegedly perpetrated on the poor by people in affluent countries. Since the world’s current degree of political integration falls well short of the level that would be necessary to maximise human rights protection, ‘good’ global citizens do two things: on the one hand, they volunteer time, energy and personal resources to humanitarian assistance and other rights promotion initiatives benefiting vulnerable non-compatriots; on the

other hand, they are active in advocating the creation of institutions through which human rights could be fully protected.

The second part of the book brilliantly demonstrates that this kind of global citizenship is not just an abstract concept, but something that is practised daily by individuals and groups in different regions of the world. Cabrera interviewed about 200 pro-immigrant and anti-immigration activists and officials in the United States, Mexico and various European countries, and about 70 unauthorised migrants in the two continents. What emerges from this empirical effort is a complex tapestry of personal convictions, aspirations, experiences, beliefs and relationships which is fascinating, absorbing and at times deeply moving. Cabrera shows that scholarly controversies on the significance and boundaries of justice, solidarity, community and identity have their practical, and far more dramatic, counterparts in the deserts of Arizona, the western Mediterranean and other fault lines of global inequality.

Institutions return to the foreground in the third part of the book, where Cabrera first examines the European Union as a trans-state citizenship regime, albeit one that has sometimes been criticised for promoting a 'Fortress Europe', and then develops a powerful argument for adding a parliamentary dimension to the World Trade Organization. The last chapter discusses existing attempts at making educational curricula less state-centric and explores ways in which education for global citizenship could be strengthened.

Cabrera's book brims with interesting ideas and with stimulating insights into the lives and thoughts of migrants as well as activists on both sides of the cosmopolitan–communitarian divide. His argument for global citizenship is robust and passionate, and yet rigorous and mindful of the reasons for and nuances of alternative positions. Only occasionally, even readers who are sympathetic with the overall thrust of the argument may find some claims excessive, notably the portrayal of unauthorised migrants as practising a form of civil disobedience. As with the other key theses of the book, this point deserves to be widely debated. But many will agree with the more fundamental point that Cabrera makes so impressively: typical unauthorised migrants deserve to be seen as citizens of the world who challenge unjust restrictions on their mobility and exercise their moral right to

seek a better future for themselves and their families – a right that may one day be guaranteed by global law.

Mathias Koenig-Archibugi
(London School of Economics and Political Science)

Imperialism and Global Political Economy by Alex Callinicos. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009. 295pp., £16.99, ISBN 978 0 7456 4046 4

Imperialism is an important subject both in the North and the South. While the South has always been the victim of imperialism, the owner of this project, the North, has benefited much from it. Notwithstanding such benefits, imperialism has remained the source of rivalries and crises among the great powers. In his thoughtful work, *Imperialism and Global Political Economy*, Alex Callinicos discusses imperialism in a historical perspective. Unlike the classical Marxist theorists, particularly Luxemburg, Lenin and Bukharin, who focus on financial capital as the core in theorising imperialism, Callinicos views the foundation of imperialism as resting on economic and geopolitical competition. Without counting an introduction, this volume has five chapters which are divided into two main parts. The first part covers the theory. The author rigorously revisits Marxist theories of imperialism and faults their overemphasis on financial capital in understanding imperialism since the Second World War. The second part deals with the history of imperialism. It traces the origins and development of capitalism. Callinicos does well when he captures the dynamism of imperialism in three phases: classical imperialism (1870–1945), superpower imperialism (1945–91) and imperialism after the Cold War (since 1991).

The strengths of this volume lie in two aspects. First, the author exhausts the debate on imperialism with abundant and concrete empirical materials as evidence. This helps him delineate the limitations of arguments advanced by earlier works on imperialism. Second is its historical richness. While Callinicos successfully presents the origins and development of imperialism, at the same time he admits the weakness of his arguments in the past. Nonetheless, the book has a number of shortcomings. First, its significance is founded on a rather weak premise when the author states that 'Imperialism to many people's surprise, survived the Cold War. More to the point, it also survived the presidency

of George W. Bush. So it is an important subject' (p. ix). Treating the importance of imperialism based solely on the Cold War and the Bush presidency as independent variables is erroneous since the two were in the first place a product of imperialism. Second, although Callinicos disputes the classical conception of imperialism as 'a special stage in the development of capitalism' (p. 3), his periodisation of imperialism does not suggest any speciality. Indeed, while the logic of imperialism of domination and super profit is stable, its form and operation are dynamic. Despite the outlined weaknesses, this book is suitable for an academic audience rather than a general one.

Alexander Boniface Makulilo
(University of Dar es Salaam)

Conflict, Security and the Reshaping of Society: The Civilization of War by **Alessandro Dal Lago and Salvatore Palidda (eds)**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2010. 227pp., £75.00, ISBN 978 0 415 57034 3

This book takes as its foundation the idea that civil life on both the international and domestic levels has become deleteriously militarised, in that since 9/11 the rhetoric of war has made permanent a 'state of exception' that strangles liberties and poisons society. Since, for many of the authors, war can never be truly civilised, the apparent interminability of the war on terror and its concomitant effects on both sides of the Atlantic have made of 'the West' an oxymoron, namely a 'barbaric civilisation' defined primarily by opposition to its enemies (communists, terrorists, migrants, etc.).

Divided into three sections (on 'the constituent role of armed conflicts', 'securization' [*sic*] and 'the reshaping of global society'), the book explores the interconnection between securitisation and social control, and deals with topics such as the revolution in military affairs, international and domestic policing, state surveillance, immigration and internment.

It is telling that a quote from Foucault begins the introduction; the book's stance is uncompromisingly critical. The United States and its Republican party are the primary targets of the editors' somewhat discombobulating critique (although Italy too receives the rod) and their hyperbolic line, which is toed further by Alain Joxe, makes distinguishing the scholarly from the polemical argument in their articles

cumbersomely necessary. A lack of conceptual clarity detracts from the thrust of Roberto Ciccarelli's essay, and many other contributors make sweeping claims with little or no supporting evidence (according to Marcello Maneri, for example, the wars on drugs, terrorism and so on have exempted military and police personnel 'from *any* accountability' [p. 169, emphasis added]). The articles by Didier Bigo on 9/11 narratives and the 'habitus', Eric Heilmann on CCTV, and Mariella Pandolfi and Laurence McFalls on the irresponsibility of global civil servants escape these criticisms, however, and are argued persuasively and with composure. Luca Guzzetti's article on the US military-industrial complex and global conflict is also well worth reading.

This volume deserves merit as an international and interdisciplinary achievement and its contributors bring a wide range of political, sociological and anthropological perspectives to bear on war and its effects on civil society. However, while this diverse theoretical background makes for an interesting and topical array of articles, it does not fully compensate the reader for the lack of balance and evidence-based argument that characterises too many of the book's contributions. Despite much promise, more could have been made of this volume.

Daniel Falkiner
(London School of Economics and Political Science)

Public War, Private Conscience: The Ethics of Political Violence by **Andrew Fiala**. London: Continuum, 2010. 200pp., £18.99, ISBN 978 1 4411 8281 4

What is the relationship between private (personal) conscience and the political realities of being a citizen? And, more directly, can an obligation to fight for one's country (if there is such an obligation) trump one's personal moral perspective? These are the central concerns of this brief but interesting book. Andrew Fiala develops a line of argument that asks us to develop a 'closer adherence to Kantian principles about justice' (p. 79) while rejecting much that can be found in more commonplace views on war. A morally acceptable view on war would take into consideration strongly deontological principles including discrimination and just cause, while eliminating (or minimising) the use of explicitly conse-

quentialist rubrics, sliding scales and the principle of double effect, while still allowing for personal conscience as a direct guide to moral action.

Unfortunately, much of what is presented in the book is not explicitly directed at the titular project of evaluating the public–private debate as it relates to war. Instead, much of what goes on in the first eight chapters of the book is a primarily historical discussion of the just war tradition. Only chapters 11 and 12 deal explicitly with the issue of private conscience and professional ethics, and it is not entirely clear how these issues relate directly to, for instance, the chapter on Hegel's philosophy of war. At times, the system of beliefs Fiala defends seems to be patched together from scraps of *Perpetual Peace*-era Kant, Rawlsian liberalism, traditional just war theory and Christian pacifism, without feeling fully consistent with itself. The most interesting, and radical, thesis involves putting the judgement of *jus ad bellum* into the hands of volunteer soldiers (traditionally, *jus ad bellum* is the purview of military leaders and politicians, but not individual soldiers), allowing volunteer (professional) soldiers the right to withdraw from a war they deem as unjust for personal moral reasons. Fiala does not craft a significant set of principles for this claim in the book, and one wonders whether the current cases of soldiers who refuse to deploy under President Obama because of doubts about his nationality could make a case reliant upon conscience.

There is much to admire here, and Fiala's historical analysis of philosophical thinking about war is nuanced and interesting. But the book does not really fill the niche it seems to be designed for, which is to present a thoroughgoing analysis of the conflict between public and private conscience in wartime.

Eric M. Rovie
(Georgia Perimeter College)

Cosmopolitan Power in International Relations: A Synthesis of Realism, Neoliberalism, and Constructivism by **Guilio M. Gallarotti**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. 315pp., £18.99, ISBN 978 0 521 13812 3

Power and its different aspects has always played a key role in studies of international relations theories; it has a long history of discussion and scholars disagree both about the role of power and the nature of power. In

Guilio Gallarotti's view, the changes in the world have created a far more hazy power space, which raises new questions about power itself and its changing role in international politics. The basic question of Gallarotti's book is how nations can optimise their power in the modern world system. To answer this question, he claims that cosmopolitan power is a polymorphous theory of power for understanding the modern world system which is in flux (p. 3). Therefore, he attempts to analyse the forms and uses of power from the synthetic theory perspective, which is called 'cosmopolitan power'. The term 'cosmopolitan power' represents three of the major paradigms in international relations—realism, neoliberalism, and constructivism – without positioning itself within any one paradigm. So cosmopolitan power is a theory of power that creates a balance among the sub-sources of power: hard soft and smart power.

The book is divided into seven chapters. The first chapter builds a theory of cosmopolitan power. Chapter 2 and 3 argue about the crucial-case textual analysis of the founding fathers of realism. The third chapter presents some case studies for the purpose of illuminating and partially testing the theory of cosmopolitan power. Chapter 4 introduces case studies of soft empowerment – free trade, the classical gold standard, and dollarisation. Chapter 5 deals with case studies of hard disempowerment: US foreign policy and the Bush doctrine. Chapter 6 provides readers with a the case study of soft empowerment: the power of modern American culture. In the concluding chapter, the author suggests a new paradigm of international relations framed within some thoughts on a pre-theory of *cosmopolitik*. In the book's appendix, Gallarotti attempts to show the formal model of cosmopolitan power.

Although few synthetic theories can have any impression on international relations theories, this work is a valuable addition to the literature on power studies in international relations theories and so will be of great interest for those who are involved in this area. Overall, this book can be considered as a useful source for IR professors, students and researchers, specifically in the areas of research methods and international relations theories.

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

International Relations and Identity: A Dialogical Approach by **Xavier Guillaume**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2010. 174pp., £75.00, ISBN 978 0 415 56406 9

The book theorises international relations as multiple intersections between different social and political groups, both domestic and international. This complex process of interaction contributes to forming national identities. The book's two parts offer, respectively, a theoretical introduction and a case study encompassing an empirical analysis of modern Japanese national identity.

Guillaume contests the view that political and social identities are based on (Schmittian) dichotomies like internal/external, friend/foe or self/other. Importantly, this research claims that identity and international relations are concepts that can be unpacked in terms of change, progression and interaction, and cannot be mapped clearly or given a single definition (p. 9). This approach, which the author terms 'dialogical', widens the scholarship's horizons beyond the sovereign state system and its institutions, to include various actors who influence the complex network of social and corporate identity formation. Guillaume distinguishes 'dialogic', a reciprocal and normative exchange, and 'dialogical', which 'focuses on the characterization of the processes ... at the heart of any forms of identity formation' (p. 40).

Inspired by philosopher and literature critic Bakhtin, Guillaume reads the international sphere as a 'dialogical' text which also includes extra-linguistic elements (p. 45). It comprises multiple and parallel discourses and is intertwined in a continuous process of political and social exchange. His understanding of the international sphere emphasises change and process over institutions and structures: the international is an 'interweaving of utterances' (p. 49).

The empirical study focuses on Japan, yet Guillaume adds almost mandatory references to multiculturalism and the French 'veil affair' as examples of identity politics. The research looks at Japanese identity formation as a 'narrative' in which Western ideas (as understood and reformulated by Japanese thinkers) inform Japanese self-representation (p. 53). Guillaume analyses different Japanese theories of identity to illustrate his claim that Japanese identity was formed in a multifaceted interaction with the West and Christian-

ity, rather than through monolithic indoctrination. But it remains unclear how the Japanese notion of the (capitalised) West evolved, and who embodies that Western voice.

Guillaume's book is an important contribution to the understanding of the international aspects of identity formation. The multidisciplinary reflexive approach avoids methodological rigidity and monocausal explanations. Yet for clarity's sake the book would have benefited from greater cohesion between its theoretical and empirical parts. The fascinating Japanese case study could have potentially stood alone, without the references to French multiculturalism. Nonetheless, this study adds many significant insights to the scholarship on national identities from an international perspective.

Or Rosenboim
(University of Cambridge)

The EU–Russia Strategic Partnership: The Limits of Post-sovereignty in International Relations by **Hiski Haukkala**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2010. 249pp., £75.00, ISBN 978 0 415 55901 0

The institutional power of the European Union (EU), and its rapid growth and strength in the past two decades alone, allow political scientists room to theorise on its success and its ability to participate in international relations. Hiski Haukkala examines the geopolitical interaction between the EU and Russia, questioning the role of sovereignty in relation to the EU's international approach, in his 2010 publication, *The EU–Russia Strategic Partnership: The Limits of Post-sovereignty in International Relations*.

Haukkala combines international relations theories of neo-realism, institutionalism and the English School to examine his main research question: 'Can the differences in the degree of commonality concerning the normative foundation of the EU–Russia institution be used in explaining the recurring difficulties in the EU–Russia relationship?' (p. 27) Haukkala uses the institutional term of commonality as the overall quality of interaction within a given institution, based on the logic of the English School's idea of an anarchic state in IR tempered by the acceptance of common norms and values. Haukkala's multifaceted theorisation aims to explain the relationship in a post-Cold War era via a framed issue method.

The EU has normatively challenged Russia's sovereignty by aiming to transform Russia along the lines of EU values and norms, yet declining any reciprocal movements of its own. Russia, on the other hand, has followed a more 'traditional' approach to its relationship with the Union, defining its sovereignty by seeking its own political and economic interests, while not allowing the Union to affect the Russian domestic sphere. Russia's ability effectively to exclude European Union politics from its domestic sphere is evident in Haukkala's examination of the Second Chechen War in chapter 7. The EU has followed the notion that insisting or imposing its values and norms on its neighbours will create stabilisation and prosperity in Eastern Europe.

The Russian sentiment is thus the result of the EU's imposition. Consequently, the EU and Russia are not on the same institutionalised ground in terms of their values and norms or in their respect for sovereignty; hence their sour political moods and lack of coordinated, strategic interaction.

And while Haukkala succeeds in his multifaceted theorisation, the role of the member states and their individual sovereignty is lacking. Haukkala's arguments to explain the EU–Russia interaction seem extremely plausible and arguably very well researched. The multifaceted theorisation is innovative and risky in IR, but well examined in this book. The book is geared to students of IR theory.

Cristina N. Porrata
(George Mason University, Virginia)

The Enemy of All: Piracy and the Law of Nations by **Daniel Heller-Roazen**. Brooklyn NY: Zone Books, 2009. 274pp, £21.95, ISBN 978 1 890951 94 8

In *The Enemy of All: Piracy and the Law of Nations*, Daniel Heller-Roazen provides a multidisciplinary analysis of the pirate, premised on the assertion that 'the pirate constitutes the original enemy of the human kind' (p. 9). Starting with the oratory of Cicero, he traces the development of the image of these plunderers through legal, philosophical, historical and literary lenses. The book presents coverage of the origins of piracy; the attempts by political authority to confront the enemies of all; and the characteristics of the sea that have uniquely shaped the power of pirates.

Drawing from a wealth of sources, the text highlights the complex and often varied treatment of piracy throughout the ages. Tying together this comparative coverage is the delineation by the author of four central characteristics of piracy. Heller-Roazen claims that 'piracy involves a region in which exceptional legal rules apply' (p. 10); a pirate is an individual who displays universal antagonism; pirates 'cannot be considered common criminals ... [or] lawful enemies' (p. 11) as they often occupy regions of extra-legality; and, as a result, 'piracy entails a transformation of the concept of war' (p. 11).

The aim of this expansive study is, in part, to provide a linkage between classical and contemporary pirates and to investigate the nature of the moniker of terrorist that has often been assigned to the latter group. This connection gains especial resonance during the final third of the text, which specifically explores how pirates operate outside the traditional frameworks of the law of war, the law of the seas, the law of nations and notions of humanity. These chapters emphasise the incredibly frightening aspects of piracy, discussing the expansion of the pirate environment from the seas into the air and the increasing likelihood that this practice is leading toward 'a perpetual war' (p. 189).

Overall, Heller-Roazen effectively demystifies the historical legacy of piracy and strips away the romantic notions that have been assigned to it by pop culture in recent decades. In doing so, the author sets the stage for an important discourse on the significance of this paradigm in the modern world. Consequently, scholars from a broad range of fields will benefit from engaging with the comprehensive accounts of piracy within *The Enemy of All: Piracy and the Law of Nations*.

Amanda Harmon Cooley
(South Texas College of Law)

The Prism of Just War: Asian and Western Perspectives on the Legitimate Use of Military Force by **Howard M. Hensel (ed.)**. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010. 283pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 0 7546 7510 5

The Prism of Just War seeks to compare the Western 'just war' tradition with selected Asian traditions on the legitimate employment of military force. The Western tradition was developed by Christian (primarily Catholic) theologians, and centres around three basic concepts:

jus ad bellum (just causes for the resort to war), *jus in bello* (the actual employment of military force during war) and *jus post bellum* (constraints on the actions of victorious powers). In their highly developed institutional forms these concepts form the basis for the contemporary laws of war and international humanitarian law. The book itself is divided into three sections, addressing in turn the Western just war tradition; the traditions of both Sunni and Shi'a Islam and of Hinduism; and the East Asian traditions of China, Japan and Korea.

If there is a general criticism, it is that the focus on classical traditions is rarely explicitly linked to contemporary contexts, although John Kelsay's chapter on Sunni Islam does aptly demonstrate how al-Qa'eda has misappropriated the views of certain classical Islamic scholars to justify extreme jihadist actions. And the editor unhelpfully concludes that there are 'both areas of similarity and diversity' between the Western just war tradition, with its Christian roots, and the various Asian traditions examined in the book (p. 274). If anything, the book's content suggests that the divide is somewhat more substantial. In particular, there seems to be little commonality with respect to *jus ad bellum*. For example, in Sunni Muslim thought war fulfils a politico-religious, instrumental function for specifically Islamic governance and expansion; in Hindu tradition war is viewed as inevitable, whereby rulers are obligated to use military means to enforce order; while the classical Chinese perspective of 'righteous war' is dominated by the self-serving histories of the victorious, in the words of David Graff's excellent essay, conflating 'doing well and doing good' (p. 210).

With the rise of Asia, and conflict with, and within, parts of the Islamic world constituting enduring themes in contemporary international politics, a better understanding of non-Western perspectives on the use of military force is long overdue. The great value of the book is that it will appeal not only to just war scholars or to those of international law or ethics, but also more broadly, including to scholars of strategic studies, military history, political philosophy, cultural studies and sociology, international relations, and relevant area and country studies.

Chris Rahman
(University of Wollongong, New South Wales)

Alternative Globalizations: An Integrative Approach to Studying Dissident Knowledge in the Global Justice Movement by **S. A. Hamed Hosseini**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2010. 270pp., £75.00, ISBN 978 0 415 49476 2

Globalisation and justice are two terms that are viewed as either compatible or antagonistic depending on your viewpoint. The dominant neo-liberal view is that a further and deeper entrenchment of globalisation will bring benefits to all while actions such as The Battle for Seattle, strikes in Greece, new transnational alliances, the Zapatista movement and the political changes in Latin America point to a strengthening of a counter-ideology. Charting the significant counter-hegemonic shifts through the first part of the new millennium, Hosseini seeks to explore the dissident view to answer whether it can produce a meaningful and workable alternative ideology to the hegemonic neo-liberal market globalism.

Raising questions from the very beginning about how different such alternatives are to 'welfare state protectionism' and socialism, whether reformist or revolutionary strategies would be required to achieve them, the extent to which sustainable consent can be achieved by diverse actors and the role of governments, civil society and the private sector, Hosseini has produced a study of the forces and processes that allow for the imagining of other worlds (p. 2).

Part I presents the theoretical debate on the ideational aspect of 'dissident knowledge' (p. 25). Bemoaning the 'poverty of reductionism', Hosseini develops a meta-theory of 'dissident cognition', explaining the process of social consciousness (p. 25). Employing a 'dual model' to answer the 'how' questions about ideational structure and the 'why' questions of socio-historical changes allows Hosseini's 'integrative' approach to develop his analytical argument (p. 39).

In Part II, the notion that there is a simple anti-globalisation movement is cast aside as Hosseini's approach identifies four 'ideal-typical' visions, of which one can be defined as anti-globalist while the others are concerned with global justice (p. 66). The links between socio-historical changes and 'social subjectivity' are examined to map the growth of this global justice movement (p. 122). What emerges is a picture of a 'flexible mode of solidarity' between visions of 'anti-

globalism' and 'alter-globalism' and the fluidity of new ideologies in their attachments to social classes or cultural identities (p. 123).

Hosseini succeeds in concluding the lasting rather than ephemeral nature of these new social movements through their 'anti-reductionist concept of justice' (p. 208). However, this book is firmly aimed at academics rather than activists and at postgraduate rather than undergraduate level. Not that its approach or its arguments are too involved or perplexing, but simply because the depth of the analysis is required at those levels.

Adrian Gray
(Lancaster University)

International Organizations: Politics, Law, Practice by **Ian Hurd**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. 282pp., £19.99, ISBN 978 0 521 14737 8

Increasingly, courses on international relations have needed to include extensive sections on global governance, and indeed this has prompted the development of stand-alone modules looking at international organisations as the key element of such governance. Understandably, where academic disciplines lead, so publishers of textbooks follow. Most books expecting to serve as texts for global governance modules have sought to balance theory surveys, historical accounts and the analysis of a range of organisations. For his new book Ian Hurd has exclusively adopted a case-by-case method, choosing six key organisations to focus on: the WTO, the IMF and World Bank (dealt with together), the UN (over two chapters), the ILO, the ICJ and the ICC with an additional chapter on regional organisations (the EU, the AU and ASEAN).

Setting up his study to survey in each case the organisations' members' obligations, the level of compliance and aspects of enforcement, Hurd has clearly decided to leave the more general structural history of global governance to others. This approach actually works well: it offers a clear structure for thinking about comparative analysis in global governance, and presents a useful structure for a ten-week survey course (surely no accident). Each of the organisations is presented in a similar way with a clear set of further questions following the detailed treatment of their political and legal elements. Prefacing these cases, Hurd sets out some ways of thinking about global governance and international organi-

sations in theoretical terms, although this is only lightly alluded to in the treatment of each organisation. The final chapter draws together some conclusions and common themes and suggests some general political characteristics of international organisations.

On one level it would be easy to quibble with the choice of organisations: why only international governmental organisations (IGOs) for instance? Why these particular IGOs? Perhaps the UNCTAD would have been a useful example of how things can go badly for IGOs, or the World Intellectual Property Organisation as an example of how IGOs can be impacted by forum shopping. Why no international non-governmental organisations as exemplars of how 'soft' global governance has developed? However, this really is quibbling: Hurd has made his choices and they are perfectly in tune with the intent of the volume. I for one will be thinking carefully how to deploy this excellent and accessible text in my teaching of global governance, and I have no hesitation in recommending this text to anyone setting up a new entry-level module on global governance.

Christopher May
(Lancaster University)

Globalization: Key Thinkers by **Andrew Jones**. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010. 263pp., £15.99, ISBN 978 0 7456 4322 9

Andrew Jones' book is an introduction to the literature on globalisation and an attempt at clarifying contested issues. It has eleven chapters which outline and examine the work of influential theorists, plus a preliminary and concluding chapter. These theorists fall into two broad groups, the first consisting of social scientists who seek an interdisciplinary understanding of globalisation, mainly as a foundation for objective social science research. The second group is that of public intellectuals who promote, urge the reform of or oppose the neo-liberalism of recent globalisation.

The social scientists of the first group concentrate on the roles and relations between the political and economic components of globalisation, and how they connect to modern capitalism and/or to a wider modernisation. The work on which Jones concentrates is that of Immanuel Wallerstein and Anthony Giddens, pioneering theorists of globalisation; David Held and Anthony McGrew, who are considered globalisation's most

thorough and systematic theorists; Manuel Castells and Peter Dicken for their respective emphases on information and communication technology; Saskia Sassen for her thinking on global cities; and Arjun Appadurai for his attention to culture. Of the second group, the more explicit political thinkers, Thomas Friedman and Martin Wolf, are held up as exemplars of a sophisticated political as well as economic neo-liberalism; Joseph Stiglitz is considered the most influential and informed reformist critic of neo-liberal globalisation; Naomi Klein, George Monbiot and Subcomandante Marcos, the Mexican Zapatista leader and intellectual, are regarded as major exponents of a radical anti-globalisation; while Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri feature as exponents of a revolutionary neo-Marxism.

A further response to globalisation discussed by Jones, which challenges the thinking of both the above groups, is that of Paul Hirst and Grahame Thompson. They contend that concepts and theories of globalisation obscure rather than reveal the realities of contemporary political and economic life. Globalisation, they argue, is a myth, a creation of anti-state economic-liberal purveyors of the idea that neo-liberal globalisation is irreversible.

The book's chapters are perhaps best considered as an array of searchlights lighting up the national and global developments that the idea of globalisation incorporates, or, as Hirst, Thompson and other sceptics think, distorts. Undergraduate students or anyone else looking for a clear, well-informed introduction to globalisation and its literature should find the book readable and rewarding; readers more familiar with its subject should find it stimulating.

Norman Wintrop
(Flinders University of South Australia)

International Relations Theory: A New Introduction by **Knud Erik Jørgensen**. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010. 272pp., £23.99, ISBN 978 0 4039 4700 0

Dividing individual theories into wider theoretical traditions is not a new strategy when providing an overview of a field as rich and wide-ranging as international relations. It was no surprise, then, to find that Knud Erik Jørgensen's *International Relations Theory: A New Introduction* took this route in laying out the width and breadth of theory in the discipline. The

core of his volume is composed of six chapters that consider, in turn, international political theory, liberalism, realism, international society theories, international political economy and post-positivist theories, followed by a chapter on inter-paradigmatic debates. Aimed squarely at students, Jørgensen efficiently and comprehensively covers the major traditions, highlights the key theorists and explains intra-paradigm differences. A final chapter builds on the work of Rosemary Shinko in providing first an outline and then guidelines by which a student might develop their own theories of international relations. This core is bookended by an introduction and conclusion along with a fairly complete glossary of key terms and an extensive bibliography.

Jørgensen's initial approach may not be novel but it does earn the title 'new' alluded to in the book's title in two important ways. First, he categorises international theorists in ways that are not common in survey works of this kind, with Machiavelli and Hobbes, for example, nowhere to be found in the chapter titled 'The Realist Tradition'. Instead, these giants are part of Jørgensen's chapter titled 'The International Political Theory Tradition' and his reasoning is clear, if still open to debate. Second, Jørgensen's call to theory in his book's 'Guide to Creative Theorising' is a wonderful addition to a book on international relations theory. Demystifying theory for students is something that every book of this kind seeks to achieve but, by pushing students to theorise for themselves, Jørgensen is taking a further step. In essence, this is not just demystifying theory but democratising theory. Jørgensen's book encourages the student to explore theory not only as something a scholar of international relations studies or needs to know but also as something that the scholar of international relations does, and it is this practice of international theory that sets this book apart.

Dylan Kissane
(CEFAM – Centre d'Études Franco-Américain de Management, Lyon)

How Enemies Become Friends: The Sources of Stable Peace by **Charles A. Kupchan**. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010. 442pp., £20.95, ISBN 978 0 691 14265 4

How does peace 'break out' in international politics? How are peaceful relations made stable? These two

questions are of fundamental importance to scholars of international relations and shapers of foreign policy alike. In this book, Charles Kupchan proposes answers to both and, in doing so, challenges the 'conventional wisdom' that democracy is the answer to either (p. 3).

Analysing twenty instances of peacemaking in international history (including instances of bilateral and multilateral peace across several centuries, continents and cultures), Kupchan concludes that the emergence of peace is best explained via a process-oriented theory. He identifies four stages: the unilateral accommodation of one state by another, reciprocal restraint by all concerned, societal integration and the construction of new identities (pp. 35–52). Thus, peace is created through the actions and interactions of statesmen; its key ingredient is diplomacy, not democracy (p. 3, p. 14).

Kupchan outlines three conditions that make for stable peace, each of which pertains to the domestic characteristics of states: the extent to which states' domestic politics 'institutionalise' restraint, the compatibility of their social orders, and the degree of cultural commonality between them (pp. 52–66). With reference to these criteria, Kupchan distinguishes between three types of peace, which he ranks from least to most stable: rapprochement, security community and union (pp. 30–2).

Kupchan is 'explicitly eclectic and synthetic' in his approach (p. 17), drawing upon realist, liberal and constructivist theories. Different lenses, he contends, are useful because they bring into focus the variety of forces that act upon states at different times; international structure, domestic regime type, individual agency and ideational factors all 'matter' at different points in the peacemaking (and stabilising) process. While this approach may irk some, it will please those who value insight, completeness and detail over parsimony and theoretical purity.

However, Kupchan does not theorise deductively, which hinders his ability to make inferences and limits the generality of his conclusions. Nevertheless, this drawback is tempered by a formidable panoply of case studies, ranging from the Anglo-American rapprochement to ASEAN and from Norway-Sweden to the Iroquois Confederation, which allows Kupchan to control for rival explanations of peace formation. Kupchan's persuasiveness is further bolstered by his care to include analyses of unsuccessful (or stalled) peace initiatives (the Sino-Soviet split, United Arab Republic

and US Civil War, for example). Overall, this book represents a provocative, compelling and eminently readable account of how international peace is forged and maintained.

Peter Harris
(University of Texas at Austin)

Forbidden Fruit: Counterfactuals and International Relations by **Richard Ned Lebow**. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010. 335pp., £19.95, ISBN 978 0 691 13290 7

Counterfactual political and military histories have often been regarded as something of a guilty pleasure. Questions such as what would have happened if Halifax rather than Churchill had become prime minister in 1940 or John F. Kennedy had survived assassination have filled many a volume with speculative alternative pasts, presents and futures. Many have enjoyed reading these, but relatively few have made the case that they are worthy of serious academic study.

Such dismissive views are challenged by Lebow, who presents a strongly argued case for the usefulness and validity of counterfactual thought experiments in the study and practice of politics and international relations. The merits of policy choices such as the invasion of Iraq are routinely evaluated in comparison to the imagined outcomes of other courses of action. Likewise, the identification of any event or decision as being of particular historical importance inherently conjures up the counterfactual in which it did not happen. As such, counterfactual thought is virtually inescapable.

In making his case, Lebow draws on a range of different approaches. The book includes historical analysis of the outbreak of the First World War and end of the Cold War; reports on experiments with academics to explore how they think about causation and contingency; and literary analysis of novels by Sinclair Lewis and Phillip Roth which imagined the emergence of fascist regimes in the United States. There is even a playful counterfactual exploring a world in which Mozart lived long enough to change the course of cultural development in nineteenth-century Europe and the politics of the twentieth century.

This is an ambitious book in which Lebow reaches beyond the conventional boundaries and raises wider

questions of how we think about politics, construct arguments and assess the validity of evidence. As such, it is more than just a book on counterfactuals; it is a work on the philosophy of social science. Not all readers, and not even those who recognise the merits of counterfactual thinking, will agree with all Lebow's conclusions on the role of contingency in historical processes. However, few are likely to read the book and not find something that makes them pause for thought.

John Craig
(Teesside University)

Networks and States: The Global Politics of Internet Governance by **Milton L. Mueller**. London: MIT Press, 2010. 313pp., £25.95, ISBN 978 0 262 01459 5

Milton Mueller argues that for international relations, internet governance has a transformative effect. As he explains in the first part, this is due to the network logic of both the internet itself and the institutions involved in its regulation. These institutions are described in the second part, which focuses on the World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS) and the Internet Governance Forum (IGF). Both embody multi-stakeholderism – the involvement of states, the private sector and an often ill-defined civil society – in deliberation and, in the case of the WSIS, decision making. In reality, however, not all stakeholders are equally influential in internet governance. The United States especially has repeatedly used its power over critical internet resources to coerce other nation states, private companies and specialised organisations such as ICANN into realising its policy preferences.

The third part provides the most fascinating insights. It deals with the four issues driving change in internet governance: intellectual property protection, cybersecurity, content regulation and control of critical internet resources. Each issue is characterised by a 'conflict between the capabilities of open, global networking and the problem of maintaining boundaries and control' (p. 6) or between 'Networks and States' as the book's title sums it up. Open networking is at the core of the standards for internet communication and the organising principle of the communities guarding and improving these standards and defending internet freedom. When nation states or organisations commissioned by them use their leverage over the private

sector to border in and control internet users and content, they rely on the network as well, for example when users are called upon to report illegal content.

Mueller takes a clear normative stance throughout all instances of that conflict: the non-territorial space of the internet has and should be governed by the new global institutions adhering to its network logic. This is the only way to maintain the internet's potential for unfettered communication and innovation. With regard to content regulation, nation states may force internet service providers (ISPs) to take down illegal content hosted within their territory, but blocking content hosted abroad is over the top, especially when political sensitivities are the reason for doing so.

The book is well written, full of insightful analyses and convincing arguments and thus is recommended reading. It shares its only deficiency with most of the current internet governance literature: there is no strong theoretical basis to link it to other work in political science.

Johannes Fritz
(University of Erlangen-Nuremberg)

Foreign Interventions in Ethnic Conflicts by **Robert Nalbandov**. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010. 206pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 0 7546 7862 5

Foreign Interventions in Ethnic Conflicts provides a logical and well-structured overview of the logistics of foreign interventions in ethnic conflict, with a particular focus on assessing the causal relations between the modes and actors of interventions and the outcomes of ethnic conflicts. Robert Nalbandov's book seeks to define success in foreign interventions by identifying the conditions and methods that facilitate and constrain third-party interventions. Working from case studies of ethnic conflicts in Chad, Georgia, Rwanda and Somalia, the author seeks to provide an indication of what elements of, and approaches to, intervention may yield positive outcomes in violent conflicts of an ethnic nature.

Nalbandov's approach moves beyond peace-centric explorations of conflict resolution towards a more goal-oriented approach in an exploration of the causal relations of intervention that could account for the duration, outcome and nature of the conflict. Nalbandov's policy-oriented approach, quantitative research and chronicling of the events in Chad,

Georgia, Rwanda and Somalia constitute the author's primary contribution to the wider discourse of conflict resolution.

The author recognises the importance of legitimacy in the outcome of interventions, and attempts to constitute impartiality, motives, attitudes and strategies adopted by interveners as variables of an epistemologically positivist approach to data interpretation. The author thus attempts to establish the relations between the variables and positive outcomes in interventions. Although this sheds light on the modes of contribution to interventions, this analysis attempts to quantify essentially contested and highly political and subjective elements and concepts such as legitimacy, transparency, motives, military strategy, impartiality and national interest.

The author's professed goal-based approach (p. 45) takes for granted the positive outcome of multilateral interventions, by focusing mostly on the end results of the interventions rather than on the motives behind the decision to intervene and on the nature and extent of the engagement, all of which are essentially political and therefore unquantifiable concepts. The focus on end results leaves little room for questioning the nature of multilateral as well as unilateral involvement in foreign ethnic conflicts under the rhetorical aegis of humanitarian intervention.

As a main policy recommendation, born from a lesson-learned analysis of the case studies, the author prescribes 'institutionalising' intervention as a means to achieve positive outcomes in a shorter period of time. However, the blueprint of 'institutionalisation' proposed presupposes compositional parity (p. 179), prevention and early intervention (p. 163), operational superiority and decisive strategies (p. 161), and principally suggests that the most successful interventions are those wherein the intervener has the blessing of the legitimate sovereign government of the host state. While the circumstances raised by the author are clearly ideal and would arguably account for a quicker resolution, this analysis assumes that the interveners are ultimately more influential on the outcome of interventions, disregarding, therefore, the social, economic and national circumstances of the local population, which may or may not be supportive of or receptive to the foreign presence.

Ultimately, Nalbandov's book contributes to quantitative research on foreign interventions. The author's

methodological choice, however, evidences a preference for end-result, lessons-learned analysis, which ultimately disregards the significance of subjective, discursive, socially constructed and essentially contested issues such as national interest, motives and means of intervention. Ultimately the author relies on the main assumption that foreign intervention is unavoidable and thus disregards an important question: why intervene in the first instance? This issue is largely left unexplored.

Elisa Randazzo
(University of Westminster)

Making Corporate Social Responsibility a Global Concern: Norm Construction in a Globalizing World by **Lisbeth Segerlund**. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010. 203pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 0 7546 7707 9

Increasingly in the last twenty or more years international relations has widened its analytical focus from states to other, non-state actors. This commenced with large-scale international governmental organisations, moved to include non-governmental organisations and now clearly encompasses the private sector as well. These groups' interests intersect in a number of policy areas, of which (global) corporate social responsibility (CSR) is an area of concern for many critics of globalisation and its impact on the political economies of what are often termed developing countries.

In this book Lisbeth Segerlund seeks to understand not so much CSR itself but rather the manner in which the *norms* that underpin CSR have become widely adopted across the global corporate 'community'. Utilising Finnemore and Sikkink's relatively mature Norm Cycle Model (NCM), Segerlund examines the emergence of the CSR norms, their cascade into use, and their internalisation which in the model at least leads to an acceptance of widespread 'appropriateness'. Segerlund offers a useful summary modern history of CSR, with nods back to an earlier set of concerns about international corporate behaviour. This is then reworked through the NCM, briefly introducing important cases such as the Nestlé, Clean Clothes and Nike campaigns as well as the UN Global Compact. Utilising the NCM, Segerlund aims to identify the process by which CSR has been normalised, and which actors played what roles in this process. The study concludes that CSR has not reached the phase of

norm internalisation and thus the comprehensive normalisation or appropriateness that completes the NCM has yet to be achieved. Nevertheless Segerlund is optimistic that CSR will approach and pass through this stage before long, and as such the book might be regarded as an account of the success of norm construction even when such norms are contested and have been amended (or compromised, if you are a critic) as they have traversed the cycle.

Overall this is a very useful and helpful synthesis of available material leavened by some interview-derived insights. The manner in which the NCM has been mobilised to produce a synoptic account of the recent history of the CSR norm is well judged and as such it will be of some use to those researching the political economy of global corporations, and would be a useful addition to anyone's reading list whose teaching touches on CSR.

Christopher May
(Lancaster University)

Mobilizing for Human Rights: International Law in Domestic Politics by **Beth A. Simmons**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009. 451pp., £19.99, ISBN 978 0 521 71232 3

The spread of democracy and norm of peer accountability around the world and the emergence of influential international civil society in the twentieth century have drastically changed the international legal milieu in which international law has become a strong tool to constrain states in different policy areas. *Mobilizing for Human Rights: International Law in Domestic Politics* provides an excellent and thoughtful examination of the impact of this rising international legalisation on state behaviours and human rights conditions around the world. The book tries to answer a striking question: why, when and how would governments choose to commit themselves to international normative structures internationally to limit their freedoms of action domestically? (p. 4) The main part of the book deals with answering this question by developing arguments in regard to treaty commitment, ratification and compliance, and testing these arguments by using a combination of qualitative and quantitative analyses. The main finding of the book is that international treaties matter. The ratification of human rights treaties, Simmons argues, has had positive consequences for

human rights practices in much of the world (p. 350). What is more striking, however, is the way that Simmons squeezes this argument through a theoretically and empirically sound analysis.

Specifically, the book is organised into two parts. Part I includes an introductory chapter that summarises the argument in brief and gives a clear idea about the structure of the book; a very good historical overview of international legalisation in the twentieth century; and two theory chapters dealing with the twin puzzles of the international human rights regime: the politics of treaty commitment and the politics of compliance. These two chapters (3 and 4) constitute the heart of the monograph. Part II consists of four empirical chapters and a very well-written conclusion chapter. The empirical climax of the book assesses the effects of treaties on states and their behavioural and institutional structure in directions stipulated by treaties on civil and political rights, equality of women, humane treatment and children's rights.

Perhaps the most appealing element of this volume is Simmons' theoretical endeavour to overhaul and reinvigorate the mechanisms through which international structures influence domestic politics. Simmons demonstrates that no one theoretical approach has been satisfactory in understanding treaty compliance in the human rights area. She instead focuses on the domestic level where the real politics of change is likely to occur and underlines the power of domestic mechanisms (p. 126). She argues that treaties influence outcomes by altering the political agenda of governing elites; by inspiring and facilitating litigation; and by galvanising social mobilisation. Moreover, Simmons departs from the bottom-up level and elaborates the particular institutional and political conditions shaping compliance and celebrates the local particularities and traditions for international human rights discourse (p. 369). Overall, this interesting and original book not only offers a strong analysis and persuasive argument but also carries profound implications for human rights advocates whose aim is to improve basic human dignity worldwide. Therefore this book should be widely read among students, scholars and practitioners of international human rights law. Moreover, it is also a must read for those dealing with domestic politics and the theory of compliance.

Digdem Soyaltin
(Free University Berlin)

Business, Conflict Resolution and Peacebuilding: Contributions from the Private Sector to Address Violent Conflict by **Derek Sweetman**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2009. 160pp., £80.00, ISBN 978 0 415 48435 0

In an increasingly globalised world, businesses have expanded ever further, including into areas of violent conflict. Such expansions have enabled many businesses to contribute towards the resolution of conflict – this is important when one considers that business is generally viewed as part of the conflict problem in terms of its creation and continuation. Such efforts were largely ignored by the academic community until the last decade. However, as conflicts become more complex it is important to widen our understanding of peace building because, as Sweetman rightly points out, ‘violent conflict, especially on the intra- or international scale, is far too complex for singular solutions’ (p. 3); traditional conflict resolution methods such as mediation are simply not enough – a detailed toolbox of skills is required, of which business-based peace building is a welcome one. Business-based peace building ‘is not a transformative approach to conflict. Instead, it is an extension of doing business by other means’ (p. 56). It ‘focuses on projects that are more immediate to the reduction or resolution of the conflict ... when a company participates in business-based peacebuilding, it is intentionally taking action beyond its standard business operations’ (p. 4). The core interest of this book therefore is ‘how can business – both local and international – be utilized within peacebuilding to help create more peaceful societies and resolve violent conflicts?’ (p. 1)

This book is the fifth in the Routledge series ‘Peace and Conflict Resolution’. After a short introduction, it is divided into two parts. Part I, evaluating business-based peace building, contains five chapters which explore practical business-based peace-building efforts; its analysis shows that most companies use a combined approach, ‘choosing actions derived from the CRS [corporate social responsibility] model ... others adopt the economic causes model’ (p. 48). This part concludes simply and clearly that it should not be ignored by resolution practitioners. Part II, designing business-based peace-building programmes, contains seven chapters, presenting more of a handbook for someone considering starting such an initiative. It explores

violent conflict and business, the business case for peace and theoretical lessons, mapping the forms of actors/steps to developing business-based peace building. Room is also left for future research ideas.

This easily digestible book makes a very welcome practical contribution to the growing literature focusing on alternative peace-building methods. Certainly this is a complex area of work. Nevertheless, in highlighting already existing successful practice which is combined with a useful handbook, it provides a positive and challenging approach, making it essential reading not just for academics and governments but primarily and equally for peace-building practitioners and businesspeople.

Sandra Buchanan
(University of Ulster)

The International Relations of Sub-Saharan Africa by **Ian Taylor**. London: Continuum, 2010. 192pp., £17.99, ISBN 978 0 8264 3401 2

This book is an overview of the contemporary international relations of sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). From the point of view of analysis, the book argues that a predominantly state-centric approach to understanding SSA’s relations with the external world is not altogether helpful. Truly, an understanding of Africa’s place in the world must appreciate the interplay of ‘state–society relations, the society of states and non-state world’ (p. 8) in the context of global relations of production. Equally, the assumption that Africa is outside history is refuted on grounds that the continent, especially SSA, has been inextricably linked with the ‘global stage’ for a long time (p. 1). The book argues for an appreciation of the political context of underdevelopment in SSA. Oil is affirmed as a key variable in SSA’s relations with the rest of the world and, it is argued, has not benefited the people but rather state bureaucrats and the international oil companies (IOCs) and their state backers. The prognosis is that these skewed relations will likely intensify the resource curse in the context of the new scramble for this key asset. The relationship between the European Union (EU) and SSA perpetuates poverty, not development. The singular thread that runs through this work is the centrality of the national interest of key and emerging global players, such as the US, Britain, France, China, India and the EU, international financial institutions (IFIs)

and IOCs (treated as separate chapters) in their relationship with SSA countries despite rhetoric to the contrary.

The methodology of a country-by-country analysis helps to contextualise the discourse. More significant is the analytical framework which harnesses non-state variables in the analysis of SSA's relations with the wider world. The insights offered by such an approach should enlighten the development set that spurns workable solutions to SSA's multiple problems. Indeed, this work comes as a handbook for students of politics and international relations as well as 'development merchants' active in SSA.

The book's framework, though refreshing with its eclectic mix of non-state actors, including criminal gangs, is not new. It has been applied in the analysis of human rights diplomacy by some scholars in the field. Also, there is an enduring perception that Africa is problematic to the developed world. A narrative showing Africa to be a honey pot for the imperial powers might have been of value. However, this shortcoming is compensated for by the key argument that the national interest of the key players does shape SSA's international relations.

Sylvester Odion Akhaine

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Questioning Cosmopolitanism by **Stan van Hooff and Wim Vandekerckhove (eds)**. Heidelberg: Springer, 2010. 229pp., £90.00, ISBN 978 90,481 8703 4

The idea of cosmopolitanism is grounded in the notion of a world society. The phenomenon is characterised by the increasing convergence across borders. *Questioning Cosmopolitanism* is a compilation of essays that presents wide-ranging conceptual justifications of ethical and political cosmopolitanism. It makes a central argument that global convergence does not hinge upon constituting a world state or world government, but is rooted in the sensibilities of the individual in connection with his or her community and the interaction with domestic and international institutions. Thus it presents foundational arguments in defence of cosmopolitanism in the contemporary world.

The book divides the discussion into two broad sections. The first part deals with the moral and ethical subjectivity of cosmopolitanism, considering all subjects

as having equal moral worth, where the harm against anyone is taken as harm against humanity. It presents ethical notions of global citizenship in an effort to preserve identity and solidarity in modern societies. In response to how equal worth can be realised, Tom Campbell and Holly Lawford-Smith foreground important contrasting claims: Campbell argues for a conception based on humanity which takes into account human well-being, where suffering results in a moral duty to minimise it. Smith, however, constructs a practical argument based on justice which is stronger and enforceable. However, the rest of the arguments in this section move in a non-linear fashion and do not address in any elaborate detail the scepticism of a universal ethical standpoint that gives rise to global moral duties.

The second section adduces insightful perspectives about political and institutional cosmopolitanism. It raises two connected questions: the possibility of a cosmopolitan democracy and the role of the state in global governance. Carol Gould instructively argues that increased democratic participation across associations and institutions opens deliberative channels. But can affected people truly participate at the global level? Steven Slaughter extends a state-centred rationale to fill the 'democratic deficit'. At the moment the nature of the problem constraining the international community is more of legal than political legitimacy; the authors could have importantly discussed their views on the transformation of international law to cosmopolitan law as an essential condition of global political self-determination.¹

The project of cosmopolitanism assumes that the world is moving in one direction. In this manner it takes for granted that civilisations are singular. Yet this claim of universal experiences is seriously contestable and future works defending cosmopolitanism will have to overcome this challenge in the face of pluralism. Overall, *Questioning Cosmopolitanism* succeeds in mapping the debates surrounding global justice and provides a useful starting analysis for students of political philosophy and international relations.

Note

- 1 See Jürgen Habermas (2007), 'A Political Constitution for the Pluralist World Society', *Journal of Chinese Philosophy*, 34, 331–43.

Rajeev Kadambi
(Jindal Global Law School, Delhi)

Legislating the War on Terror: An Agenda for Reform by **Benjamin Wittes (ed.)**. Washington DC: Brookings, 2009. 420pp., £24.99, ISBN 978 08157 0310 5

Legislating the War on Terror reflects the work of many people and from the start it seeks to provide an 'agenda' for the war on terror as it is being institutionalised (p. 1), with the need to focus attention on legislative design structures in line with democratic values.

As with all wars, the war on terror has generated both legal and political controversies where the imposition of rules in the criminal justice procedure is seen as unreliable. There is the problem of 'hybrid institutions' (p. 2), as critics even among the established institutions in America see it. What should the US do if it wants to act in line with the values established by its Founding Fathers? 'If we forfeit our values by signalling that they are negotiable in situations of grave and imminent danger', says General Charles Krulak,¹ then 'we drive those undecideds into the arms of the enemy'.

This is what the book critically discusses for reform. While the US faces troublesome questions such as 'how to safeguard civil liberties and human rights in the face of threats' (p. 7), there are still methods to learn from the cultures of other democracies regarding detention, surveillance and interrogation. Further, the book analyses the need to reform the law-of-war approach to detention in order 'to enhance credibility' (p. 46). There is also the problem of long-term detention which culminated in the use of 'secret' courts (p. 75) rather than the normal court we all know. Here the book calls for the 'expansion of substantive criminal law' (p. 99) and you tend to agree with it, as it expounds the need to fight terrorism within the ambit of existing federal laws. This is viewed within the context of the question of a fair trial, which should not be compromised (p. 153).

What is captivating about the book is its clarion call to refine immigration laws instead of using 'blanket orders' (p. 180) which may be 'harsh' and cause injustice. There are instructive arguments on reconciling the demands of public justice and national security (p. 253) with what may cause a 'stain on the honour of the US' (p. 289), such as the episodes at Abu Ghraib and other scandals. There is also the question of whether 'targeted killing' is permissible, a question to which the book admits it is not easy to find an answer (p. 365).

While some changes may have been made by the Obama administration in line with some of the themes within this book, there is still much that needs to be implemented as the world moves forward. Without a doubt this is a book for our times which characterises a complex crisis, and as such it should be considered an important blueprint for legislators and global policy makers in particular.

Note

- 1 'Its Our Cage, Too: Torture Betrays Us and Breeds New Enemies', *Washington Post*, 17 May 2007, A17.

Kawu Bala
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Comparative Politics

Religious America, Secular Europe? A Theme and Variations by **Peter Berger, Grace Davie and Effie Fokas**. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008. 168pp., £16.99, ISBN 978 0 7546 6011 8

In this book, Berger, Davie and Fokas invoke demographic shifts and recent conceptualisations of belief and of modernity to explain the complex causes for the apparent religiosity of America and secularity of Europe. The three eminent sociologists challenge the easy clichés that America has embraced religion while Europe has rejected it and that this makes America an exceptional case in the modernised urban world. They develop this theme by first clarifying the religious differences – and similarities – between America and Europe and then by presenting 'variations' that problematise the cliché. These variations examine different patterns of belief (namely, the religious consumerism of Americans and what Davie calls 'believing without belonging' in Europe), different relations between church and state, different traditions of the Enlightenment and different roles for intellectuals, different institutional forms, different comprehensions of social identity (class, ethnicity, age and gender) and, by way of a conclusion, different practical consequences for domestic and foreign policy.

A central and successful aim of the text is the rejection of the secularisation hypothesis, which assumes that modern urban life necessarily led to the decline of religion. The authors argue that this false assumption has 'dominated sociological thinking for the past 150

years' (p. 2) when it was 'embraced by the founding fathers of sociology' (p. 27); instead, they posit, modernity encourages pluralism and undermines homogeneity. The authors claim, therefore, that 'with respect to global patterns of religion, it is Europe, not America, that constitutes the exceptional case' within the modern world, which means that 'the United States and Europe should be seen simply as different versions of modernity' (p. 44).

This short volume will be useful for university undergraduates or other newcomers to the sociological study of religion, and it will offer such readers a solid grounding in the pertinent issues along with an impressive range of secondary references from the field. The authors also present several intriguing social observations, such as the charge that secular liberals exhibit 'a marked lack of reciprocity' (p. 113) when they do not tolerate certain forms of religious or cultural behaviour but expect religious adherents to tolerate behaviours that they might find immoral (pp. 103–4). However, the book's brevity means that several complex questions are raised and dropped rather quickly, such as the influence of Islam, questions about Israel, the role of immigration and the significant challenge to the authors' thesis represented by Britain, Russia, Canada, Japan and Turkey.

Kelly C. MacPhail
(McGill University)

Changing the World, Changing Oneself: Political Protest and Collective Identities in West Germany and the US in the 1960s and 1970s by **Belinda Davis, Wilfried Mausbach, Martin Klimke and Carla MacDougall (eds)**. Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2010. 334pp., £56.00, ISBN 978 1 845456511

Until recently, the connection between the West German and US student movements of the 1960s was more often assumed than proven. This has changed in the last decade as historians have explored the details of the transatlantic relationship, producing an impressive analysis of the diversity of exchange and mutual influence. This book gathers much of this innovative work in one volume, providing an entry point to the scholarly discussion and a welcome assignable text for courses in the emerging subfield of the 'global 1960s'.

The volume's title refers to the form of politics that West German New Leftists had developed by the end

of the 1960s. As contributor Ingrid Gilcher-Holtey explains, they saw internationalist engagement and transformation of everyday life as two parts of the same project. This meant looking beyond the nation, expressed at times through the transposition of aspects of the German past on to the global present, as Wilfried Mausbach argues in an analysis of the use of Holocaust language on both sides of the Atlantic, or through concrete acts of solidarity with African-American anti-war GIs as Maria Höhn shows. The authors are attentive to the way social practice transformed political thinking. Belinda Davis argues for the politicising effect of travel within and beyond Europe for young West Germans, and Detlev Siegfried suggests that the consumption of African-American music by white West Germans led many to adopt the status of the 'white Negro', with complex political consequences. Martin Klimke shows how the US government watched the emergence of what he has called the 'other alliance' with concern from the early 1960s onward as it revealed the ambivalence of the post-war West German generation's relationship to their patron state.

The editors set an ambitious methodological goal in the introduction, stating that the volume 'focuses on the modes of enmeshment and overlap rather than on patterns of example or emulation within processes of cultural transfer' (p. xii). The contributions fill this programme to a greater or lesser extent with some more conventional diversions into intellectual biography and temporal diversions into the 1980s and beyond. One might have hoped for more engagement with the new social movements of feminism, environmentalism and human rights, and, perhaps more importantly, with the question of whether too tight a focus on the US–West German interface runs the risk of demoting the rest of the world to a backdrop for the transatlantic encounter.

Quinn Slobodian
(Wellesley College, Massachusetts)

The Incomplete Revolution: Adapting to Women's New Roles by **Gøsta Esping-Andersen**. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009. 214pp., £15.99, ISBN 978 0 7456 4316 8

This is an outstanding contribution to contemporary debates about the future direction of the welfare state

in the advanced Western world, principally continental Europe, Scandinavia and the US, which is rich in insights, data, the advancing and testing of hypotheses and, not least, policy implications. Esping-Andersen surveys and synthesises a vast amount of recent research and brings together a number of urgent contemporary issues: gender equality and inequality and the (incomplete) revolution in women's lives and roles; the growth of socio-economic inequalities in recent decades; the decline in fertility in some countries; the decline of occupational mobility in countries such as the US and UK; the growing divide in human capital formation between higher and lower classes, particularly in children's early years; and the issues – the so-called 'pensions time bomb' and the growth of the care needs of the elderly – posed by population ageing. He is no respecter of disciplinary boundaries and his book draws on sociology, economics, demography and child development, among others. It is also, as one would expect, firmly comparative in scope.

Esping-Andersen's thesis is that childhood, and how it is treated by public policy, is of major importance in shaping social outcomes, social welfare and social justice. A negative consequence of the present policy regime in many countries is a decline in fertility rates. This is a consequence of the incomplete revolution in women's lives. It is not to be countered by crude pro-natalist policies or a return to traditional gender roles. A rational response for many women is to have fewer children, even if this is sub-optimal in terms of individual preferences and sub-optimal for society. So a strategy to encourage the production of more babies would both satisfy individual preferences and enhance social welfare. The Scandinavian countries typically invest heavily in high-quality universal early years care, whereas in the Anglo-Saxon countries the availability of high-quality care is skewed towards the better off. Early years care cannot be left to the private market, which will inevitably exclude the less well off; it requires, at the very least, state subsidy.

Esping-Andersen writes extremely lucidly and well and both his thesis and his recommendations are very plausible. This is the kind of book that makes one feel that the sociological enterprise really is worthwhile.

Edwin Griggs
(University of Birmingham)

Green Parties in Transition: The End of Grass-Roots Democracy? by E. Gene Frankland, Paul Lucardie and Benoît Rihoux (eds). Farnham: Ashgate, 2009. 293pp., £60.00, ISBN 978 0 7546 7429 0

The authors of this book state that to begin with the green parties could best be classified as 'amateur-activist' parties which give great importance to participation by all members in their decision making. They hypothesise that over time these parties have turned into 'professional-electorate' parties and they argue that if such a phenomenon exists, it could benefit our knowledge about organisational change within political parties. The contributors to this edited volume cover fourteen West European countries which are then put into comparative perspective for a final analysis in the concluding chapter.

The authors find that there have been changes within the green parties, showing inclinations towards being more professional. Nevertheless, they also stress that things are more complex than their simple hypothesis, and these parties have not completely become professional-electorate parties. The results show that the parties that have come closest to the 'professional-electorate' model are the ones that are most institutionalised. The book shows that the cause of organisational change can be self-reflexive as well as dependent on outside factors. Nonetheless, the strongest change has been caused by major 'shocks' such as electoral defeats with the consequence of losing parliamentary representation and public funding. Combined with these 'shocks', a possible victory for the realist faction against the fundamentalists within the party can contribute to change substantially. This book should appeal not only to those interested in green parties but also to those with an interest in party types and organisation.

The research design proposed by the authors in the introductory chapter brings coherence to the analysis of the case studies. This enables the reader to make comparisons within the cases. Another asset of the book is the division of the analysis of the parties into parties with governmental experience, with national parliamentary relevance, and with little or no national parliamentary presence. This gives readers the chance to compare between these groups even though making distinctions between the parties belonging to these groups is not always easy.

The greatest strength of this book is also its greatest weakness. Absorbing all the empirical data is a daunting task and although the individual chapters are understandable, deriving conclusions from the mass of data is not very easy. What this book teaches us is that each green party has unique features even though there may be strong resemblances in certain aspects, and in-depth case studies are needed so as not to forfeit peculiarities for the sake of generalising.

Direnç Kanol
(University of Siena)

Inventing the Job of President: Leadership Style from George Washington to Andrew Jackson by **Fred I. Greenstein**. Woodstock: Princeton University Press, 2009. 165pp., £13.95, ISBN 978 0 691 13358 4

After Number 10: Former Prime Ministers in British Politics by **Kevin Theakston**. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010. 269pp., £57.50, ISBN 978 0 230 20218 4

It is over 25 years since Anthony King¹ surveyed the literature and compared 'the paucity of writing on the British prime ministership' with 'the richness and variety of the work on the American presidency'. Students of Britain's prime minister are far better served by today's literature, yet they must still look enviously at the quantity and quality of books on the White House and its occupants.

Fred Greenstein's *Inventing the Job of President: Leadership Style from George Washington to Andrew Jackson* and Kevin Theakston's *After Number 10: Former Prime Ministers in British Politics* offer very different contributions to their respective literatures. Greenstein's book is part history of the early presidency, part character appraisal of the first seven presidents. Greenstein takes the framework he developed in *The Presidential Difference: Leadership Style from FDR to Clinton* (2000) and applies it to the first seven presidents, evaluating each man's contribution to the development of the office. For each, Greenstein provides a brief biographical portrait, summarising their early life and career, their experience in office and their contribution to the development of the presidency. He then evaluates each man's leadership qualities, including their abilities as public communicators, their abilities as organisers of their own office, their political skills, their policy visions, their cognitive

styles, their intellectual abilities and, finally, their emotional intelligence.

The result is a readable if occasionally light book. At just over 100 pages, *Inventing the Job of President* does not introduce much in the way of original research, although it does tell an engaging story of the presidency's early development. The book's obvious originality lies in Greenstein's application of a single framework to the leadership styles of the early presidents. In so doing, the book usefully brings together information in a systematic way, emphasising the enduring features of political leadership in any epoch and whetting the reader's appetite to know more about the subject. It is a relatively inexpensive book, and students and general readers will find it an accessible introduction to the early presidency. Seasoned scholars will find the book more useful as a comparative analysis of the early presidents. It is certainly a book that every presidential scholar will want to read, if only to know how Greenstein extends his framework to the men who invented the presidency.

Kevin Theakston's *After Number 10* is simultaneously wider-ranging and narrower in scope. It covers nearly three centuries of history but focuses primarily on the post-premiership lives and activities of Britain's former prime ministers, beginning with Sir Robert Walpole and finishing with Tony Blair. Three chapters cover the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, five chapters the twentieth. An introductory chapter provides some comparative information about the occupants of Number 10, offering an overview of their subsequent service, health, honours, memoirs and money matters, and a concluding chapter provides a similar overview of other countries' former heads of government.

After Number 10 is thorough, well sourced and well written and will be of interest to all students of the British prime ministership. However, the book is largely descriptive in tone, and its principal value is as a reference book. It is limited in its analysis of post-prime ministerial roles and careers, both in terms of function – as governmental, party-political or international figures – and significance – as positive, negative or neutral forces. The book would perhaps have benefited from a clearly established conceptual framework for exploring each post-premiership, in much the same way that Greenstein has an explicit framework for exploring the American presidents. The book might even have ventured to rate the impact of former prime

ministers on British political life. As a reference book, *After Number 10* might also have benefited from the inclusion of tables summarising information about the former prime ministers' lives, such as their age, subsequent ministerial posts held, time spent as leader of the opposition, their time spent in parliament, and so on.

Students of the prime minister will want to have a copy of *After Number 10* on their shelves, but the book is too specialised to be of much use to more general students, even those taking courses on the British prime minister, and the cost of £57.50 will deter many. A paperback would be desirable. Finally, the subject matter itself makes this something of a niche book. It sets out to show that former prime ministers 'have done plenty of worthwhile, interesting and significant things in the years after they have left Number 10' (p. 13). Although the book highlights some interesting careers, at best it only qualifies slightly Matthew Parris' suggestion that 'no prime minister has ever done anything seriously worthwhile or interesting after leaving Downing Street' (pp. 12–3). A few have; but not many.

Note

¹ *The British Prime Minister*, second edition. London: Macmillan, 1985, p. 1.

Nicholas Allen
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Global Commons, Domestic Decisions: The Comparative Politics of Climate Change by Kathryn Harrison and Lisa McIntosh Sundstrom (eds). London: MIT Press, 2010. 312pp., £18.95, ISBN 978 0 262 51431 6

Global Commons, Domestic Decisions was published right on time with the political debate on post-Kyoto legislation at the Cancun climate summit in 2010. Harrison and Sundstrom aim to provide a comparative explanation of how we can 'understand the progress that has been made' in global climate mitigation and 'why it has been so limited' (pp. 1–2). While focusing on the ratification of the Kyoto Protocol and objective measures of domestic policy adoption, the book adopts a policy-maker perspective, arguing that domestic factors such as self-interests, ideas and political institutions, but also international influences, explain why countries engage in policy change. It focuses especially on how domestic pressures from interest groups and electoral incentives from public opinion interact with

institutional veto points in the political system. The book is divided into nine chapters encompassing seven in-depth analyses of well-selected case studies (European Union, US, Russia, Japan, Canada, Australia and China). The comparative analysis reveals that it is not single factors but rather different constellations of domestic characteristics that result in varying national compliance with the Kyoto Protocol.

While pioneering in the no-man's-land between international relations and comparative politics, the book is designed for a broad audience of scholars from both fields of research, and is well suited for anyone interested in international and domestic climate policy. Although rigorously executed, the approach of investigating a research question on the global level by means of comparative political analysis on the domestic level contains both advantages and disadvantages. On the upside, it enables a holistic investigation of factors influencing national climate policy output using theoretical tools from both disciplines. It thereby changes the viewpoint for international relations scholars towards domestic opportunities and the obstacles for pursuing policy change within nation states. The disadvantage is that the theoretical complexity of both approaches is limited: readers from international relations may wish to see how the book incorporates mainstream theories of the global commons, whereas scholars from comparative politics will desire a more detailed discussion of the complex interaction between political institutions and interests, especially for outliers such as the UK within the European context.

Aside from these points, this outstanding contribution, including an insightful collection of sophisticated national case studies, will shape future debate on climate politics. Clearly written and rigorously organised, the book provides valuable insights for future research and policy making.

André Schaffrin
(University of Cologne)

Democracy within Parties: Candidate Selection Methods and Their Political Consequences by Reuven Y. Hazan and Gideon Rahat. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. 212pp., £50.00, ISBN 978 0 19 957254 0

Democracy within Parties is a much-needed study for modern democracy, particularly after the Third Wave.

Unlike other democratic rubrics, this book focuses on methods of candidate selection and their political consequences. Its basic argument is that candidate selection affects the fundamental nature of modern democratic politics and governance. The authors of this volume end their analysis by proposing a selection method that optimally (rather than ideally) balances three goals: expressing democratic norms and producing democratic outputs; diffusion of political power; and the health of the party (pp. 173–4). In achieving its objective, the book is organised in two main parts. The first part describes candidate selection methods based on four dimensions: candidacy, the selectorate, decentralisation and appointment and voting systems. Part II discusses the political consequences of candidate selection methods for the four democratic values of participation, representation, competition and responsiveness. Their discussion is well supported by a wide range of empirical cases from different countries from the United States, Europe, Latin America, Asia and Africa. Although its coverage is worldwide, the book is of paramount importance, especially to the so-called ‘Third World’ countries where multiparty democracy is relatively new. Intra-party candidate selection in these countries has been marred by corruption, conflicts and neo-patrimonialism.

The book is well organised and readable with a clear-cut argument. Nonetheless, it has the following shortcomings. First, although the book claims to focus on candidate selection methods, it confuses the reader when it uses dimensions of selection methods interchangeably with selection methods. Yet such selection methods are narrowly dealt with in chapter 5. Second, the authors promised that their study adopts an institutional approach when stating: ‘we do not presuppose that institutions can explain everything, but rather that institutions matter’ (p. 6). Surprisingly, throughout the book there is no attempt to pinpoint the assumptions of this approach, or its strengths and weaknesses for this study. Third, while the authors assert that the book is a culmination of almost two decades’ research, they have relied heavily on secondary data, thereby undermining their claim that this book offers the first comprehensive analysis of the inner dynamics of party politics. Fourth, the book would have made major contributions had it studied specific parties as cases from the selected regions. Despite these admitted gaps, this book is useful to

academics, researchers, pro-democracy activists, politicians, instructors and students of party politics and democracy.

Consolata Raphael
(University of Dar es Salaam)

Origin, Ideology and Transformation of Political Parties: East-Central and Western Europe Compared by Vít Hloušek and Lubomír Kopeček.

Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010. 263pp., £60.00, ISBN 978 0 7546 7840 3

Origin, Ideology and Transformation of Political Parties by Vít Hloušek and Lubomír Kopeček is a comparative analysis of political parties in Western and East-Central Europe during the last two decades. Drawing on Beyme’s (1985) work on parties in Western Europe, Hloušek and Kopeček classify political parties according to ideological-programmatic profile, historical origins and membership in international party structure. Using this typology, social democrats, conservatives, greens and other parties from the Visegrad Four and Slovenia are analysed against their Western counterparts. In fact, Beyme’s party family approach proves well suited to the fluid nature of political parties in East-Central Europe in the 1990s because of its ideological flexibility.

The dominant strength of this work is its argument for compatibility of parties across the European continent which helps to diminish the over-focus that persists in political science between Western and ‘post-communist’ Europe. The cases of Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary and Slovenia are carefully chosen, and the authors take care not to include former Soviet Union republics or the majority of the Balkans where convergence with Western European party models has yet to occur (p. 7). Hloušek and Kopeček find that – while East-Central European parties vary in terms of conformity to party family (e.g. the conservatives), and vary in strength compared to their Western counterparts (e.g. the social democrats) – East-Central European political parties are compatible with ‘family models’ that have long been used to classify parties in Western Europe (p. 223).

Admittedly, Hloušek and Kopeček prefer ideology over other organisational aspects when analysing political parties. This prevents them from engaging

with other interesting studies recently conducted (Butora, Krastev, Ucen) on party politics in Central Europe. Particularly, the rise of populist parties in that part of Europe during the mid-2000s as a result of charismatic leadership and anti-liberalism raises interesting questions concerning the differences in party family strength between Eastern and Western Europe. Hloušek and Kopeček's elevation of ideology over organisation sees many populist parties falling into the conservative party family – Law and Justice (PiS) in Poland; Hungarian Civic Union (Fidesz) in Hungary – or defying categorisation altogether, such as Direction/Social Democracy (Smer) and The People's Party/Movement for a Democratic Slovakia. The difference between party family strength during the 2000s in Western Europe, where the social democrats dominate, and East-Central Europe, where the conservatives dominate, is correlated with their emphasis on ideology as relevant to a party's success. Were populism to be treated as a distinct ideology (Mudde) or if unorthodox politics were given greater consideration, Hloušek and Kopeček's results would vary.

Ultimately this research encourages more studies similar to this one. This book is an essential read for political party scholars and useful to all scholars of Central European studies.

Melanie G. Mierzejewski
(University of Illinois at Chicago)

The Rise of Regional Authority: A Comparative Study of 42 Democracies by **Liesbet Hooghe, Gary Marks and Arjan H. Schakel**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2010. 224pp., £23.99, ISBN 978 0 415 57776 2

The Oxford Handbook of Local and Regional Democracy in Europe by **John Loughlin, Frank Hendriks and Anders Lidstrom (eds)**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. 785pp., £85.00, ISBN 978 0 19 956297 8

A recurrent problem in territorial politics is the difficulty of comparison: we have not had a consistent language or set of data points for comparative study. We built before laying a foundation, and consequently suffer leaks, cracks and wobbliness in many of our theories. These two very different but enormously

informative books set out to fix the problem, laying the groundwork for a more sophisticated and less impressionistic field.

Hooghe *et al.*, originally published as a special issue of *Regional and Federal Studies*, is a landmark. The authors constructed a stringently validated and extensively researched Regional Authority Index for 42 countries, covering 1950–2006. It identifies the powers of regional governments in each country over time in standardised format. The resulting book is tripartite: a 51-page essay on measurement of regional authority; a synthetic sixteen-page essay on the findings (ch. 4); and 150 pages of coding notes, detailed scores and references. For specialists or students starting a project, the breathtaking table B.4, which gives the scores in detail, will be the most useful part.

Its four principal findings are easy to state. Regional authority in general has increased since 1950; distinctive national identities and democratisation promote it; there is an S-curve, so small countries often lack regional authority but bigger countries do not keep having more governments as size increases; and bigger countries have more variation in number and kind of units than smaller ones. These are all interesting and good to have so strongly confirmed. They should also make it clear to the world that 'methodological nationalism' – assuming states are the right units for comparative study – is less and less tenable.

The potential uses for this book go far. Quantitative work could link the data to all manner of research in policy variation, spending, elections, party politics and fiscal behaviour. Qualitative researchers can and should now locate their cases precisely in the universe of European regional governments. The overall effect is awe-inspiring.

Loughlin *et al.* take a different and more conventional tack. Their book, which began as a commissioned project for the European Union's Committee of the Regions, is an expanded and updated version of the original report covering 700-plus pages of country profiles with only a thin introduction and conclusion. Theory is implicit in its unexplained and unexploited division of countries into the British Isles, Rhineland, Nordic, Southern European and New Democracies.

In other words, this is not a handbook of local and regional democracy. It is a reference book containing

descriptions of the territorial structure of each country, written to a template, with space for authors to comment on key political trends and basic data on finances and constitutional law to serve as background. It complements the Hooghe *et al.* work and will be a boon to anybody trying to figure out how one of the less-reported countries works (until its publication, finding a basic account of something like the territorial organisation of Slovakia was absurdly difficult). Anybody whose library does not buy it should complain. Unlike Hooghe *et al.* its discussions will not be precise enough for it to serve as the sole basis of comparative analysis (though students will try). Perhaps Oxford University Press might later commission a companion that would address the usual topics of a handbook, such as current research on territorial politics and institutions, parties, law, nationalism, public policy, etc. These books will spur and enable the research that would make it worth the wait.

Scott L. Greer
(University of Michigan)

Degrees of Democracy: Politics, Public Opinion, and Policy by **Stuart N. Soroka and Christopher Wlezien**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. 241pp., £16.99, ISBN 978 0 521 68789 8

The cause–effect relationship between public opinion and public policy has now become a well-established focus for research, especially within the context of democratic polities. The general goal of *Degrees of Democracy* is to offer an empirically grounded assessment of ‘how consistently [contemporary democratic] governments make policy that reflects public preferences’ (p. vii). The authors’ pursuit of that goal has resulted in an extremely interesting and productive contribution to the existing scholarship.

Soroka and Wlezien are concerned specifically with the effective functioning of *representative* democracies, the defining characteristic of which is an adequate and consistent correspondence between the public’s policy preferences and the policies implemented by government. Public opinion polls and government budgetary data from the United Kingdom, Canada and the United States are used to measure the degree of correspondence across nineteen

different policy domains. The choice of cases studied reflects countries and policy domains for which ‘reliable time series of both opinion and spending are available’ (p. 4) – a very sensible and appropriate constraint.

According to Soroka and Wlezien, achieving the ‘policy representation’ essential to a properly functioning representative democracy requires not only an attentive and responsive government, but also an attentive and responsive public. The latter necessitates that citizens’ policy preferences ‘be informed by policy itself’ – in other words, citizens must be aware of ‘what policymakers are doing’ (p. 3). When both the public and the government are attentive and responsive, a ‘thermostatic’ policy relationship ensues: ‘When policy increases (decreases), preferences for more policy decrease (increase), other things being equal’ (p. 169).

Soroka and Wlezien suggest that, despite numerous published studies arguing to the contrary, the degree of policy awareness required to sustain representative democracy is such that many citizens could and, in fact, do possess it. Indeed, Soroka and Wlezien’s analysis of the data leads them to conclude that ‘[w]here the public cares more ... there is a good deal of [policy] representation’ (p. 171), though (unsurprisingly) the degree to which that is true will be influenced by various factors, including the ‘vertical and horizontal division of [governmental] powers’ – for example the presence of federalism (p. 4) – and the choice of electoral system.

The thermostat proves to be a simple yet extremely effective metaphor for describing the opinion–policy relationship, and *Degrees of Democracy* succeeds admirably not only in demonstrating the possibility of effectively measuring the opinion–policy relationship, but also in providing an indicator of the degree to which that relationship functions properly in existing representative democracies.

Shaun P. Young
(University of Toronto)

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

Just Warriors, Inc.: The Ethics of Privatized Force by **Deane-Peter Baker**. London: Continuum, 2010. 240pp., £12.99, ISBN 978 1441134172

In this book, Deane-Peter Baker aims to take an objective approach to the increasingly popular topic of private military contractors, with a tangible desire to move the debate past the 'filter of nostalgia and distrust' (p. 184) with which the topic is currently treated. In doing so he takes the route necessary to get to the ethical heart of the question and provide the first step in working out how to improve the current international situation. Taking his title from C. A. J. Coady's early paper on the subject, Baker makes a convincing case that the moral differences between contractors and national soldiers (such as the absence of a duty for sacrifice) should not prevent us from thinking of and treating the two groups similarly.

Baker pursues a three-stage argument with clarity and rigour. The first (chs 1–3) focuses on the potential difference in character between contractor and national soldier. He argues that private warriors possess the necessary virtues to be treated similarly to soldiers, and that there is nothing special about armed force that prevents it from being a legitimate subject of free market forces. The second stage of the argument (chs 4–7) relies on P. D. Feaver's 'agency theory' to assess whether the contractor–state relationship fundamentally differs from the traditional military–state relationship. Baker concludes that the methods of monitoring and punishment may actually make contractors more responsive to the needs of citizens than state military. The book's final argument (chs 8 and 9) uses J. Pattison's 'moderate instrumentalist approach' to assess whether contractors could play a legitimate role in future humanitarian interventions (the most likely use for such a force). Again Baker contests popular opinion, arguing that contractors can be as effective as a traditional state military intervention.

Baker's arguments are well supported with sufficient historical context and anecdotal evidence where necessary. The author's case is an important and timely one, and it works well on a number of levels. The argument reminds readers that many of the criticisms currently levelled at contractors are non-ideal consequences from weak oversight or non-competitive

behaviour. The book's key thesis is that, having dealt with these problems, there is nothing intrinsic to contractors that prevents them from being ethical and just. As such this book is a call for clarity on the subject and a spark for interesting conversation on the topics of ethics of warfare, morality and the market and humanitarian intervention.

Christopher Mills
(University of Manchester)

Sousveillance, Media and Strategic Political Communication: Iraq, USA, UK by **Vian Bakir**. London: Continuum, 2010. 242pp., £14.99, ISBN 978 0 8264 3009 0

The Tabloid Terrorist: The Predicative Construction of New Terrorism in the Media by **Alexander Spencer**. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010. 200pp., £50.50, ISBN 978 0 230 57558 5

There are topics of timeless importance in international relations and such which have only recently gained attention, mainly because they prove that the quality of politics between societies has changed considerably. Both books under review focus on such transformative dynamics as they are interested in the impact of contemporary media technologies and increasingly mediated processes of meaning construction between societies.

Vian Bakir's account of the new media environment for strategic political communication strikes the reader as an especially timely treatment given the contemporary debates on WikiLeaks as well as on various 'Facebook-' and 'Twitter-revolutions'. In his book, Bakir puts special emphasis on the usefulness of the concept of 'sousveillance' for the analysis of the interplay between web-based participatory and rather traditional mainstream media. Relying on Steve Mann's idea of 'watchful vigilance from underneath' – *sousveillance* as opposed to a rather top-down conception of *surveillance* – Bakir elaborates how the employment of media techniques from below alters the context for successful communication operations. While Mann was mainly interested in *sousveillance* as an opportunity to counter omnipresent surveillance within societies (thus, in Foucauldian terms, undercutting the privileges allocated within the 'Panopticon'), Bakir transcends the traditional notion of the term. In his thorough analysis, he shows

that the intensification of sousveillance (think of blogs from war zones or the ramifications of photo and video shootings from prisons distributed globally) has not only resulted in a loss of control on behalf of traditional communications operations. It has also partially altered the mainstream media's agenda and the whole context of societal and transnational communications.

His case studies of the respective developments in the Iraq War since 2003 – the dialectical relationship between embedding efforts and blogging from below and, later on, the intertwinement of politically motivated attempts at sousveillance and rather apolitical habits of taking and sharing trophy shots at Abu Ghraib or postings in military blogs – are carefully argued, insightful and revealing. They should inevitably become required readings on the mediatisation of international relations as they diligently illuminate the underlying complex and at times ambiguous dynamics. Bakir's conclusion that it more often than not has been acts of private, non-intended quasi-sousveillance that have resulted in media-political uproar (as against deliberate attempts at sousveillance), is fascinating and gives Mann's traditional conception a different spin. It may thus be the de facto agenda-building effects of new media technologies and the recirculation of accounts established there in mainstream media that are to be tackled in future research.

Alexander Spencer, in his study of how the so-called 'new terrorism' is being debated and ultimately covered in Western tabloids, shifts the focus away from the media environment to actual patterns of the construction of meaning. However, although he offers a lot of insights into recent trends and debates in (traditional, critical and post-critical) terrorism studies, he says – given the book's title – surprisingly little on media themselves.

This does not mean that the book is without merits; to the contrary, it offers, for instance, a lucid discussion of the research field 'terrorism studies' and its recent turn away from fruitless definitional debates. Consequently, as Spencer states, it is the various societal interpretations attributed discursively to terrorist acts as well as actors that matter most. Such a positioning certainly entails a healthy scepticism towards the notion of a 'new' quality of terrorism, which often goes unquestioned and seemingly implies 'new' counter-terrorism measures, too. And of course, such a constructivist turn in terrorism research opens up the whole field of

methodological debates, that is, *what* to study, *which phenomena* to analyse (and *how* to do this). Here the book provides interesting inroads, especially in demarcating the difference between critical but still materialist terrorism researchers and constructivist yet critical proponents of the field. Spencer's thoughts on that matter – even though they are presented in a slightly repetitive manner – will certainly not encounter much resistance in the camp of those already bent on constructivist thinking. It remains to be seen whether the traditionalists are convinced.

As already said, one is however surprised that media in a meaningful way only surface in the fifth and penultimate chapter. Spencer here analyses what discursively established meanings/metaphors have prevailed in two tabloids' constructions of terrorist acts and terrorism in general. He suggests that the notions of terrorism as 'war', 'crime', 'natural', as embodying the 'uncivilised evil' and a 'disease', have been most popular in the coverage of Germany's *Bild* and Britain's *The Sun*. And he suggests that there is a link between such specific constructions of the problem and various countermeasures taken in both countries. Although that may have been the case, and although the asserted linkages are intuitively plausible at a very general level, it seems that a bit more space and analysis would have been needed really to bring home the case of a thorough predication of terrorism (and ways of how to cope with it) through the media.

Alexander Brand
(University of Dresden)

The State as Cultural Practice by Mark Bevir and R. A. W. Rhodes. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. 246pp., £50.00, ISBN 978 0 19 958075 0

Bevir and Rhodes aim to advance their collaborative research agenda by conceptualising the state as a peculiar type of cultural practice they call governance. Part I develops a hermeneutic view of the state. Rejecting 'modernist-empiricism', they draw inspiration from the tradition of hermeneutics identified with the works of Dilthey, Collingwood, Dray, Winch and Taylor. This position informs an attack on an exemplar of modernist-empiricist epistemology, neo-institutionalism. Contending that anti-foundationalist interpretism is more advantageous, they recommend uncovering the meanings and contingency of action

through historical narratives and critiques. Drawing on post-analytic philosophy, they identify context-dependent reasons as causes and then present their historicist explanatory framework consisting of narrative (sequences of action), tradition (reserves of meaning) and dilemma (conflict requiring adjustment of belief). This perspective pictures the state in terms of agents' experiences and uses context-dependent motives to explain their actions, a viewpoint that turns government into governance, the meaningful practices of encumbered functionaries.

Part II applies the framework through thick descriptions of administrative cases. An episode tracking a minister reveals demanding managerial challenges. Another sequence of stories examines the managerial rationalities of centralising prime ministerial control through special advisers and a politically active Cabinet Office, managerial reforms to service delivery through clear standards, local capacity, flexibility and customer choice, and contending with the dependence of the centre on independent networks. The authors then consider how civil service reforms in the UK, Australia and Canada create dilemmas and how civil servants respond by reinventing traditions. Finally, three stories expose how managerial rationalities produce different kinds of experiences among managers, employees and customers. In conclusion, they defend participant observation and advocate democratic governance, that is, negotiated rule through complex networks of quasi-independent elites.

The effort to theorise the state in light of a hermeneutics of recovery offers a commendable challenge to mainstream approaches to politics. However, the depth of argument and style of presentation in this work are cursory and unsystematic, failing to engage the large body of work on state power. Their interpretism, moreover, lacks a critical perspective capable of explaining the sources of recorded narratives, traditions and dilemmas and fails to make clear why their philosophy of science leads to the particular notion of a stateless governance. The selection of cases, further, lacks methodological justification, simply serving to illustrate the presence of various kinds of experiences among actors. This book, then, offers a concise introduction to these authors' perspective but fails to engage the broader questions of politics.

Joel D. Wolfe
(University of Cincinnati)

Savage Economics: Wealth, Poverty, and the Temporal Walls of Capitalism by David L. Blaney and Naeem Inayatullah. Abingdon: Routledge, 2010. 232pp., £21.99, ISBN 978 0 415 54848 9

We accept without question that we live in an affluent, wealthy and civilised progressive society by turning a blind eye to the 'past' and the 'savage', claiming that savagery can only be understood as immaturity, stagnation and primitiveness. *Savage Economics: Wealth, Poverty, and the Temporal Walls of Capitalism* critically challenges this position and awakens the reader to the idea that in order to imagine alternative 'visions of the future' (p. 196) we can appreciate and learn a lot from the 'past'. Blaney and Inayatullah argue that cosmologies of 'savage' and 'modern' can function simultaneously within multiple temporalities and their book can be read as a rebellion against the temporal displacement of the past and the technical rationality of the classical political economy.

Perhaps the most illuminating part of *Savage Economics* is its revelation about the necro-economics of Adam Smith, who saw mankind as the commodity in the market. In Smith's words, 'the demand for men, like that for any other commodity, necessarily regulates the production of men, quickens it when it goes too slowly, and stops it when it advances too fast' (p. 77). However, it seems that one fault of this book lies in the misreading and generalisation of Marx. While locating Marx within the limits of colonialism and progress, the authors seem to neglect a crucial point: Marx's analysis of progress corresponds to dialectic. Capitalism, for Marx, is progressive and degenerative simultaneously. Progress is not a desired, preferred desideratum but a social fact. Moreover, pointing out that the savage fails sufficiently to generate the surplus that marks economic progress and civilisation, Marx refers to the (in)capability of 'productive forces' in the past; he does not refer to 'savage' as lazy, retarded or stagnant. Second, while proposing an indigenisation of modernity where cosmologies of 'savage' and 'modern' can function together, the book seems to fall into a trap of global capitalism. Globalisation and indigenisation are not mutually exclusive. Rather, they are complementary.

The book leaves the reader feeling that the wounds of commercial capitalism and wealth creation can be overcome by a critical reassessment of our excessive 'needs'. However, an effective and real critique of commercial

capitalism and wealth creation requires a real resistance to the values of the existing system based on social and economic inequalities. Nonetheless, this book is a provocative challenge to our 'untouchable' espousal of modernity and the internalisation of progress.

Fatih Cagatay Cengiz
(Ondokuz Mayıs University, Samsun, Turkey)

How Power Corrupts: Cognition and Democracy in Organisations by **Ricardo Blaug**. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010. 171pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 0 230 21854 3

Beginning with Lord Acton's widely supported statement that 'power corrupts', Ricardo Blaug notes that there is little study of how it does so and he sets out to examine the 'subtle ways in which power corrupts and distorts our thinking' in hierarchic organisations (back cover). Adopting a truly interdisciplinary approach to what he calls 'psychological politics' (pp. 30–1), Blaug addresses the 'explanatory gap' (p. 30) between social scientific analyses of the societal level and psychological analyses of the individual level by incorporating insights from the discipline of cognitive psychology to understand inherently social processes – namely, those in hierarchical organisations.

After a convincing discussion of how cognitive psychology confirms social constructivism, Blaug applies cognitive psychology's insights into human information processing and knowledge construction to hierarchical organisation. He shows that, due to features of the human mind, people are vulnerable to hierarchical forms of organisation in ways that lead to a subordination of the common good to the interests of leaders; turning this analysis of human cognition into an instrumentalist argument, Blaug argues that the most effective remedy against such corruption by power, and the best way to deal with people's inability to decide about what is good for others, is to abolish hierarchies wherever possible and resort to more participatory, radical forms of societal organisation and decision making.

However, more normative arguments filter through: Blaug presupposes democracy as the best form of societal organisation, with the pursuit of some kind of common good as its basic principle. Consequently, it would have been helpful to clarify straight away what is meant by the common good, or rather how it is sup-

posed to be determined, since this forms the foundation of his conception of corruption as a 'failure to orient to the common good' (p. 2). Although Blaug holds strong views on this, he does not make them explicit until the very end. Those views – namely, the book's underlying essentialism regarding the concept of corruption, or right forms of individual cognition (as opposed to those distorted by power) – are ontologically at odds with Blaug's use of Foucault to understand power relations as ubiquitous and central to the formation of individual 'schemas', which structure our construction of meaning.

Nevertheless, Blaug's clear and engaging writing style and the interdisciplinary character of the book make it relevant and accessible for scholars of both democratic theory and cognitive psychology, as well as organisational sociology and anthropology, and also for non-academics involved in (the promotion of) participatory politics.

Anja Carolin Gebel
(Aberystwyth University)

The Political Art of Bob Dylan by **David Boucher and Gary Browning (eds)**. Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2009. 285pp., £14.95, ISBN 978 1845 401207

There are hundreds of books about Bob Dylan, but few of them are good. This is one of the very best ones. It has an interesting, focused, theme and the contributors are well versed in both Dylan and political theory.

How much of Dylan's *oeuvre* is political? Dylan famously denied that he wrote 'message songs' and when asked what his songs were 'about' he replied: 'some of my songs are about four minutes, some are about five minutes and some, believe it or not, are about 11 or 12'. Asked why he no longer writes protest songs he has said that *all* of his songs are protest songs. This enigmatic refusal to give answers to questions is (in Gary Browning's words) 'itself a kind of statement on the public political world'. A song, film or speech act does not have to be *about* politics – or indeed about anything at all – to be political. Dylan's songs are *of* the world (albeit otherworldly ones) and the world we live in is political.

The essays move beyond the usual anecdotes, covering numerous issues that Dylan has confronted, touched, bypassed, avoided and embraced. These include alienation (Andrew Gamble), betrayal (Michael

Jones), charity (Chris Brown), freedom (Elizabeth Brake), moral justice (Richard Brown), political action (David Boucher) and postmodernism (Gary Browning), not to mention the various isms that leave us with no time to think (not just 'socialism, hypnotism, patriotism, materialism', but also anti-Semitism, capitalism, commercialism, communism, consumerism, conservatism, cosmopolitanism, expressionism, fascism, feminism, fundamentalism, imperialism, individualism, terrorism, war and Zionism).

The book's largely historical approach is well suited to the art of a man who is the personification of change and transformation through time (even when he is standing still it looks as if he is moving). From the civil rights movement through his born-again years to Live Aid and beyond (to the land of *Starbucks* and *Victoria's Secret*), Dylan's attitude has been systematically confrontational. His temperament is reliably Nietzschean, even when his opinions are not. This individualist disposition – which manifests itself in Zimmerman's art as life and Dylan's life as art – tells us much more about his politics than any facts about the causes typically associated with him. It explains both his identification with the poor, lonely, sick outlaw and his fascination with the libertarian idea of an American Dream.

Anybody interested in Bob Dylan's politics would learn much by reading this volume. Boucher and Browning have done a remarkable job in producing a book on Dylan written by serious political scholars who are attuned to the spirit of Dylan's art.

Constantine Sandis
(Oxford Brookes University/NYU in London)

Governing Climate Change by **Harriet Bulkeley and Peter Newell**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2010. 142pp., £16.99, ISBN 978 0 415 46769 8

Governing Climate Change is part of the Routledge 'Global Institutions' series and as such offers a brief, yet comprehensive, guide to the ever more complex landscape of climate politics. Bulkeley and Newell's contribution fills an important gap, since much writing has focused on the UN negotiations but neglected other sites of climate governance that have proliferated.

As the authors show, climate change is governed in different sites and at different levels, by a broad range of actors, including transnational networks, local communities and the private sector. In light of the multifaceted

nature of climate politics, the authors argue, regime approaches are insufficient as an analytical tool. They adopt the related, but broader governance perspective to highlight 'where, by whom, how and why climate governance takes place' (pp. 12f.), and with what consequences.

The authors rely on a broad notion of power to answer these questions, emphasising the role of discourse and peer pressure (p. 112). Who governs and how has important, if often overlooked, effects on how climate change is framed and what solutions are put forward. This also has important implications regarding normative questions of responsibility, equity and justice, and poses critical challenges for policy coordination and coherence. To illustrate: private regulation such as carbon certification schemes has great potential, yet participation in these initiatives is discretionary, which creates problems of uneven obligations and free-riding, and raises issues of accountability and transparency.

Each chapter is devoted to one set of actors and their responses to climate change. A section on 'governance issues and challenges' that these responses entail concludes each chapter, which provides a succinct summary of the chapter's key points. The clear structure improves readability, which is all the more important as most actors are simultaneously active at various levels and in various policy sites. Here, the authors could have stressed more how initiatives and actors mutually influence each other, and in particular the interlinkages with the intergovernmental negotiations. The text boxes that are spread throughout the text with complementary and background information could have been used more effectively to that end.

Overall, the book provides an excellent overview of the current climate governance landscape, and is particularly useful for all those who look for a concise starting point into that landscape.

Carola Betzold
(Swiss Federal Institute of Technology [ETH], Zürich)

Citizenship Acquisition and National Belonging: Migration, Membership and the Liberal Democratic State by **Gideon Calder, Phillip Cole and Jonathan Seglow (eds)**. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009. 184pp., £50.00, ISBN 978 0 230 20319 8

Citizenship Acquisition and National Belonging is about the overlooked relationship between political theory

and the *legal* acquisition of citizenship. The ten chapters in this anthology provide a coherent exploration of the 'ways in which liberal democratic states can develop systems of admission that meet its core values of moral equality, individual liberty, and social justice' (p. 1) by examining citizenship through border crossing, legal presence, indefinite remain, obtaining citizenship and accessing national identity.

The introductory chapter by Philip Cole calls for a departure from liberal political theory's overly simplified inside/outside binary used to theorise citizenship. The issue of crossing geographical boundaries and establishing a legal presence is addressed in the second and third chapters by Tiziana Torresi and Philip Cole. Torresi explains how a supranational migration management system can defuse dilemmas on who should be allowed entry by conciliating freedom of movement with the right of communities to shape their membership. Cole uses the contemporaneous example of developed nations like the US and Spain fencing borders and questions their aptness when internalising controls of membership are more effective. In chapter 4, David Owen develops a pluralist theory of political equality through alien and emigrant suffrage as two practices of transnational citizenship. The subsequent three chapters discuss the different prerequisites for citizenship, ranging from the rights of states to institutionalise the rights and responsibilities of citizenship and its ideals in the naturalisation process, support for generous republican values of naturalisation for long-term residents by Iseult Honohan in chapter 6 and the role of language acquisition in chapter 7 by Andrew Shorten, which resonate with extant debates on national identity. The remaining two chapters discuss the failures of erstwhile attempts at creating a common national identity in Britain to facilitate inclusive citizenship. In chapter 8, Rosemary Sales explains that the notion of Britishness is far too contested to unite British citizens. Finally, Steve Fenton and Robin Mann, in the ninth chapter, discuss qualitative findings on how Britain's white 'ethnic majority' perceive ethnicity and national identity. They maintain that Britishness or Englishness is often construed with whiteness and also opposed to ethnic diversity.

Aside from a few typographical errors in the introduction, most chapters are well written, concise and exemplify analytical precision. A discussion of the extremes of ethnonational citizenship exclusion would have added leaven to this work's focus on the legal dimensions of

citizenship. The anthology will be invaluable to scholars of law, socio-legal studies and political science.

John Lowe
(Independent Scholar)

Bonfire of Illusions: The Twin Crises of the Liberal World by Alex Callinicos. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010. 179pp., £14.99, ISBN 978 0 7456 4876 7

Cultural historian Jacques Barzun once remarked that anger is a revolutionary virtue.¹ Marxist scholar Alex Callinicos' *Bonfire of Illusions* is an exemplary expression of this, albeit one that takes the form of a controlled rage rationally expended. The catalyst for this work is the recent global financial crisis; the chimeras being set to flame are those which Callinicos believes are induced by capitalism and its ideological handmaiden: neo-liberalism. These collective and self-deceptions, he suggests, continue to ensure that although recent events have exploded the inadequacies of the current economic and socio-political order, nevertheless the 'illusions have survived the bonfire' (p. x). Thus his guiding concern is to lift the veil by 'demonstrat[ing] the value of Marxist political economy as a means of illuminating the World today' (p. 19).

Methodologically this takes the form of an erudite show and tell whereby Callinicos proceeds by first unpacking the orthodox position on a causal or consequential aspect of the crisis, and contends that such a perspective does not go deep enough in explanation, before then entering a Marxist version to supersede it. Notwithstanding the default critical relevance of Marx in assailing the social delinquencies of capitalism, this is a rhetorically potent and frequently revealing method which cuts across the two main segments of the book. These comprise a comprehensive analysis of the symptoms and causes of the crisis and its geopolitical ramifications. Respectively, these break down argumentatively as follows: the causes of capitalist crises are systemic and related to the inherent pathology of a model that is sloping terminally towards 'a long-term crisis of overaccumulation and profitability' (p. 91). Rescue attempts that do not recognise this are doomed to perpetuate rather than prevent further disasters. Moving to more contentious ground, Callinicos extends this analysis to the geopolitical terrain. The casual monism of the capitalist mode of production (with a seeming nod to realist theories of international relations [pp. 97–101]) is

assigned an underlying role which stymies the coordination required among nations to tackle the negative externalities wreaked by capitalism.

Although clearly offered primarily as analysis, inevitably Callinicos' book begs a practical question. This is where the argument wanes somewhat. Conclusions are vague and Callinicos' honest admission that the left is still theoretically grappling with its 'tall order' (p. 134) looks starkly incommensurate with the urgency articulated by his powerful critique, a serious engagement with a crucial contemporary debate which should appeal to both militants and neutrals alike.

Note

1 *From Dawn to Decadence*, Harper Collins, 2000.

Richard Cotter
(National University of Ireland, Maynooth)

Beyond Borders: Environmental Movements and Transnational Politics by **Brian Doherty and Timothy Doyle (eds)**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2009. 203pp., £75.00, ISBN 978 0 415 46439 0

This edited volume, which grew out of a special issue of the journal *Environmental Politics*, draws together a wide range of contributions on environmental movements around the globe. The book aims to address three questions relevant to transnational environmental politics. It investigates how inequalities, the North–South dimension and the legacy of colonialism influence environmental movements; how national environmental organisations interact with transnational institutions; and what effect national borders have on environmental groups.

The central argument that runs throughout *Beyond Borders* is that 'there are many environmental movements across the earth rather than one' (p. 195) and that these movements struggle, at times with each other, about the true meaning of environmentalism. This notion is further explored in the chapter on 'green public spheres' (Torgerson), in which the author argues that environmental politics is 'necessarily marked by differences and divisions' (p. 31). In addressing these issues, the authors of the subsequent chapters either explore specific aspects of domestic environmental movements in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Burma and Iran, France and Hungary, or deal with individual non-governmental organisations (NGOs) or global justice networks. Chapters that deal

with the latter investigate, for instance, Friends of the Earth, Greenpeace and the WWF, or global justice networks like People's Global Action Asia.

All in all, the book convincingly addresses the questions it sets out in the beginning. The generally well-written and empirically rich chapters succeed in introducing the reader to environmental movements in a variety of settings, for example the sometimes problematic work of international conservationist NGOs in Madagascar, the identity-finding process within Friends of the Earth International, or transnational influences on the environmental movement in Hungary. The empirical richness of the individual contributions seems to come, however, at the price of little explicit theoretical embedding. While the reader learns a lot about the specific cases at hand, there are only scant references to the more theoretical literature on transnational politics, social movements and NGO politics. Since each chapter addresses the research questions from different angles, there is also no clear analytical framework that binds these different studies together.

Having said that, I think this edited volume makes a valuable contribution to the study of transnational environmental politics. Those interested in NGOs and social movements as such will find the empirically rich case studies insightful but might be disappointed by the lack of theoretical innovation. Overall, the book offers interesting insights into cases that are only seldom considered and speaks very clearly to those interested in the *transnational* in transnational environmental politics.

Johannes Kruse
(Bremen International Graduate School of Social Sciences)

Handbook on Multi-level Governance by **Henrik Enderlein, Sonja Wälti and Michael Zürn (eds)**. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2010. 504pp., £145.00, ISBN 978 84720 241 3

Multi-level governance (MLG) is a concept that is hard to ignore and, for scholars of the European Union (EU) in particular, is one that demands engagement among even its critics. It draws attention to intensified and increasingly complex interactions between political authorities organised at different territorial levels and between actors from public, private and voluntary sectors, and raises important questions about the mechanisms, strategies and tactics through which decisions are made in contemporary politics and their implications for democratic

accountability. This volume brings together scholars with a wide range of scholarly backgrounds to reflect on the value of MLG in different contexts, with sections on analytical approaches: MLG in the domestic context; the EU as a multi-level system; MLG and comparative regionalism; global governance; and policy areas.

While a good number of the 31 chapters take the editorial guidance seriously and seek to engage with the concept as set out by the editors in their introduction, others do not. In some instances authors make a passing reference to the MLG concept before equating it with the EU and continuing the discussion of their specialist subject. Of course, there is little or nothing editors can ultimately do about these issues if they want the chapter (which has usually been promised to the publisher). Fortunately in this case there are plenty of chapters that do the job required and do so very well.

Those that do engage directly with the concept and seek to clarify its contribution in different respects include the chapter by Benz on the EU, Sbragia on comparative regionalism, Slaughter and Hale on trans-governmental networks, and Zürn on global governance. In the policy section, a perhaps surprisingly engaging discussion relates MLG to international taxation – surprising because, as the author (Rixen) acknowledges, this is probably not the most obvious topic of relevance to MLG. However, the chapter is perhaps more interesting for this and is written in a way that is accessible to the non-international tax expert.

It is a shame that there is no concluding chapter to pull together the strands of the various contributions and provide us with a state-of-the-debate assessment. It is a shame not least because it is not clear from the individual contributions how the theoretical dimension of MLG has been taken forward by the volume. Nonetheless, this is a valuable contribution to a debate that is not about to go away.

Ian Bache
(University of Sheffield)

Bioregionalism and Global Ethics: A Transactional Approach to Achieving Ecological Sustainability, Social Justice, and Human Well-Being by **Richard Evanoff**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2011. 285pp., £75.00, ISBN 978 0 415 87479 3

In this volume, Richard Evanoff argues for personal, social, political and global transformation to achieve

ecological sustainability, social justice and human well-being. He would abandon maladaptive international institutions and nation states in favour of ultimate authority vested in confederated bioregions practising deliberative democracy. Decisions with trans-local consequences would be addressed via a deliberative confederacy of stakeholder bioregions. Within this framework, polluting a trans-regional commons would require the approval of all the affected bioregions. Ethically, this bio-cultural system accords with social libertarianism, which 'seeks to eliminate domination in all its forms and to restructure the whole of society and its relationship to nature on the principle of non-domination' (p. 209). Here, freedom is redefined not as a licence to exploit the planet or accumulate inordinate wealth, but as freedom from domination by others, with diversity encouraged, provided domination is avoided.

Evanoff has a reply for critics who condemn his proposal as utopian, but uphold the combined power of development and technological innovation to solve world problems like hunger, poverty and population growth. He argues that this dominant development paradigm is harmfully utopian because its false promises do not take into account ecological limits. In practice, this paradigm reproduces domination as elites, corporations and first-world governments accrue disproportional economic advantage while the poor, dispossessed and the planet suffer.

Accepting Evanoff's argument on its own terms, there remain some tensions with his thesis. For instance, he upholds Jeffersonian democracy's land-based decision making; however, the 'checks and balances' so dear to the US Founding Fathers are noticeably underdeveloped in this monograph. Perhaps integrating the 'check' of a democratic global authority constituted upon the principle of subsidiarity would help resolve the disputes between bioregions to the benefit of ecological sustainability, social justice and human well-being. Further, Evanoff is correct that tripartite balance here is desirable. However, if current trends continue, given Thomas Berry's observation that the Earth is primary and the human derivative, it may be necessary to prioritise the ecological over the human in order to avoid biospheric collapse.

Despite such tensions, Evanoff's quality research and stimulating analysis alert us to the sustainability dilemma that is the cumulative result of our ways of

being in the world. He further raises the spectre that we cannot afford to leave this malaise unaddressed much longer if we are to achieve much-needed ecological and socio-political balance. As such, *Bioregionalism and Global Ethics* is poignant reading in our times.

Christopher Hrynkow
(University of Saskatchewan)

The Truth about Trade: The Real Impact of Liberalization by **Clive George**. London: Zed Books, 2009. 178pp., £16.99, ISBN 9781848132986

The Truth about Trade is a blistering critique of the prevailing neo-liberal narrative regarding the benefits of trade liberalisation, written from the perspective of an economist involved in preparing sustainability impact assessments (SIAs) of the EU's trade policy. The book opens with an introductory section which outlines (in rather basic terms) the major debates surrounding the issue of trade liberalisation before overviewing the EU's SIA process. It also sets out the author's aim: to assess the impact of trade liberalisation for sustainable development. The empirical 'meat' is found in the middle section, which focuses on the potential impact of the current Doha Round of multilateral trade talks, with chapters dedicated, respectively, to non-agricultural market access, agricultural trade, services, trade-related intellectual property rights, the so-called 'Singapore Issues' and WTO rules. This is followed by a concluding section in which the author outlines the small impact the SIAs have actually had on EU trade policy and the role of 'Aid for Trade' and other 'flanking' trade policies. Before concluding, Clive George also proposes a series of reforms to the system of global trade governance in the context of a post-crisis world.

The book profiles itself as being based on a ten-year programme of SIAs of EU trade policy and thus grounded in an evaluation of the economic costs and benefits of market opening. It does tell a very interesting and well-documented story of the overstated benefits of merchandise and agricultural trade liberalisation (especially for developing countries), but the (ostensible) scarcity of quantifiable data (on which the SIAs largely rely) in other issue areas of the Doha Round means that the case against full-scale liberalisation is not as convincingly presented in other chapters. Moreover, the author's argument is generally sketched out in

rather broad strokes so that a trade policy scholar will probably not come across anything new in George's critique of the neo-liberal trade paradigm while finding several of his more assertive claims to be under-supported. Much the same can be said of his proposals for reforming the international trade system. Nevertheless, the author's approach also betrays an aspiration to engage a broader audience. This is to be heartily welcomed as the book can contribute towards sparking a more productive (and inclusive) discussion about trade liberalisation – usually the domain of technical specialists – which moves us beyond the pervasive, blind faith in the mantra of free trade.

Gabriel Siles-Brügge
(University of Sheffield)

Complexity and Public Policy: A New Approach to 21st Century Politics, Policy and Society by **Robert Geyer and Samir Rihani**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2010. 215pp., £23.99, ISBN 978 0 415 55663 7

It has become expected of policy makers, scholars and commentators to refer to a whole raft of global challenges – from the economic downturn through terrorism and the resource curse to climate change – as complex. While indeed the complexity of these problems is staggering, only a very small number of such articulations attempt to engage the analytical framework of complexity thinking for the purposes of explanation and understanding. For the majority, however, complexity is merely a descriptor for the intricate and interconnected nature of these challenges.

In this respect, Robert Geyer and Samir Rihani's book makes a discerning intervention, addressing this lacuna by offering not merely a much needed discussion of the propositions of complexity thinking, but also by spelling out the implications of the complexity research agenda for policy making. While there is no single complexity theory, but rather a range of approaches that draw on complexity-inspired ideas and concepts, Geyer and Rihani demonstrate that the dynamism, unpredictability and dramatic changes observed across complex systems should not be considered surprising but as a normal part of social and political life. Thus, their endeavour directly challenges (if not debunks) models of governance based on a linear view of the world.

As the book suggests, the pervasive randomness of global life should not be perceived as disempowering.

Instead of despair, Geyer and Rihani emphasise that policy making in complex contexts is not impossible; however, it requires the development of relevant management skills premised on the awareness that there are limits to the capacity for predictability and control. In this respect, the book goes on to expose the extent to which decision makers are willing to ignore the need to adapt or change failing governing practices only to maintain the mode of business as usual.

As Geyer and Rihani indicate, pandering to a truncated and reductionist representation of the reality of global life has turned the study and practice of politics into a 'miserable science' (p. 73). The book rectifies this shortcoming by offering a thoughtful outline of the foundations of a complexity-inspired public policy. It is expected that the insights of Geyer and Rihani would benefit the explorations of advanced undergraduate students as well as assist the inquiry of established scholars. The volume can be used as a textbook in grappling with the 'complexity' of applying the complexity paradigm to the study of politics as well as a manual for policy makers, informing them about the ways in which complexity thinking can help them develop relevant managerial practices and governance strategies.

Emilian Kavalski
(University of Western Sydney)

Governing Modern Societies: Towards Participatory Governance by **Hubert Heinelt**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2010. 171pp., £75.00, ISBN 978 0 415 49655 1

Hubert Heinelt's book is a useful and very sophisticated commentary on the debate about governance and participation in modern society. His central claim is that governance is a concept of long reach, stretching beyond the state into civil society. This makes a re-evaluation of governance necessary if we want to increase meaningful participation in democratic societies. He outlines the key conceptual issues in a first chapter, before exploring what are to his mind core benchmarks for good governance: effectiveness, efficiency and legitimacy.

While the first chapter might be somewhat lengthy, it is an excellent summary of the current debate in which Heinelt manages to handle admirably the different dimensions of the various conceptual levels.

Throughout the book he inserts some examples of governance issues that are intended to illuminate the issues he discusses. For Heinelt, the EU and structural funds exemplify the difficulties (and successes) of good governance and democratic participation.

He also includes a discussion on democratic governance and the size of the democratic unit (ch. 6). It is not immediately clear why Heinelt thinks this essential but the chapter goes on to present some of the most fascinating arguments in the book about multi-level governance and what he calls flexible power geometry. In essence, it is Heinelt's attempt to map governance throughout the multiple layers of society and explore the possibilities of democratic participation. He provides figures and diagrams that helpfully illustrate some of these vexed issues.

While Heinelt has a long track record of working in the field, he uses highly conceptual language which makes the book a difficult read at times. Consider this: 'A strict and isolated coupling of second order governing with majoritarian decision-making is already broken by the embeddedness of second order governing in processes of meta governing through which second order governing is influenced indirectly by communicative rationality and by the forms of participation based on (public) arguing' (p. 24). Later on Heinelt points out: 'From the aspect of a participatory design, it is significant that these debates that lead to meta governing have to be accessible' (p. 125). How true this is for academic debate too.

Still, the book offers a good summary of the problems of governance and participation, albeit in a highly conceptual language. It will be of interest to students at postgraduate level and above.

Axel Kaehne
(Cardiff University)

Nationalism and Multiculturalism in a World of Immigration by **Nils Holtug, Kasper Lippert-Rasmussen and Sune Lægaard (eds)**. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009. 249pp., £52.00, ISBN 978 0 230 22434 6

At a time when debates on multiculturalism's differential rights accorded to migrant groups are considered tendentious, each chapter in this edited anthology

defuses various dilemmas surrounding multiculturalism, immigration and nationalism with consistently high standards of analytical rigour.

The important point of departure made in the introduction and first chapter on liberal nationalism by Sune Lægaard is the postulation of nationalism's mutual exclusivity between nation and state. Lægaard constructs a sound argument to explain why a restricted policy of immigration is an aberration to liberal nationalism. The second chapter by Simon Caney is seminal in offering a cosmopolitan 'political culture' that caters to the cultural requirements of immigrants and minority ethnic groups who do not embody transnational or cosmopolitan outlooks. The third chapter by Lippert-Rasmussen criticises liberal justifications for group rights and maintains that their adoption will presage disadvantage for future generations of minority ethnic groups. The fourth chapter by Holtung opposes difference-blind rights on the grounds that they are neither sufficient nor necessary. The remaining four chapters address the occasionally uneasy and tenuous relationships between nation states and their culturally distinct immigrants. The chapters by Scheffler and Carens both affirm the need for immigrants to embrace liberal democratic norms and for nation states and immigrants to adapt to one another. Scheffler differs in his argument that the false dilemma of preserving either the host country's national culture or culture of immigrants has oversimplified matters when neither can be preserved in unaltered form. Carens argues that immigrants can be reasonably expected to tolerate views and practices of the mainstream they find antithetical. The penultimate chapter by Weinstock argues that because immigration is not always an act of free will, immigrants should not be obliged to conform culturally; their full integration is nevertheless not *undesirable*. The final chapter by Føllesdal explains why a common European cultural identity will not address the multiple challenges of immigration facing European Union countries.

The analytical precision and philosophical acumen evident in the chapters renders this anthology essential for scholars of political philosophy. The chapters are well written but the anthology is ill suited for undergraduates who might find some arguments obscure. Postgraduates familiar with the debates may find the collection invaluable and accessible. For improved readability and coherence, the different

chapters could have been subdivided by theme in the contents page.

John Lowe
(Independent Scholar)

Environmental Skepticism: Ecology, Power and Public Life by **Peter J. Jacques**. Farnham: Ashgate, 2009. 222pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 0 7546 7102 2

In this passionate book, Peter Jacques offers wide-ranging reflections on a host of modern pathologies – scientism, economism and imperialism, among others – and links them to the anti-environmentalist ideology he calls environmental scepticism. Environmental sceptics 'challenge the reality and/or the importance' of ecological problems (p. 18). Environmental scepticism is based primarily in the United States, has close ties to conservative think tanks and is best understood as a social movement – or counter-movement – that conceals its agenda by adopting the trappings of modernist science. When responding to sceptics, Jacques convincingly argues, environmentalists have often fallen into 'the science trap', which is 'the tendency to meet scientism with scientism' (p. 174). By countering sceptics' claims with ever more urgent pleas to listen to science, environmentalists have failed to treat scepticism as a civic problem (p. 4).

The first chapter draws on social movement theory to present environmental scepticism as a coherent counter-movement, arguing that it rose to prominence after the end of the Cold War. Jacques then links environmental scepticism to William T. Hipwell's notion of 'Industria', a global corporate-government power network built on rapacious capitalism, colonialism and ecological destruction. Environmental scepticism is based on 'deep anthropocentrism', which reduces nature to economic resources, as well as the 'possessive individualism' of neo-liberal doctrine. Jacques goes on to examine how environmental scepticism portrays various Others: 'hapless undeveloped Africa, savage Indian, women as psychosocial phobic dependents of victimology and hysteria, and nature as disposable property designed for possession' (p. 118). The counter-movement also dismisses species extinction, resource depletion and other aspects of 'civilization collapse' (p. 120). The concluding chapter revises concepts from Bruno Latour's *Politics of Nature* to argue for an inclusive ethos of global governance, an 'eco-

logical demos'. Seeking to avoid both scientism and relativism, Jacques specifies broad criteria for assessing competing claims in public discourse (p. 150). He says little about institutional design, but given the powerful interests at stake, Jacques suggests that civil disobedience and 'popular seizures of ecological spaces' might help create spaces for civil discourse (p. 167).

As Jacques acknowledges, the book does not (with a few exceptions) address 'the empirical validity of skeptical claims' (p. 79). This is unfortunate, because as the recent 'climategate' episode suggests, environmentalists may have something to learn from thoughtful sceptics. Nonetheless, for those interested in the big questions of our time, *Environmental Skepticism* offers useful insights on crucial issues.

Mark B. Brown
California State University, Sacramento

Public Policy and Mass Media: The Interplay of Mass Communication and Political Decision Making by **Sigrid Koch-Baumgarten and Katrin Voltmer (eds)**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2010. 233pp., £70.00, ISBN 978 0 415 48546 3

Although there is a multiplicity of existing research that explores the relationship between the mass media and the political sphere, Koch-Baumgarten and Voltmer are right to assert in their introduction that studies dealing specifically with the media-policy-making nexus remain rather 'patchy' and 'incoherent' (p. 2). Therefore, this two-part edited volume on the impact of the media on 'the processes and outcomes of political decision making' (p. 2) is a timely addition to the literature.

The five essays in Part I focus on policy debates, with a central theme being to examine 'the question of causality' (p. 9) in the policy-making process. Issues are explored from several theoretical perspectives, including agenda setting and indexing hypothesis paradigms, with each chapter, to varying degrees, examining the extent to which the media and various policy actors influence policy agendas. A range of policy areas are covered, from Jones and Wolfe's longitudinal study of the impact of newspaper agendas on US congressional policy making, to Walgrave and Lefevere's empirical study of the extent to which Belgian party manifestos are influenced by media coverage of policy issues. Part II contains five essays, where the emphasis shifts to policy institutions and 'the structured context in which poli-

cymaking takes place' (p. 10). A notable inclusion is Brown's essay which draws on social network analysis to develop a new theoretical understanding of the policy process, in which he concludes: 'the sensitivity of policymakers to the media stems not from any ability to determine policy outcomes but from the impact of media coverage on the dynamics of politics' (p. 138) – a view shared by Jones and Wolfe (p. 38).

The book succeeds in demonstrating that while the media is an influential agent in shaping 'policy processes, the content of policy debates and the institutional contexts of policymaking' (p. 224), the extent of this influence depends on the policy field and time frame in which the debate occurs. Covering a diverse range of policy areas this volume would make essential reading for postgraduates and scholars specialising in media, political communication and public policy. However, the cost of £70.00 could deter many potential readers. Also, scholars interested in case studies beyond a Western Euro-American context (only four countries are represented: Belgium, Germany, the UK and the US), might be disappointed. Nonetheless, this is a valuable edition which offers an overdue evaluation of contemporary theoretical debates on the interplay between the media and policy makers.

Lisa Thomas
(University of Bedfordshire)

Global Energy Governance in a Multipolar World by **Dries Lesage, Thijs Van de Graaf and Kirsten Westphal**. Farnham: Ashgate, 2010. 217pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 0 7546 7723 9

Dries Lesage *et al.* propose a comprehensive account of the current status of global energy governance under the normative framework of sustainable development. The authors set themselves an ambitious task, since they aim at demonstrating that growing multipolarity – defined as leadership – is the fundamental plug to enhance global energy governance. They tackle the subject both theoretically and empirically. First, they present the current problems of energy governance, by illustrating the priorities for the world energy regime and describing the institutions that are presently in place to face them. Second, they focus on the major states' concerts,¹ centred around the G8, to evaluate their achievements and prospects for future commitments.

The book successfully combines economic and historical analyses. In fact, it develops an original scheme about the role of leadership in concerts that considers their inputs, process and outputs. The ideal-typical map elaborated to explain the relationship between the extended G8 system and global energy governance is one of the most interesting aspects of this book. Essentially, the authors demonstrate how major power clubs have been able to find cheap solutions for climate change but have not arrived at major breakthroughs in terms of leadership or sustainable development. Nonetheless, they believe that 'these clubs can be turned into more effective policy forums' (p. 180) because they provide the highest chances for the establishment of a sustainable energy cooperation system.

Undoubtedly, the book does a very good job in unwrapping the process behind energy concerts and builds a strong bridge between the potential role of the G8+5 as a leader group and its renewed impact on the rest of the world's energy habits and choices. Lesage, Van de Graaf and Westphal's track of the G8's role in global energy governance brilliantly marries with the theorised role of leadership in a system composed of markets and institutions. However, in order to strengthen their argument, the writers should have more thoroughly considered other potential forms of leadership in the energy field besides the G8. The articulate exposition of the authors' arguments and the clear-cut outcomes resulting from their analysis partially make up for this omission. Overall, the book is very well written. It represents a valuable theoretical advancement in the literature on energy governance, and it is likely to open the way to further studies. It is therefore highly recommended for all scholars interested in energy geopolitics and international organisations.

Note

1 In historical-diplomatic language 'concert' refers to agreement among powerful states. It was first used with reference to the outcome of the Congress of Vienna (1814-15).

Veronica Lenzi
(IMT Institute for Advanced Studies, Lucca, Italy)

Totalitarian Capitalism and Beyond by **George Liodakis**. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010. 236pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 0 7546 7557 0

George Liodakis agrees with the Marxian view that in the 1970s capitalism faced an over-accumulation crisis

which led to a new emerging stage of the capitalist economy with a corresponding transnational state form, totalitarian capitalism. The author envisages the well-known concept of neo-liberalism as a spatio-temporal restructuring of capitalism. He sorts out a tangle of several approaches in order to demonstrate that neo-liberalism as the transnationalisation of capital brings about a new period of increasing real subsumption of labour under capital. There is an expanding primitive accumulation in which the service industry and innovation play a pivotal role in accommodating the respective subsumption of labour, but also nature and science. This entails at the same time a convergence and divergence of the law of value. The immaterial production causes tension between the integration of knowledge in the global value production and the socialisation of this very production system. The real subsumption of intellectual labour creates continuous crisis, which forces the capitalist class to extend the formal subsumption of common knowledge by the monopolisation of intellectual property rights. Technological innovations function as counteracting tendencies of the falling rate of profit.

The international operation of the law of value combined with the financialisation trend creates further contradictions between international institutions and the nation states. Therefore totalitarian capitalism differs from the imperialist stage of inter-state competition. Totalitarian capitalism also signals a severe environmental crisis as the regeneration of nature shows its limits.

In the final chapters, Liodakis sketches the possibilities of a socialist transformation of society based upon the contradictions mentioned which touch subjects such as reformism, the USSR, current Marxian political philosophy and the call for a transnational strategy.

The author's discussion draws on a classical Marxist analysis, but he engages with post-Keynesian and other heterodox theorists as well. Therefore, this book is an important and original contribution to new developments within the Marxian paradigm. This book can be used by graduate students and researchers to compare different radical interpretations of the current capitalist transformation: Harvey, Arrighi, Sekine, Carchedi, etc. The author shows that the classical Marxian theories of imperialism and the state cannot give a sufficient explanation of contemporary capitalism, but at the

same time he uses Marxian economic concepts to broaden the horizon of our understanding of familiar buzzwords such as globalisation. On the whole, the book is a good all-round analysis of macroeconomic dynamics linked to political phenomena in accessible language.

Jelle Versieren
(Ghent University)

Paradoxes of Modernization: Unintended Consequences of Public Policy Reform by **Helen Margettts, Perri 6 and Christopher Hood**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. 272pp., £45.00, ISBN 978 0 19 957354 7

This book is dedicated to the study of the unintended and unanticipated consequences of public policy reform. This is set within a theoretical framework of modernisation and considers how ‘after two centuries or so of modern social science ... do surprise and paradox still so commonly attend interventions in social affairs?’ (pp. 3–4) The first section provides an introduction exploring the paradoxes of modernisation. It provides a wide-ranging and thorough review of literature detailing three pillars of modernisation and a classification of the different types of outcome that can arise from public policy interventions.

The book then moves on to look at some case studies which are set out thematically. The second part explores examples of societal innovations featuring university rankings and cyber-crime. The third section of the book features state-centred reforms drawing on case studies from policies to tackle child under-nutrition in India, the NHS IT programme, and British Railways since 1945. The fourth part of the book looks at the modernisation of the state itself and identifies two examples with different outcomes: first, how performance-related pay continues even though it fails to motivate; and second, the success, albeit paradoxically, of performance management in English local government. A final section provides a conclusion and attempts to derive common causal factors from the case studies and identify those elements in tension and different types of requisite variety. This section also categorises the case studies in terms of their outcome, from happy surprises to disappointments, and identifies for future policy makers some necessary conditions for successful modernisation to occur.

The book is highly relevant to the modern complex world of evidence-based policy and joined-up government. It provides a valuable contribution to the field. Modernisation is an implicit theme of much of public policy and political rhetoric, yet is rarely explicitly considered in public administration literature. The authors provide an excellent balance between theoretical analysis and detailed and relevant case studies across a range of policy domains. The material covered provides a framework in which to consider public policy more effectively and the theoretical arguments would be useful to scholars working in policy areas beyond those examined. The only critique that can be made is that it is perhaps a little academically ambitious to explore a wide range of case studies and analyse the consequences of these while attempting to develop thoroughly the concept ‘modernisation’ across one edited volume.

Andrew Steven Gunn
(University of Leeds)

National Self-Determination and Justice in Multi-national States by **Anna Moltchanova**. Dordrecht: Springer Verlag, 2009. 204pp., £89.99, ISBN 978 90 481 2690 3

In this thought-provoking work, Anna Moltchanova articulates a rigorously developed position which promises to harmonise the rights of nations within multinational federations to exercise their self-determination in a manner that will not attenuate the hegemony of the wider host state. At a time when international law remains reticent on the requisite political rights and powers of non-state groups in multinational states, this work offers a timely philosophical perspective. The author takes special care to illuminate the discernible relationship between the theoretical and empirical realities of the international system of governance in a manner that can facilitate knowledge transfer.

In short, Moltchanova presents an original concept of nationhood embedded in a common political culture. In her own words, ‘nationhood can be defined as a political culture based upon the shared end of acquiring or maintaining effective agency having to do with self-determination’ (p. 83). She is quick to point out that the existence of a common political culture does not automatically endow a national group

with the right to self-determination or entitle national groups to statehood. This definition is a cogent one because it avoids presupposing differential treatments or entitlements in its very definition and distinguishes between nations that have substantially similar non-political cultures. Assuming that self-determination does not necessarily require independent statehood, Moltchanova posits that a sub-state has the moral right to determine its political future in such a way that preserves the territorial integrity of the host state. This, she maintains, will in turn enhance the self-determination of sub-states as the preservation of territorial integrity and stability of the host state is expected to promote cooperation between the majority and minority. Once equality of self-determination and human rights for national groups is present, international law can be revised to support the equality of a state group's self-determination within multinational states. The core principle that can then be applied empirically is a division of power between a central government and its national subunits. Sub-states can be allocated sufficient resources to determine their political futures harmoniously. In this way, self-determination can be institutionalised without the visible effects of minority nations being marginalised in nation states.

A criticism of the work can be found in Moltchanova's definition of 'nationhood' which contains subjective elements that provide for latitude in interpretation and application by political elites. Although well written, the work is best suited to researchers and postgraduate students.

John Lowe
(Independent Scholar)

The Anatomist: The Autobiography of Anthony Sampson by **Anthony Sampson**. London: Politico's, 2008. 283pp., £19.99, ISBN 978 1 84275 229 6

Towards the end of his life, the journalist Anthony Sampson (1926–2004) wrote this posthumously published autobiography. A journalist's work is notoriously ephemeral, but Sampson concentrated on big issues and dug deeply into them. As well as newspaper and magazine articles, he also wrote books, over twenty in all. These included studies of international banking, the arms trade, civil aviation and the oil companies. His first book, *Drum: A Venture into the New Africa*

(1956), drew on the four years he spent as a magazine editor in Johannesburg, and one of his latest, in 1999, was the authorised biography of Nelson Mandela. But the book that attracted most attention, *Anatomy of Britain*, a detailed analysis of the institutions of the nation and how they interacted, appeared in 1962. It was updated in 1965 as *Anatomy of Britain Today*. He regarded himself as writing in the tradition of Walter Bagehot, quoting at the outset Bagehot's dictum that 'great nations' were in danger of failing 'from not comprehending the great institutions they have created' (p. 73). Peter Hennessy, in his foreword to *The Anatomist*, claims that Sampson's books 'were the keys which opened our minds to how our country operated' (p. xi).

By the age of 40 Sampson held a high reputation, as well as large financial rewards, and as an influential journalist had access to many of the world's leading figures. In the 1970s he worked with Willy Brandt and Edward Heath, helping to draft the report *North–South: A Programme for Survival* (1980). His political sympathies were progressive. In all the general elections between 1950 and 1976 he voted Labour, but in 1979 supported a Liberal candidate. This led to activity in the Social Democratic party, formed in 1981 under the somewhat erratic leadership of Roy Jenkins, David Owen, Shirley Williams and Bill Rodgers. As Sampson observes, the new party failed to break the mould of left-of-centre British politics in a period when Margaret Thatcher was recasting the political right.

Although intended for the general reader, this fluently written and often insightful account of a career interwoven with some of the principal economic and political aspects of the second half of the last century is not without interest to a more academic readership.

David E. Martin
(University of Sheffield)

Framing the Global Economic Downturn: Crisis Rhetoric and the Politics of Recessions by **Paul 't Hart and Karen Tindall (eds)**. Canberra: Australian National University, 2009. 351pp., AUS\$29.95, ISBN 978 1 9216 6604 9

Framing the Global Economic Downturn attempts to analyse how various political leaders from across the world made sense of the global financial crisis with

respect to its 'severity, causes, responsibilities and policy implications' (p. 10). It achieves this through detailed description of key public rhetorical output by prominent elites involved in economic policy making.

The substance of the book is a series of case studies, including the usual major Western states plus a few more interesting case selections such as Singapore. Each chapter follows the same formula, in which two to four key speeches from the head of government, finance minister and national bank's president were coded for claims regarding severity, causality, responsibility/blame and policy concerning the crisis (p. 34). Each chapter features an outline of the 'crisis trajectory' of each state, which represents a succinct and easy to read guide to how the crisis (up to March 2009) unfolded globally. The other substantial section of the book attempts to draw some broader conclusions about crisis rhetoric from these cases.

Relatively recent literature on economic crises has consistently demonstrated the causal importance of narrative and discourse. More specifically, it has been highlighted how elite actors utilise or reinforce crisis narratives to instigate certain paths of institutional change. Academic interest in constructions and narratives of crisis, with obvious recent events, is thus at a high, and it is in this area that this title would surely be seeking to make an impact.

However, the formulaic chapters completed by undergraduate students prevent the collection from reaching this potential. On the one hand, the incorporation of (presumably promising) students into the research process could be celebrated as forward thinking. On the other hand though, of course, had experts been selected for each case and given autonomy, the result would have been a more innovative and insightful analysis that consciously taps into the relevant literature. A second issue, which will always plague 'quick-response research' (p. 13), is that the crisis has moved on since 2009.

The end result is a title in which the analysis both lacks that cutting-edge originality and is increasingly outdated. However, it still represents a decent undergraduate introduction to the crisis and a thorough, succinct and comparative reference point for how the crisis unfolded, via elite rhetoric, in a wide set of different states.

Liam Stanley
(University of Birmingham)

The Enemies of Progress: The Dangers of Sustainability by Austin Williams. Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2008. 156pp., £8.95, ISBN 978 1845 400989

The Enemies of Progress seeks to revive debate around consensual themes of sustainability. In this wide-ranging study Austin Williams discusses the moral and political drivers for change in the areas of transport (both on the road and in the air), with critiques of the key areas of sustainability. For example, he suggests that two central tenets of the sustainability agenda need to be more openly discussed and understood: first, notions of the North–South divide. Williams suggests that post-industrial Western democracies in the North with post-materialist agendas do not have the moral authority to challenge nations such as India and China on air quality and emissions levels, given the industrial past of the North. Second, he highlights the role of sustainable technologies in architecture as another facet of sustainability that has led to a consensus view. These ideas, seeking to reignite debate, also have implications for governance and debates around neo-functional vs. intergovernmental perspectives in terms of implementing sustainable measures.

Williams also engages in a discussion of the discursive values of sustainability debates. To be sure, he does draw upon the Brundtland Commission's own agenda in his critiques of contemporary debates, which, at a time when far too many scholars do not define or explain the concept adequately, is welcome. Drawing on these contemporary debates, Williams suggests that the academic community and policy makers are perhaps too negative in their outlook and forecasts for the environmental future. He also questions the concept of inter- and intra-generational justice as a prerequisite for sustainability, suggesting that the sustainable agenda has no more claim on the future than other debates. This work provides a counterpoint to many accepted ideas, and will contribute to debates for scholars and students engaged in studies of sustainable development and environmental policy, as well as those interested in moral aspects of policy delivery.

Rory Shand
(University of Plymouth)

Britain and Ireland

Your Britain: Media and the Making of the Labour Party by **Laura Beers**. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2010. 258pp., £22.95, ISBN 978 0 674 05002 0

This book discusses the relationship between the Labour party/movement during the early twentieth century and the media. It is a sometimes under-researched topic in Labour history, which gives this book a noteworthy value towards understanding Labour's growth better.

Laura Beers provides an interesting discussion of the initial hesitation of Labour to engage fully with the media from what it saw as a moral position, yet it ultimately succumbed to the necessity of such practices in order to advance its arguments with the electorate.

Through posters, newspapers, the wireless and other media, Labour's early history is successfully retold by drawing from a valid assumption that media relations are relevant for a party's electoral success or failure. The structure of the book provides a chronological narrative of Labour's relations, such as its attitude towards the use of so-called 'bribes' for newspaper readers, as well as discussing the use of emotive language and iconic imagery to convey political messages.

There can be little doubt in the value of this book towards a better understanding of the growth and ultimate electoral victory of the Labour party. The very minor issues with it relate to a tendency for repetition and sometimes overstating the relevance of constitutional controversies when discussing Labour protest more generally.

These quibbles do not detract from an otherwise valuable and well-researched work. It provides an additional perspective on accepted historical understandings and will be of significant use to all those with an interest in Labour history, political media relationships and British politics more generally.

Andrew Scott Crines
(University of Huddersfield)

Independent: The Rise of the Non-aligned Politician by **Richard Berry**. Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2009. 154pp., £8.95, ISBN 9781845 401283

Although the British political system has traditionally been dominated by the 'big three' political parties

(Conservative, Labour and Liberal Democrat), de-alignment between social class and party identification and the recent electoral success of non-party, high-profile individuals in mayoral contests hint at a chink in the armour of party politics.

Berry likens this to climate change and global warming, suggesting that the melting of the hegemony of the 'big three' is indicative of a future in which people may start to view democracy as functioning 'without the political party to aggregate societal interests' (p. 1). Thus the scene is set for an entertaining (sometimes humorous) investigation of this 'alternative politics' involving interviews with prominent Independents, such as Martin Bell and Dai Davies, and case studies on the mayoral elections in Hartlepool and Middlesbrough ('H'Angus the Monkey' and 'Robocop' elected as Independent mayors, respectively). While Berry uses electoral data to support his case, he rightly observes that non-aligned politics is so diverse and multifaceted that it is often hidden in the aggregate data. It is also important to note that Berry's definition of Independent and non-aligned is not exclusive to non-party politicians, preferring to define them as not tied to a specific set of principles and being strongly attached to a specific geographical area.

Berry's main argument for non-aligned politicians is that they can have a dedicated local focus that national political parties simply cannot match. However, he also discusses the drawbacks of not being part of the party machine – lack of information, difficulty with strategic voting and the problem of getting seats on key committees. Thus while independence is to be celebrated, both parliamentary and local government are structured in favour of political party groupings. Does the Independent remain an individual and thus on the periphery or sacrifice true independence to pool resources? The argument is an interesting one, even if the answer is not clear and the one concern a reader might have stems from this: should minor parties and Independents be treated similarly (as Berry does) or is there a fundamental paradox in this approach?

In summary the book is an enjoyable empirical work written lucidly by an author with a clear interest in the topic. The case studies are historically detailed and the use of interview data to support the key arguments is competently handled; the book contributes to an area

of party system literature that is currently underdeveloped – that of minor parties and Independents.

Luke Sloan
(Cardiff University)

Fighting Fascism: The British Left and the Rise of Fascism, 1919–39 by **Keith Hodgson**. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010. 242pp., £65.00, ISBN 978 0 7190 8055 5

This valuable book discusses the role of European and, more specifically, British left-wing organisations in the understanding of and opposition towards fascism during the inter-war years. Interestingly, Keith Hodgson challenges an acceptance that a sole left-wing analysis claims natural legitimacy in the critique of the rise of fascism.

This discussion does not focus on any single left-wing organisation, such as the Labour party or Communist party of Great Britain. Rather, it encompasses an eclectic range of organisations in the historical narrative. This interesting approach provides a useful insight into the plurality of left-wing movements that opposed the fascist ideology, as well as the political agendas of other left-wing groups. A possible criticism of this approach could be that, as a consequence, the book does not entirely recover from the lack of focus this creates, although this does not detract from its overall value.

Hodgson's analysis would be of most interest to those seeking to develop their existing knowledge of anti-fascist movements in the inter-war years. It would also be of significant value to advanced students of European, British and social political movements as it examines the positions of a series of specific under-researched political groups. Its appeal would be to historians with a political slant given its discourse of political and social history. However, it could also be of interest to a wider range of scholars within the fields of British and European history.

Hodgson has successfully presented a necessary discussion of the role of the left in opposing fascism. The book boasts an analysis that is framed by a clearly defined period of interesting primary research. Despite occasional typing errors and the undoubted gravity of the subject, it is an enjoyable book to read. Nonetheless, it is worth noting that not all left-wing groups

carried with them the same level of impact in their opposition to fascism; some were effectively 'pilot fish', and so to elevate them to the same scale of importance as the Labour movement may be a negative consequence of an analysis drawn from this book.

On the other hand, the scale of the task that the author has set himself is vast. He has achieved it by presenting arguments that build throughout towards the conclusion that left-wing opposition to fascism is more diverse than simply a Labour-centred movement, and that the relevance of other groups is significant, if not all encompassing, in their scope.

Andrew Scott Crines
(University of Huddersfield)

The British Conservative Party and One Nation Politics by **David Seawright**. London: Continuum, 2010. 193pp., £65.00, ISBN 978 0 8264 8974 6

David Cameron was recently hailed by Andrew Tyrie MP as the natural 'heir to Disraeli as a One Nation Tory'. Yet rarely do academics explore the ideational heritage of the term 'One Nation'. Such oversight has, contends David Seawright, allowed for the 'wilful distortion of One Nation' and cemented its place in public discourse as a synonym for 'opposition to Thatcherism' (p. 71). Seawright offers a corrective to this appraisal.

Using myriad sources – including personal papers, biographies, party publications and interviews – Seawright shows that the One Nation Group, over its 60-year history, consistently took positions tending more to the 'limited state' wing of the party's 'dual nature' than to its 'extended state' wing. Moreover, the group acted as a 'bondstone' (p. 109) facilitating debate between individuals of diverse doctrinal stripes (paternalist R. A. Butler and proto-monetarist Enoch Powell were both founding members) and, in turn, 'political recrudescence'. This refreshment of policy 'at the springs of doctrine' enabled the party to meet new generational challenges in line with the welfare of the nation as a whole, rather than the sectional interest of any particular group or class.

Far from being an intellectually moribund force, as Matt Beech has suggested, One Nation politics is, believes Seawright, the party's 'secret weapon' and source of cohesion (p. 6). In claiming exclusively for

themselves the mantle of One Nation in the 1980s, the party's left wing, aided by right wingers who sought to dissociate themselves from notions of post-war consensus, did great disservice to the credibility of the Conservatives as the 'national party'.

Seawright repeatedly cautions against positioning individuals on a simplistic 'left-right spectrum', yet for the most part accepts the statist-anti-statist dichotomy while paying little attention to civil society as the basis of Tory thought. Nonetheless, he demonstrates convincingly that the One Nation Group was, and still is, both active and diverse.

However, too often he collapses the *concept* of One Nation into the form and fortunes of this particular group. In his concentration on elite politics and posturing, Seawright overlooks the construction of political meaning at, for example, the party grass-roots level, along with the complex process by which ideas are received and filtered by opinion leaders. He thus offers only a partial explanation of why popular perceptions of One Nation Toryism are seemingly at odds with the discourse within the parliamentary Conservative party.

Nevertheless, Seawright's timely study is accessible, if verbosely written, and will appeal to those seeking greater understanding of doctrine in Britain's 'non-ideological' party.

Jamie Simcox
(University of Southern California)

Britain's War on Poverty by Jane Waldfogel. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2010. 270pp., £25.90, ISBN 978 0 87154 897 9

For many scholars of British welfare policy this will be a book with a difference. After 1997 we became accustomed to thinking about the Labour government's approach to welfare in the light of contemporary US welfare policy, with the conventional wisdom being that British policy was becoming increasingly assimilated to American models. Jane Waldfogel, as an American scholar who holds a chair at Columbia and a visiting chair at the LSE, is well placed to challenge this orthodoxy, and in this very comprehensive and clearly written book she does so.

In examining the anti-poverty – and specifically, the anti-child poverty – policies of the Blair and Brown governments, Waldfogel emulates many other social

policy writers by comparing British and US policy; but she emphasises the differences rather than the similarities between the two. While many British scholars have identified the similarities between British and American welfare-to-work programmes as evidence of a growing Americanisation of the British welfare state, Waldfogel points out that this only gives us part – and arguably not the most important part – of the picture. Under Labour, British policy in this field did, as in the US, seek to bring more lone parents into the labour market; but it differed from US welfare reform not only because it developed from a rather different, and more inclusive and generous, social tradition, but also because it included specific strands designed to attack child poverty regardless of the employment status of parents, and to invest in children's development.

As a result, Waldfogel suggests, British policies succeeded in raising the incomes of families with children and in directing significant amounts of that extra income to meeting children's needs. She argues convincingly that although the Labour government's performance fell short of that required to stay on target to meet Tony Blair's 1999 pledge to halve child poverty by 2020, there were real reductions in both absolute and, to a lesser extent, relative poverty, and that without the government's anti-poverty strategy, things would have been a good deal worse.

Waldfogel concludes that there is much in Labour's recent anti-child poverty policies that could serve as a model for US policy makers – not least, the confidence to set demanding and progressive goals for social policy. Perhaps similar lessons could now be learned in the UK by a coalition government that all too often seems to be mostly concerned with defining what it believes the state cannot achieve.

Andrew Connell
(University of Wales Institute, Cardiff)

Europe

Europe's 21st Century Challenge: Delivering Liberty by Didier Bigo, Sergio Carrera, Elspeth Guild and R. B. J. Walker (eds). Farnham: Ashgate, 2010. 330pp., £65.00, ISBN 978 1 4094 0194 0

This book presents the result of the five-year research project CHALLENGE (The Changing Landscape of European Liberty and Security) which focused on the

contemporary balance between liberty and security in Europe. The volume is structured around the theoretical and practical challenges that liberty brings to political authority, conceptions of borders, and security as the *locus foci* of the state. The first chapter sets the background for the debate on the relation between liberty and security in twenty-first-century Europe. Each subsequent challenge is examined through a broad range of perspectives spanning from IR to legal or political theory. This interdisciplinary endeavour is complemented by the policy-relevant approach that most authors assume – often presenting very coherent policy recommendations – making the volume important reading both for scholars and for policy makers.

The main argument present throughout the book highlights the discrepancies between the European Union's discursive commitment to upholding the liberties of the individual and its illiberal practices that entrench and fragment such liberties in the name of an overarching understanding of security. The first part of the volume inquires into the way the balance between security and liberty in the EU is influenced by political authority. Chapters here touch upon a multitude of issues ranging from the governance of liberty and security and the questions of transparency and accountability around it, to the way the Union seeks to externalise norms, values and liberties in order to develop an identity as a security actor beyond borders. The second part of the book examines the zero-sum game between the liberty of the individual and the security of the state played around the meaning of borders both within Europe and at its margins. A more theoretical and methodological perspective is displayed in the last part which focuses on redrawing a notion of security that could include and perpetuate the values of liberal democracies.

The strength of the book, which lies in its contestation of the different borders between academic disciplines and policy, is also its biggest weakness. While all chapters try to engage with the central theme, most stray from it in significantly different directions, damaging the coherence of the book as a whole. Consequently, the editors seem to have lumped together very theoretical contributions with others that merely identify the policy landscape in one area related to liberty or security and provide recommendations. Nonetheless,

given the monumental size of the research project, which involved 23 universities studying nine issue areas, the editors succeed in granting space to most of the findings of the project.

Cristian Nitoiu
(Loughborough University)

Multiple Democracies in Europe: Political Culture in New Member States by Paul Blokker.

Abingdon: Routledge, 2010. 211pp., £75.00, ISBN 978 0 415 49273 7

The twentieth century witnessed dramatic swings in regime change including the collapse of communism in Europe. Since the late 1980s, the gradual transition of many totalitarian communist states into some form of pluralist Western-style democracy emerged as a new research area in democratisation studies. This book criticises the clear-cut comparative approaches to democratisation for being 'monist and unimaginative' with regard to democracy and politics and suggests an alternative pluralistic-analytical model which has sensitivity regarding a variety of democratic forms and available ethics or cultural repertoires within national societies. Taking a critical standpoint to a singular and static conceptualisation of democracy, the author first discusses the notion of political culture from the perspectives of normative political theory and democratisation studies and then develops a multiple democracies approach, opening up the possibility of innovative perceptions, political imagination and contestation through 'ethics of democracy'. Then he relates these ethics to the different conceptualisations of constitutionalism (liberal; republican; communitarian; substantive). The book applies the multiple democracies approach by analysing the various democratic political cultures in their historical-societal contexts, namely in three new democracies of Europe – Hungary, Poland and Romania – on the basis of hybrid combinations of such ethics. The author uses these ethics as structuring principles of political grammars and democratic discourse reflecting a variety of politico-ethical interpretations and struggles of key actors over democracy (p. 61). The most significant finding is that the political culture amalgams of three new democracies can be characterised as a legalistic-communitarian one in Hungary, a civic-right religious one in Poland, and a communitarian Europeanist one in Romania (p. 173).

Structurally, the book is split into two parts. After a short introductory chapter that outlines the main argument and the structure of the book, the first part provides theoretical conceptualisations and constitutional reflections focusing on the multiple democracies approach and a subsequent detailed discussion of four democratic ethics – the ethics of rights, identity, self-rule and distributive justice. The second part includes four empirical chapters and a summative conclusion. The empirical body of the book explores the relevance of the multiple democracies approach by means of comparative analyses regarding the process of constitution making as a reflection of political culture, meanings enshrined in constitutional documents, and democratic discourses regarding national and European democracy articulated by Hungarian, Polish and Romanian political elites (p. 170).

The central argument of the book throughout all chapters is that a monist and liberal reading of democracy leaves little space for the indeterminacy of democratic accident and cultural and historical embeddedness of democratic discourse (p. 51). A pluralistic approach to political culture, on the other hand, recognises the historicity and contingency of democratic adventure and represents a colourful and plural picture for our understanding of democracy in new and emerging democracies including post-communist societies. By casting light on the aspects that are widely ignored in democratisation studies – self-constitution, substantive plurality, conflict and creativity – the book provides a substantial discussion of ethics of democracy which leads to the possibility of indicating two more ethics: ethic of deliberation and ethic of dissent. However, the book hardly elaborates on the background of these ethics – how and why these ones have emerged – and discusses poorly their possible repercussions for democratic political discourse. In sum, this book should be regarded as an original and insightful contribution to the debate on European democracy and therefore would be of interest to a growing cohort of students and scholars of democracy, European studies, post-communist studies, political theory and comparative politics.

Digdem Soyaltin
(Free University Berlin)

Migration and Mobility in the European Union by **Christina Boswell and Andrew Geddes**. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010. 272pp., £25.99, ISBN 978 0 230 00748 2

Migration and Mobility in the European Union is an interesting publication which offers an attractive approach for investigating contemporary migration in the EU states. The book focuses on rethinking migration using different types of migration as examples in relation to relevant policies at both the national and EU level. Hence, Boswell and Geddes explore the multi-levelness and multidimensionality of migration policy making by analysing the EU's role and at the same time highlighting the relation between the contemporary politics of migration and its dimensions. The book also explores the paradox of Europe's borders, with its continuous process of removing some, relocating others and creating new ones.

The authors adopt an interesting approach for their investigation. They analyse types of migration and EU mobility alongside debates on immigrant integration in order to explore how a chosen type of migration generates various kinds of political responses. This is analysed across all EU states and the research also focuses on how these aspects are reflected at the sub-national, national and supranational (EU) levels.

Boswell and Geddes state that the multi-level politics are related to the distribution of power and authority across EU member states and public actors at different levels of governance. Nevertheless, in their opinion, migration does not match the 'usual multilevel trope' (p. 227); and they also note the rapid growth in importance of EU institutions in the process of migration policy making. The authors highlight that the success or failure of migration policies within the EU is distributed unevenly across its members. They also argue that some of the EU member states are shaped by the EU's migration policies, while others are actually shaping them.

This book will be helpful to various types of researcher interested in migration because it explores the multi-levelness of policy making through examples of irregular, family and labour migration, as well as refugees and asylum seekers. The authors succeed in their goal to explore migration and mobility in the EU in a clear, systematic and well-written way and, in addition, their statements are well argued and based on sound evidence.

Christina Boswell and Andrew Geddes bring interesting points to contemporary debate on the role of supranational, national and sub-national levels of governance regarding migration policy making. Nonetheless, by concentrating on all the EU states, they omit to explore the topic in depth by focusing on one particular country.

Bozena Sojka-Koirala
(Centre for Migration Policy Research [CMPR],
Swansea University)

Research Agendas in EU Studies: Stalking the Elephant by **Michelle Egan, Neill Nugent and William E. Paterson (eds)**. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009. 430pp., £24.99, ISBN 978 0 230 55525 9

The edited volume by Egan, Nugent and Paterson originates from a symposium held in March 2007 to establish the book series entitled 'Palgrave Studies in European Union Politics', which aims to map 'the state of the art' of research on the EU and future research challenges. This volume aims to identify the gaps within EU studies where more and different research is needed, and to foster research in new directions with critical insights.

The book adopts a multidisciplinary approach to advance European integration, focusing on different theoretical and methodological perspectives. It addresses numerous topics such as the impact of the EU on existing institutional and socio-economic arrangements, the operation of the market and the complexity of the simultaneously integrating and fragmenting forces of Europeanisation.

Even though the volume does not have an overarching central theme or argument through the chapters, the core assertion of the book is that 'there are a great variety of disciplines and approaches that have something useful to say about European integration and the functioning of the EU' (p. 4). The strength of the book lies in its success in using insights from a variety of disciplines and approaches. The volume presents a broad understanding of European integration by mapping the gaps in the literature, which provides the reader with a better understanding of EU studies.

The book is structured in seventeen chapters, in which the first and last by the editors act as introduc-

tion and conclusion. The focus of the broad collected pieces – by prominent scholars researching on the EU – is to map theoretical and methodological understandings of European integration with existing insights from the literature, and also to identify the gaps within the literature where further research is necessary. Each chapter focuses on different issues in different periods and in different ways. As a result, each piece reaches different conclusions.

Overall, the volume is highly recommended to readers who wish to acquire knowledge about and a better understanding of European integration and European studies. By successfully achieving its goal, the book becomes both a reference for further research and an insightful source for European studies.

Gozde Yilmaz
(Free University Berlin)

EU Enlargement and Socialization: Turkey and Cyprus by **Stefan Engert**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2010. 196pp., £75.00, ISBN 978 0 415 55722 1

This book is a highly informative comparative account of the EU membership stories of two troublesome countries, Turkey and Cyprus. The book is structured through the discussion of three main questions pertinent to enlargement: why does the EU expand, why do candidate countries join and why do they comply with EU conditionality? As a theoretical framework, the author employs rationalist and constructivist ontologies and attempts to answer the questions through the logic of consequentiality and the logic of appropriateness, respectively.

Accordingly, the author argues that the rationalist understanding based on cost-benefit calculations concerning the economy and security does not explain why candidacy was granted to Turkey and membership to Cyprus. According to the author, remaining loyal to the 'meritocracy rule' (p. 8), the EU agreed to reward them for their 'norm confirmative behaviour' (p. 67). Turkey was granted candidate status due to its fulfilment of the required criteria for candidacy although its accession would bring more costs to the EU than benefits. Similarly, Cyprus joined the EU as a result of its eagerness to resolve the Cyprus conflict although its membership without a resolution would prove costly to the EU. By the same token, since Turkey then failed to comply with the EU

norm of extending relations to all EU members by denying recognition of Cyprus as an EU member, the author finds the curtailment of accession negotiations by the EU reasonable from a constructivist understanding.

The theoretical stance of the book is, however, prone to criticism. Specifying rationalist perspectives, the author focuses on neo-realist and neo-liberal institutionalist theories. However, studying EU enlargement using a neo-realist framework is ontologically challenging since a social and economic union such as the EU is not conceivable in neo-realism; nor is the EU's actorness in terms of security debated.

The author asserts that the EU was forced to grant Cyprus membership because when Greek Cypriots revealed their intention not to comply with EU norms by rejecting the Annan plan, it was too late for the EU to punish Cyprus. The author thus implies that the EU became path dependent on Cyprus, but he still attempts to explain this by a sociological institutionalist understanding. Instead, a discussion of the historical institutional perspective would be more viable for explaining the EU accession of Cyprus.

Notwithstanding its limitations, this book could be deemed as unique since it is one of the first studies to discuss the EU membership processes of Turkey and Cyprus comparatively. Highly informative and well structured, the book is strongly recommended to researchers of EU enlargement and the Cyprus conflict.

Seckin Baris Gulmez
(Royal Holloway, University of London)

The Black Sea Region and EU Policy: The Challenge of Divergent Agendas by **Karen Henderson and Carol Weaver (eds)**. Farnham: Ashgate, 2010. 173pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 1 4094 1201 4

It is surprising how a region such as the Black Sea, part of the European continent and ever closer to the EU since the 2004–7 enlargements, has received so little attention in academic debates. Only recently has this gap begun to close with new research devoted to this strategic area, not only for the new Central and Eastern European member states, but also for the European Union (EU) as a whole. This edited book gives much-needed analytical attention to the opportunities and shortcomings of EU policies towards the region.

The book is divided into three sections, each one concentrating on different aspects of EU/Black Sea relations. First, the chapters by Cichocki, Najslova and Wolczuk provide well-argued and thoughtful analyses on the development of EU policies towards the region and the tensions that emerge between EU-focused approaches and member states' interests, as well as the responses from Black Sea countries. This part, however, focuses on Eastern Partnership countries instead of the region as a whole. The second part revolves around security and conflict resolution issues. It opens through an overview of US–Russia tensions affecting the effectiveness and developments of EU policies (the chapter by Weaver), and it follows with two chapters centred on dissecting the EU's involvement in conflict resolution in the South Caucasus. First, the chapter by Sammut offers a sober evaluation of EU efforts, but also some positive prospects for the potential of the EU in present and future engagement with conflicts poisoning the region. Finally, Vasilyan provides a more sombre evaluation of the EU as a conflict resolution actor in the area given its nature as an international actor. The third section examines the dynamics of regionalisation in the region, first by highlighting the increasing partnership between Turkey and Russia in managing regional issues (Aybak); second, Hajizada analyses the limited success of the only 'all-Black Sea' regional organisation (BSEC) in increasing regional cooperation between Black Sea countries. The section finishes with a chapter by Raszewski evaluating EU efforts to diversify energy supply through its energy policies in the region.

The book as a whole is an important contribution to examining the current state of relations between the EU and the region, as well as regional (non-) cooperative dynamics and the role of other regional powers in affecting EU policies. Although it lacks some deeper analysis in relation to the impact of EU policies and the responses from Black Sea countries, as well as greater policy variation beyond energy and security (which are, as Weaver concludes, issues for further much needed research), the book provides a well-balanced and solid overview of EU/Black Sea relations.

Oscar Pardo Sierra
(University of Birmingham)

Europe and the Management of Globalization by **Wade Jacoby and Sophie Meunier (eds)**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2010. 160pp., £80.00, ISBN 978 0 415 59213 0

This volume – a reprint of a special issue in the *Journal of European Public Policy* – brings together eight contributions (plus an introduction) from established scholars in EU studies. The overarching focus is the supposedly unique European doctrine of ‘managed globalization’, which has led European policy makers to make a concerted ‘effort to shape and regularize the competitive order’ (p. 5) of economic globalisation without succumbing to protectionism or embracing *laissez-faire* capitalism. The editors identify five mechanisms used by EU decision makers to this end: ‘expanding policy scope’; ‘exercising regulatory influence’; ‘empowering international institutions’; ‘enlarging the territorial sphere of EU influence’; and ‘redistributing the costs of globalization’ (pp. 7–11). These dynamics are then explored by the individual contributors to this volume, who focus both on specific EU policy-making areas (e.g. economic and monetary union, the environment, trade, finance and financial regulation and the EU’s redistributive policies) and on the EU’s more general approach to the management of the global economic order.

The main problem is that the editors’ framing argument – that ‘managed globalization’ has been ‘a primary driver of major EU policies over the past 25 years’ (p. 1) – is overstated. The editors themselves seem to acknowledge in the introduction (as is also emphasised in ch. 4) that the idea of ‘managed globalization’ is quite specific to Pascal Lamy’s tenure as Trade Commissioner and the emphasis he placed on rules-based, multilateral economic liberalisation as distinct from American *laissez-faire* neo-liberalism. The fact that many of the contributions in this volume only draw loose associations to the special issue’s overarching theme thus suggests that the term is too specific to apply in an analytically meaningful sense beyond the arena of trade policy making. Even here, the fact that the Commission was quick to abandon one of the key precepts of Lamy’s ‘managed globalization’ approach – the policy of ‘multilateralism-first’ – by mimicking the United States’ agenda of aggressive, bilateral market opening (as ch. 5 highlights), suggests that the doctrine may have less traction than the editors argue.

Despite these shortcomings the individual contributions offer both a cogent analysis of EU responses to globalisation and a breadth of coverage, focusing on both key, ‘traditional’ arenas of economic policy making and the understudied, and increasingly important, dimensions of environmental and redistributive politics (chs 3 and 9). As a result, this volume is likely to appeal to scholars with an interest in both European integration and the political economy of globalisation.

Gabriel Siles-Brügge
(University of Sheffield)

The Politics of Party Funding: State Funding to Political Parties and Party Competition in Western Europe by **Michael Koß**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. 261pp., £50.00, ISBN 978 0 19 957275 5

In recent decades we have observed a convergence in party funding regimes. In this book, Michael Koß addresses the question of why state funding has been introduced to ever more countries in Western Europe.

Koß identifies the consensus between parties as the prerequisite for the introduction of state funding. The author argues that this consensus is more likely in countries (a) where parties have a larger number of veto points at their disposal, (b) where parties adopt office- and policy-seeking strategies rather than pure vote seeking and (c) where an intense societal discourse on political corruption exists. In a virtuous way, the strength and drawbacks of different kinds of institutionalism are combined into this theoretical argumentation. But can this theory explain variation and similarities of party funding regimes?

The empirical relevance of this argumentation is shown in four case studies: Germany, Sweden, the UK and France. In Sweden and Germany, the institutional setting, which influences the mode of political competition in the way that parties adopt policy- or office-seeking strategies and brings about a large number of veto points, facilitated the introduction of state funding. In France, the consensus was reached independently of the institutional setting because of a strong coordinative discourse on political corruption. In Britain none of these three factors was present. Therefore, Britain remains the exception in Western

Europe party funding regimes. These analytical narratives can be useful for comparative political scientists as a detailed source about the causal mechanisms at stake.

The contribution of the book can be regarded as the first step towards a persuasive explanation. The cases are selected on the dependent variable. This case selection governs the inferential conclusions that can be drawn from the results. It may help to identify the influential causal factors, but the empirical significance of the argumentation remains to be established in a further study. Koß is aware of this and offers a first analysis of the decreasing levels of ideological polarisation in Western European countries. However, incorporating the discourse about political corruption makes the theory hard to falsify in a broad study. If the institutional context variables were not given – according to the theory – the political discourse alone could causally influence the introduction of state funding. But when is the discourse sufficient?

From my perspective, the strength of the book is found somewhere else: the inclusion of political competition in a comprehensive explanation of party funding regimes. This addresses the major question of how democratic institutions change and evolve.

Lukas Stötzer
(University of Mannheim)

Interest Groups and Lobbying in Europe: Essays on Trade, Environment, Legislation, and Economic Development by **Conor McGrath (ed.)**. Ceredigion: Edwin Mellen Press, 2009. 436pp, £79.95, ISBN 978 0 7734 4693 9

Interest Groups and Lobbying in Europe is the second volume in a three-book series on interest group lobbying in different parts of the world. While the other two volumes focus on the United States and Latin America, this volume explicitly addresses the evolution and the current state of the interest group environment in different parts of Europe.

The essays in this volume are grouped into two parts. The first seven contributions are dedicated to interest group politics in Western Europe. They address issues such as the effect of transparency initiatives (Marzali, Chabanet), the usefulness of lobbying regulations (McGrath), the Europeanisation of policy processes

(Quittkat, Toens), the importance of political opportunity structures (Poloni-Staudinger) and new approaches to sampling the interest group population (Poppelaars). The remaining five essays deal with lobbying in post-communist Eastern Europe. They focus on the role of interest groups in democratisation processes (Hrebenar *et al.*), the dynamics of state–interest group relations (Nelson and Kuzes), the interactions between the bureaucracy, firms and business associations (Duvanova), the impact of EU accession (Vidačák) and the role of secondary legislations (Udelepp).

The contributions in this volume are well researched and capture important trends of interest group politics in different political settings. The chapters on Eastern Europe are especially valuable because they help to extend the scholarly debate on interest group politics to countries that have largely been ignored by the literature.

Although the book offers a unique comparative overview by taking the reader to a wide range of lobbying locations, overall it fails to advance the debate on interest group politics in general. One big exception is Poppelaars' chapter on interest representation in the Netherlands, in which she develops a new strategy to measure the population of interest groups in a society. Her approach is promising and could certainly help to overcome some of the deficiencies of current sampling techniques. Most of the remaining chapters, however, lack this kind of originality and are more concerned with descriptive summaries of specific group types and one or few policy issues. Moreover, some chapters, such as McGrath's essay on lobbying regulations in the UK, appear as if they are catering more towards policy makers than academic scholars. This is largely due to the fact that parts of the volume have been written by practitioners, which researchers seeking a comprehensive treatment of interest group politics should certainly keep in mind.

Matthias Haber
(University of Mannheim)

Contemporary European Politics: A Comparative Introduction by **José M. Magone**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2010. 651pp., £26.99, ISBN 978 0 415 41893 5

European politics has undoubtedly undergone a series of transformations in recent decades. The collapse of

the communist regimes in Central and Eastern Europe, the move towards a post-industrial society and the ongoing European integration process have dramatically changed the political map of Europe and altered the room for political manoeuvre by national governments.

José Magone addresses this 'new European politics' and contextualises it 'within the overarching and growing importance of European integration' (p. 2). The aim of the book is 'to look through all political aspects of European politics in order to compare the similarities, differences and tendencies towards convergence between the countries' (p. 11). In the first four chapters, Magone describes recent changes to European politics, outlines historical legacies, discusses Rokkan's classic theoretical framework and considers pressures of Europeanisation (p. 23). These more introductory chapters are followed by systematic discussions of political institutions, public administration reform, parties, party systems, elections and interest intermediation.

To map out the differences and similarities across political systems and to identify reasons behind them, Magone uses a comparative approach. The author ensures a broad perspective by including 37 countries in the analysis, and then reduces complexity by grouping them into twelve regional clusters (Benelux, Germanic, Nordic, British Isles, Southern, France, Mediterranean islands, Baltic, (East) Central, Eastern, Balkan and Turkey). The analysis is not strictly organised around these clusters, however. When other aspects, for instance degrees of parliamentary strength, seem more important than regional political cultures, the material has been organised accordingly.

The book has been marketed as an introductory textbook, which is somewhat misleading. True, it provides an introductory overview of political systems in Europe, but students without a basic prior understanding of comparative politics are likely to struggle. The book is best suited to students who have some grounding in comparative politics and the functioning of the European Union, but who may be new to the comparative study of European states. The scope is ambitious and few textbooks can compete with its depth of coverage. Magone's motivation behind the pan-European approach was to 'overcome the bias of most comparative books on Europe, which focus only on the larger countries' (p. 5), and he certainly succeeds in that goal. Overall it is an enjoyable read, although there is a

frustrating lack of attention to detail on the spellings of foreign names and concepts.

Helena Ekelund
(University of Nottingham)

Rights, Promotion and Integration Issues for Minority Languages in Europe by **Susanna Pertot, Tom M. S. Priestly and Colin H. Williams (eds)**. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008. 268pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 0 230 20356 3

Since 2005 the Palgrave 'Studies in Minority Languages and Communities' series (edited by Gabrielle Hogan-Burn) has presented edited volumes on various cases of minority languages in Europe, Australia, China and Japan as well as other transnational contexts. The current title in this series, *Rights, Promotion and Integration Issues for Minority Languages in Europe*, differentiates itself by focusing on the ways in which the enlargement processes of the European Union between 2004 and 2007 have influenced the politics of minority languages of Europe.

In the introduction, Colin Williams draws our attention to one specific point, which maintains the grounds for the interaction between enlargement processes in the EU and minority politics. He notes that enlargement in the EU motivated an 'internal rights regime' which added extra privileges to international law. This reinforces a clearer distinction between our rights as citizens in a nation state and our rights as individuals. 'Once such rights are detached from the state we see the beginning of the undermining of the normative basis of the state' (p. 5). From this standpoint the first part of the volume evaluates the question of minority languages in the legal context. Thus, the articles of the first part draw upon issues concerning the impact of the Human Rights Council and the European Parliament on minority languages and the role of the World Wide Web in promoting, or in some cases impeding, minority access to current information technologies.

Parts II and III focus on the theoretical aspects of vitality and promotion of minority languages, followed by case studies that indicate how theories correspond to real cases. The case studies include diverse practices of minority languages in various regions such as the Faroese language in the Faroe Islands, Gaelic in Scotland, Slovene in Italy, Sardinian in Sardinia and the language revitalisation movements in Northern

Sweden. The last part also indicates the significance of artistic production in promoting minority languages. Yet the role of oral culture in minority languages and minority arts needed more discussion as a way of promoting and preserving the original forms of the minority languages, which are in a continuous interaction with the dominant languages.

As a perpetuation of the intellectual communities formed during the International Conferences on Minority Languages (ICML), the chapters of this book create a rich collection for researchers and scholars working on minority languages and the political impacts of the recent European Union processes.

Ozgur Cicek
(Binghamton University, State University of New York)

Dagestan: Russian Hegemony and Islamic Resistance in the North Caucasus by **Robert Bruce Ware and Enver F. Kisriev**. Armonk NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2009. 251pp., £29.50; ISBN 978 0 7656 2029 3

In a successful partnership of American–Dagestani scholarship, Robert Ware and Enver Kisriev explain the destabilising developments in Dagestan – an Islamic republic on the south border of the Russian Federation. The book adds bold brush strokes to the portrait of influences between a recentralising Moscow and a resurgent Islam in the Caucasus.

Ware and Kisriev's work is not simply another case study of the Northern Caucasus and its *problematique*. Rather, it is a pioneering examination of Dagestan's history and contemporary social, religious and political developments. Driven by the puzzle of how stability is constructed in a multinational setting characterised by low inter-group trust and insufficient allegiance to the state, the authors analyse the factors that permitted Dagestan – one of the most ethnically and religiously diverse republics of the Russian Federation – to avoid extensive violence, standing out in contrast to the blood-soaked processes in neighbouring Chechnya. The authors research the history spans of the region from the arrival of Islam, through Soviet rule and perestroika to the revival of Wahhabism and the federal government's policy of recentralisation in contemporary political institutions.

They conclude that Dagestan's politics, characterised by complex ethnic alliances, have successfully

preserved multi-ethnic stability due to the republic's unique form of consociational democracy – 'constitutional djamaat' – a political arrangement in which key positions are filled by associates of one of the kinship-ethnic structures constituted by Dagestan's largest minority groups of *Avars*, *Dargins*, *Kумыks* and *Lezgins*. Dagestan's ethno-parties 'provided a basis for the stabilization of a political system, which, however fragile, nevertheless endured in the face of extraordinary crises, while providing for Dagestan's peaceful integration into Russia's federal system' (p. 49). Due to the incompatibility of the Basaevs' extremist ideology of absolutism with Dagestan's horizontal political setting, the republic's leadership made a move towards realignment with Moscow, expecting that federal officials would halt the violence and aggression brought by Islamic extremist movements. When Putin came to power, instead of Moscow compromising with the local traditions and needs of the republic, the 'recentralisation reform' in Dagestan led to negative consequences. Djamaat leaders 'liberated themselves from accountability' (p. 213) and became less concerned with chronic problems of the region.

Ware and Kisriev's book is a data-rich study based on a rigorous Western interpretation, and an insider's understanding of the region helps untangle the mental puzzle of a country experiencing economic crises, massive corruption and involvement in clan-based organised crime. Making these connections in academic and policy circles is important given the recent terrorist attacks in the Moscow Metro (2010) and Domodedovo Airport (2011) – both acts in which Dagestanis have been named by Russian security officers as among the key players.

Yuliya Zabyelina
(University of Trento)

The European Union and Central Asia by **Alexander Warkotsch**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2010. 206pp., £80.00, ISBN 978 0 415 56236 2

The European Union and Central Asia provides a state-of-the-art overview of relations between the European Union (EU) and Central Asia (CA) in light of the EU's *Strategy for a new Partnership*, adopted in 2007. The guiding question of the book is: are the programmes and policy initiatives of the EU adequately designed

and implemented so that they can contribute to regional security and stability? (p. 1) This research question is addressed by discussing current economic, political and social developments in the five Central Asian republics – Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan – and the EU's approach to facing those challenges. Additionally, it describes the EU's balancing act in meeting the needs of Central Asia together with its own interests in the region, as well as finding a compromise for a coherent policy with 27 member states. The twelve articles in the book constitute two major thematic fields: the first part presents 'The Tool-Kit and Framework of EU–Central Asian Cooperation', and the second part covers various 'Fields of Cooperation' between the EU and CA, ranging from security assistance (ch. 6) and energy cooperation (ch. 10) to assistance in democratisation (ch. 7) and educational reform (ch. 8).

In general, the articles provide well-written analysis and give the reader a quick, informative overview. In particular, the discussion of EU member state preferences in CA (ch. 3) or the chapters on education (ch. 8) and water and environmental issues (ch. 11) are full of useful and up-to-date information. However, most of the authors work in the field of policy analysis and the articles are accordingly written in a descriptive-analytical style: there is no underlying theoretical framework, coherent analytical scheme or innovative empirical research. On the one hand, this has the advantage of providing straightforward information, without being obscured by theoretical or methodological decoration. On the other hand, the promised evaluation of EU programmes and policies is very rudimentary. Most of the evaluation is based on EU reports and/or personal assessment of the authors, rather than on rigorous empirical research. Although it is very hard to evaluate the effect of policy programmes, the book should have developed at least a coherent theoretical framework. In this respect, it really needs a final concluding chapter summarising the insights of the articles in light of the stated research question.

All in all, the book provides an informative and compact overview of current developments in EU–CA relations. This is an important topic, which is poorly covered in current political science. The book is best suited to readers who want to understand central issues facing CA today quickly and easily, and who want a

starting point to gain more empirical knowledge on the region.

Janine Reinhard
(University of Konstanz)

The Americas

War and Empire: The American Way of Life by Paul L. Atwood. London: Pluto Press, 2010. 288pp., £18.99, ISBN 978 07453 2764 8

In *War and Empire* Paul Atwood seeks to promote an interpretation of history that eschews any ideological lustre on United States military endeavours and situates war as an integral tenet of American life. Atwood's debate is not with United States foreign policy as such but rather with a benign middle-school education system which 'propagates a collective hallucination' (p. 229) of the nation's history. The book is self-consciously polemical and Atwood's contentions are consistently juxtaposed against what he perceives to be the pervasiveness of this ideological 'hallucination'.

The extent to which this aim permeates the book is evident throughout as Atwood litters the text with summative statements with disarming regularity; assertions such as that the United States 'ravage only those who lie all but helpless before us' (p. 2) are typical. Atwood's book takes in the American War of Independence, settlement of the West, war with Spain, occupation of the Philippines, the First and Second World Wars, Korea, Vietnam, the Cold War, Iraq and Afghanistan. Through successive presidents and administrations Atwood counterposes the myriad vagaries of popular history against his own reasoned and sound conclusions. While the larger proportion of the work is concerned with American military action abroad Atwood deftly connects it to domestic party politics and the economics of consumerism. The brevity with which Atwood writes often belies the complexity he achieves; it is to the author's credit that alongside large-scale military conflict the numerous alliances and intelligence operations that have contributed to United States military dominance are considered.

The information Atwood presents will not be new to a scholar of American history; such a criticism however would miss the point of the book. He is

writing for those younger and specifically American students who wish to 'formulate an alternative interpretation of the American past by which to measure the present' (p. xiv). The extent to which he is successful in providing the framework for such an alternative history is debatable. Often Atwood treats historical insights as touchstones for a larger polemical narrative and perhaps on occasion overestimates the pervasiveness of the filtered history he is writing against. In his sustained attack against this 'collective hallucination' of history he has perhaps posited an alternative ideological framework that is just as inflexible. Regardless of these points Atwood has shown immense academic courage in composing this work and while his position is perhaps intransigent in places he is nonetheless a gifted historian.

Mark Sullivan
(Nottingham Trent University)

The Anti-communist Manifestos: Four Books that Shaped the Cold War by **John V. Fleming**. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2009. 362pp., \$27.95, ISBN 978 0 393 06925 9

This catchy essay by John Fleming studies individually the four books that contributed to ignite the anti-communist sentiment within public opinion in the US at a time (during the Second World War) when the USSR and the US seemed to be allies. These four influential books were the novel *Darkness at Noon* (1940) by Arthur Koestler; *Out of the Night* (1941) by Richard Krebs (under the penname Jan Valtin); *I Chose Freedom* (1946) by Victor Kravchenko; and *Witness* (1952) by Whittaker Chambers. All four titles were lucrative bestsellers in their day and translated into many languages.

In *The Anti-communist Manifestos*, Fleming retells the social context and the public reception of these works by ex-communists, providing the story behind each title. These books were the first to reveal to a large public the existence of camps very similar to those of Nazi Germany in the USSR. Hence, Koestler's novel *Darkness at Noon* told the story of a revolutionist who was a victim of the Soviet purges during the 1930s. The autobiography *Out of the Night* is a series of tragic adventures experienced by an ex-communist who had lived in Nazi Germany and the USSR before emigrating to the US; Valtin described communists as fanatics

and considered Stalinism as worse than Nazism (p. 110). Perhaps the strongest of all, because it is written like a testimony against the Gulag, *I Chose Freedom* was so shocking for communists and intellectuals in France that it led to a real trial (the 'Kravchenko Case'), which was ultimately won by the author in 1949. Finally, unlike the three aforementioned books, *Witness* was not a critique of the USSR, but rather a biting account about the American Communist party and its previous groups during the 1940s, at a time when communism appeared to some observers as a utopia or just an anti-fascist movement (p. 334).

My only quibble with this book would be the lack of bibliographical references or sources, and the minimal number of footnotes. Nevertheless, *The Anti-communist Manifestos* is a fascinating review of four seminal publications that were more than just novels or autobiographies. Scholars interested in anti-communism and/or anti-Americanism, public opinion and political ideologies would certainly benefit from reading this book because it is always interesting to observe how an 'anti' movement (such as anti-communism) grows into public opinion. Students in American studies, international relations, human rights education or the history of the twentieth century should be invited to read it, even in colleges.

Yves Laberge
(Université Laval, Quebec)

The Nationalization of American Political Parties, 1880–1896 by **Daniel Klinghard**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. 268pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 0 521 19281 1

In *The Nationalization of the American Political Parties, 1880–1896* Daniel Klinghard challenges the conventional wisdom that Jacksonian democracy – with its emphasis on participation and consensus – was a golden age and a necessary step in the progression of American party democracy. Klinghard adopts a 'less celebratory' approach and argues that party democracy was inhibited and delayed by the centring of power at the sub-national level – in the hands of state and local party leaders who restricted access and construed and conveyed the messages of national candidates as they saw fit. It was an age of patronage, localism and blind obedience, contrary to the intentions of the Founding Fathers.

Klinghard's book details the forces and events that recentred power in the hands of the national party elites in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. The coming of the Civil War, the railroads and the telegraph raised American self-awareness and strengthened the notion of a national community. A new pluralism, an 'associational explosion', led to the creation of pressure and lobbying groups whose techniques (particularly direct mailing and the 'Campaign of Education') were quickly adapted by the national party elites to subvert state and local politicians. Party elites challenged the voters to adopt a selfish individualism and to consider each issue on its merits and impact. Successful political candidates thus gained a legitimacy they had not achieved since the onset of the Jacksonian era, and presidential party leadership, which Klinghard argues is the historical norm, returned and was normalised.

Daniel Klinghard has produced an excellent piece of work here. You come away from the book understanding both some of the great trends and the minutiae with which he deals. His chapter on Grover Cleveland's manipulation of the State of the Union address of 1887 is a particularly interesting case study for how national figures educated their public. Klinghard has drawn heavily on the works of leading commentators such as Alan Ware and Richard Benschel, but his use of archival material is what makes this an impressive monograph. He has scoured the country's newspapers and the correspondence of presidents and presidential candidates and his footnotes are an absolute treasure trove. This is a thoughtful and impeccably written book which will no doubt be of use to many students of the American political party.

Rob Griffiths
(Independent Scholar)

The Language of Law and the Foundations of American Constitutionalism by Gary L. McDowell. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. 409pp., £20.99, ISBN 978 0 521 14091 1

In America, debating how the American constitution ought to be understood in the application of its principles in law and deed is a debate that intersects the very heart of both scholarship and politics. In fact, for the past 30 years the debate has been at the heart of the

partisan division of left and right in American politics and it is a debate that is alive and well and fuelling much of the resistance and anger at the policies and actions of President Barack Obama.

Gary McDowell has been a leading voice in the academy among the different conservative voices trying not simply to counter liberal and radical assaults on the American constitutional tradition. The position that McDowell has spent most of his scholarly career defending is commonly called 'the originalist position' of American Constitutional jurisprudence. The 'original intent' position holds that judges in their attempts to interpret the American Constitution and the Statutes of Congress ought to follow the original intentions of the framers of the Constitution or the said Act under review. McDowell's book could be called his 'magnum opus', in which he presents the summation of his years of scholarship on the American constitutional tradition and how that tradition ought to be applied by the Courts in their efforts to uphold both the law and the principles of the American Constitution.

The Language of Law and the Foundations of American Constitutionalism intersects the best traditions of both jurisprudence and political philosophy to show the fundamental sources that underlie both the origins of the Anglo-American legal tradition and the American Constitution of 1787, which is the fundamental law of the United States. Unlike too many books on Constitutional law, McDowell's is both very accessible and quite thorough. This book offers the reader both a balanced critique of critics of 'the originalist position' as well as an outstandingly clear and powerful defence of that position. Consequently this is a book that one could gladly recommend to all readers who are interested in the debate over how the American Constitution ought to be understood.

Clifford A. Bates Jr
(Warsaw University)

Defenders of Liberty or Champions of Security? Federal Courts, the Hierarchy of Justice, and US Foreign Policy by Kirk A. Randazzo. New York: SUNY Press, 2010. 128pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 1 4384 3047 8

This book provides a valuable insight into the decision making of US federal judges on foreign policy issues. It

addresses two questions: how do judges solve the tension between liberty and security and does the hierarchical structure of the federal judiciary constrain their behaviour in lower courts?

Kirk Randazzo examines disputes on civil liberties between the government and foreign actors from 1946 to 2000 that were decided on by the US federal district courts, the circuit courts of appeals or the Supreme Court. Probit analyses on liberty (1) vs. security (0) decisions were conducted for each level of the judiciary separately. Formal principal-agent models including inter-level dependencies were tested using strategic choice probit analyses.

The results reveal that judges more often deny than accept claims of civil liberties, especially when the government refers to security threats. Liberal judges are more likely to defend liberty but this impact completely diminishes for district courts. The hierarchical structure effectively constrains lower courts: judges strategically anticipate reactions from higher tribunals and adjust their preference-based behaviour if they believe a reversal to be likely. Since the terrorist attacks in 2001, judges have continued to defer governmental foreign policy interests but particularly lower court judges have become more ideologically polarised. Mostly anecdotal qualitative evidence complements these quantitative analyses.

The main contribution that Randazzo makes to the literature of judicial politics lies in extending the institutional focus beyond the Supreme Court and in explicitly modelling the strategic interaction between different levels of the federal judiciary. He persuasively answers both research questions. Hypotheses come from very different strands such as IR theories of realism and principal-agent game theory. Some vague deductions and competing presumptions could be made more explicit. For example, a judge's unconditional fear of reversal is simply taken for granted and the section on legal theories does not provide a causal explanation of *why* judges would hesitate to defend liberty. A more complete hierarchical model should combine all three levels of the judiciary into one model and explicitly include the litigants' decision of whether or not to appeal (conceptually referred to on p. 59). Some graphs would have been helpful to illustrate the results, but, for the most part, the style of presentation is easily accessible to both qualitative and quantitative researchers interested in judicial politics. This book is a

good starting point for further work on interactive judicial decision making.

Jens Brandenburg
(University of Mannheim)

Party Polarization in Congress by **Sean M. Theriault**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008. 243pp., £17.99, ISBN 978 0 521 71768 7

Sean Theriault's study of congressional partisan polarisation is an excellent entry in the burgeoning polarisation literature. In the first section, Theriault succinctly summarises the theories of political polarisation. While growing and significant partisan polarisation in the US Congress has been well documented in previous studies, there remains significant debate over what causes it. Theriault argues that previous explanations have merit, but they are incomplete in their narrow focus on constituent sorting or party activists exclusively. He posits that constituency changes (in voters, constituencies and activists) lead to institutional changes (in procedural rules and substantive legislation) that result in party polarisation.

The remainder of the book consists of an empirical analysis of the effect and importance of constituency and institutional changes with respect to polarisation. Theriault's analysis finds a small but significant effect for redistricting (10–20 per cent), a larger effect for more sorted constituencies (15 per cent) and an equivalent effect for the ideological extremism of party activists. However, this leaves a great deal of partisan polarisation unexplained. He attributes the lion's share of polarisation in Congress to institutional effects, and particularly the explosion of polarisation on procedural matters. Increasingly polarised party caucuses cede power to their party leadership to enforce greater ideological discipline on the members on procedural votes. This procedural polarisation accounts for most of the polarisation in both houses, with the Senate's polarisation explained by the election of 'Gingrich Senators' (former Republican house members during Gingrich's Speakership tenure elected to the senate).

Theriault's analysis is comprehensive and compelling. He develops a simple but persuasive measure of partisan polarisation and employs a number of methodological formulations and empirical tests that demonstrate the robustness and validity of his findings.

His real contribution to the literature is his integrated theory of partisan polarisation which both incorporates previous explanations for polarisation and permits them to compete with one another in accounting for partisan polarisation. However, he papers over the endogenous nature of these factors in attributing the bulk of polarisation to procedural effects. Theriault acknowledges that constituency polarisation determines institutional polarisation, but then loses sight of this fact in emphasising procedural effects. Constituency polarisation begat the polarised party caucuses that demanded polarisation on procedural votes. No matter how much procedural polarisation outstrips the magnitude of constituency polarisation, the latter would not happen without the former. Still, Theriault's study is a must read for students of American politics seeking to understand and assess the causal mechanisms of partisan polarisation in Congress over the past 30 years.

Donald M. Gooch
(Arkansas Tech University)

Why the Constitution Matters by **Mark Tushnet**.

London: Yale University Press, 2010. 187pp., £17.99, ISBN 978 0 300 15036 0

In *Why the Constitution Matters*, Mark Tushnet provides an answer to the titular question that focuses on the structural, rather than substantive, importance of America's founding document. Tushnet's argument is that the Constitution matters as it establishes the framework for American politics. He asserts that '[t]he real question, then, is not *why* the Constitution matters, but *how* it matters' (p. 17). The response to this refined inquiry is succinct: 'the Constitution matters because politics matters' (p. 17), and is reflected in the book's three parts.

In Part I, 'How the Constitution Matters', Tushnet explains the relevance of the constitutional basis for the structure of American government. This explanation emphasises how the principles of the Constitution are fleshed out in the actualities of the American political system. Tushnet claims, for example, that political parties, rather than concepts like separation of powers, are 'the driving force[s] behind the policies the American people care about' (p. 27). This approach is supported by illustrating the connections between federalism, the presidency and the First Amendment with national party politics.

Part II, 'How the Supreme Court Matters', continues this nuanced view of constitutional interpretation. Here, Tushnet urges the importance of viewing the Court outside a theoretical vacuum, claiming that '[p]olitics determines when the Supreme Court matters' (p. 94). This section explores the patterns between America's highest court and government. It dissects how the Court can be a force for a political regime in a unified government. Conversely, it examines the complicated politics of judicial selection, which highlights the potential tension between political regimes and the Court. The author concludes that the fundamental rights a Supreme Court will likely enforce are dependent upon the characteristics of current political forces.

Finally, in Part III, 'How to Make the Constitution Matter More – or Differently', Tushnet acknowledges that his thesis diverges from other scholarly works. He asserts, though, that political realities must, and *should*, be taken into account in order to improve constitutional discussions. His ultimate conclusion supports this pragmatic perspective, emphasising that '[i]f you want the Constitution to matter in a different way ... [a]ll you have to do is be politically active' (p. 173).

Overall, this book provides a thought-provoking approach to constitutional analysis. Its clear coverage of complex issues creates an accessibility that is sometimes not present in this genre of academic thought. Consequently, *Why the Constitution Matters* provides an appropriately democratic discussion for a wide audience of readers.

Amanda Harmon Cooley
(South Texas College of Law)

Irrational Security: The Politics of Defense from Reagan to Obama by **Daniel Wirls**. Baltimore MD:

Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010. 239pp., £15.50, ISBN 978 0 8018 9439 8

Daniel Wirls characterises US defence policy as suffering from a damaging militarist bias. This bias is 'nearly the default setting' of American politics, a product of two-party competition, the separation of powers, vested interests and American nationalism (p. 4, pp. 9–13). Domestic politics, Wirls argues, provide a set of incentives that work against 'dovish' politicians, while emboldening 'hawks'.

Analysing the period 1989 to 2009, Wirls methodically assesses the fate of numerous defence policies such as the Reagan-era military build-up, Colin Powell's 'Base Force' concept, Clinton's 'Bottom-Up Review' and the development of expensive new technologies under George W. Bush. In each case, he argues that domestic politics stymied debate and, ultimately, determined militarist policies. At the macro level, Wirls shows defence spending to be disproportionately large both historically and relative to other government departments. *Irrational Security* brings together a rich variety of sources, including official statements and strategy documents, government spending figures, newspaper reports, autobiographies and investigative journalist and insider accounts, as well as material from the secondary political science literature.

However, the book's impressively high standard of empirical research is counterbalanced by its failure to apply or generate a coherent theory, a weakness that hinders its applicability to cases beyond its own narrow focus (for example, to other country cases). By not articulating a theory, Wirls also leaves aspects of his analysis vulnerable to criticism. For example, his conception of domestic politics as determinants of foreign policy ('second image') is potentially undermined by his acknowledgement that external stimuli such as the end of the Cold War and 9/11 (p. 128) matter hugely in domestic politics ('second image reversed'). Wirls

also cites instances where domestic politics have blocked militarist tendencies instead of promoting them (such as on p. 119) without explaining why such instances are not fatal to his argument. Furthermore, the blame and opprobrium heaped upon individuals within the Bush administration seems contrary to Wirls' supposition that a multifarious 'political tilt' is the cause of American militarism, thus leaving unresolved questions of structure versus agency. Finally, a theoretical framework would have allowed Wirls to discuss the role and significance of (and differences between) America's political parties in a more systematic way than is achieved in *Irrational Security*.

Nevertheless, the account of US military policy making offered by Wirls remains meticulously researched, highly detailed and persuasively argued. *Irrational Security* will be of interest to scholars of American politics and US foreign policy alike.

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