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POLITICAL THEORY

THE PHILOSOPHY OF MICHAEL OAKESHOTT

by **Terry Nardin**

University Park PA: Penn State University
Press, 2001. 251, \$35.00, ISBN 0 271 02156 X

Readership: Postgraduates,
academic/research

Rating: *****

Reviewer: MICHAEL BACON
(*London School of
Economics*)

Terry Nardin's is the first book-length discussion of Oakeshott's account of philosophy, as distinct from his writings on subjects such as politics, history or law. Philosophy is for Oakeshott not a constructive or normative enterprise, one that offers up prescriptions, but is rather the attempt to uncover the presuppositions of those 'modes of experience' – history, science and practice being the most significant – that do.

By uncovering the presumptions, and thus the limitations, of the modes of experience, philosophy illustrates instances of what Oakeshott calls the 'fallacy of irrelevance', an example of which would be the use of scientific findings to support a

political agenda. However, Oakeshott is also concerned by the tendency of philosophers themselves to make this mistake, of moving from explanation to prescription. If philosophers offer up political proposals, they will by definition have ceased the philosophical task of examining and explaining politics, and instead have become embroiled in political activity.

Nardin writes that normative political theory is for Oakeshott an oxymoron (p. 127): one can either theorize politics or engage in it. Political *philosophy* should confine itself to examining 'the assumptions that underlie political discourse to achieve clearer and more coherent definitions of political ideas' (p. 11). It is not clear, however, that this escapes combining explanatory and normative concerns, or why we should worry about it doing so. As Nardin notes, many commentators believe Oakeshott to have violated his own strictures on this point. He disagrees with those who take Oakeshott to be a conservative or even liberal political theorist, but is unconvincing as to why he thinks them mistaken. Nardin largely avoids critical commentary, providing instead an extremely well written, detailed and engaging exposition of a complex and often idiosyncratic thinker.

PROTECTING THE ELDERLY: how culture shapes social policy

by **Charles Lockhart**

University Park PA: Penn State University
Press, 2001. 286, \$45.00, ISBN 0 271 02130 6

Reviewer: KANNAMMA RAMAN
(*University of Mumbai*)

This book examines one of the most crucial issues in the contemporary world – that is, how to protect the elderly. The pioneering effort of Bismarck, namely contributory social insurance, has now been found wanting. Additionally, as the author correctly points out, the 1980s witnessed leaders in the West reversing

some of the social programmes followed in the past. These initiatives grew out of '... broad societal changes that mobilized industrial adherents of an individualistic cultural perspective' (p. 4). Over the years, public pensions for the elderly were cut back, and there have been calls for further cuts. However, as the central hypothesis of this book maintains, 'cultural conceptions of what is appropriate provide the key variable in explaining how societies responded to ... pressures on public protection for the elderly' (p. 5).

Charles Lockhart elaborates, in part one of this book, the basic ideas involved in the grid-group theory of Mary Douglas

and Aaron Wildavsky. This approach proves to be a powerful tool for linking 'instrumental rationality to culturally constrained value clusters ... whose adherents, in turn, strive to construct distinctive institutional designs' (p. 6). In part two, the author successfully uses this theory to examine why Germany and Russia rely more heavily on revenue increases than on benefit reduction, while the USA and Japan prefer to cut benefits. The author has been remarkably even-handed while assessing the virtues of the approaches of hierarchists, egalitarians and individualists to this rather sensitive issue. The book is an important contribution to our understanding of the impact of culture on welfare policy.

**DEMOCRACY AS PUBLIC
DELIBERATION: new perspectives**
by **Maurizio Passerin d'Entrèves**
(ed.)

Manchester: Manchester University Press,
2002. 238, £35.00, ISBN 0 7190 6101 6

Readership: Postgraduates,
academic/research

Rating: ***

Reviewer: CHRISTIAN LIST
(Nuffield College, Oxford)

Based on a 1999 conference at Manchester University, this book consists of eight scholarly essays on deliberative democracy. Although subdivided into two parts, 'Normative' and 'Institutional' perspectives, the essays fall primarily into normative political theory, with some passing remarks on public-choice-theoretic issues and a few refreshing empirical excursions in part two. The central question is whether deliberative democracy is feasible or desirable in complex and plural societies. Part one's essays

argue the following points. (1) Public deliberation provides a better defence of political institutions' legitimacy than liberal neutrality or perfectionism. (2) Four standard arguments are each insufficient for defending deliberative democracy and require support from a fifth, namely that deliberative democracy best accords with 'who we are'. (3) To justify the special obligations among participants that deliberation allegedly creates, deliberative democracy must presuppose a notion of community, albeit not necessarily a national one. (4) Rawls's idea of public reason, despite having inspired models of democratic deliberation, is not genuinely deliberative. Part two's essays argue four more points. (5) In standard accounts of deliberative democracy, the link between informal deliberative preference formation and formal institutional decision-making is unclear, and thus the latter cannot reasonably claim legitimacy generated by the former. (6) Institutions should be assessed by their inclusiveness, quality of deliberation and effect on citizenship; citizens' juries, the essay's

example, potentially fulfil these criteria, and may usefully supplement existing representative institutions. (7) Habermas's discourse theory provides principles for adjudicating conflicts over rights in divided societies, as in the case of controversial Protestant marches in Catholic neighbourhoods in Northern Ireland. (8) Despite excluding certain non-deliberative forms of expression, deliberative democracy is not materially unfair to

disadvantaged groups. The essays' somewhat heterogeneous themes are helpfully brought together by the editor's detailed introduction. The book may find a niche in the competitive market of edited volumes on deliberative democracy, thanks to its relevance to current debates on liberal nationalism and on how to arrange societies with deep divisions or asymmetries between different social or cultural groups.

NATIONALISM AND PARTICULARITY

by **Andrew Vincent**

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. 300, £16.95, ISBN 0 521 01709 2

Readership: Postgraduates

Rating: ***

Reviewer: DANIELE CONVERSI
(*University of Lincoln*)

Providing an excellent synthesis of major debates within political theory, the book is divided into eight headings: 'sovereign particulars', nation state, citizenship, liberalism, patriotism, communitarianism, multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism. Each is analysed in relation to nationalism. In turn, the latter is seen as the most pervasive form of 'particularism', an umbrella-term used to cluster several current anti-universalist trends. Some interesting typologies are also sketched.

Especially engaging is the chapter on patriotism, where the author deals with patriotism's kin-like features as evinced in related terms: 'patriarchalism', 'patron', 'patronage', 'patrician', and so on. Thus, patriotism cannot really be 'civic' and it is often hardly distinguishable from

extreme forms of nationalism and ethnonationalism. This chapter should be compulsory reading for all those who still deliberately identify patriotism as a more 'acceptable' form of nationalism. An interesting chapter on communitarianism could have offered sharper and tougher criticisms. Indeed, the book provides a 'soft' critique of particularism, as its main argument remains sinuous and often lacking teeth. One reason for this is its highly abstract nature without empirical referents to existing nationalisms, not even to the most powerful – that of the USA. Neither is there sufficient attention to the impact of globalization or Americanization. A very interesting chapter on the use and abuse of key terms in multiculturalism in the end fails to deliver, as the uncertain relationship between culture, ethnicity and nation remains shrouded in ambiguity. Why do scholars often confuse these terms? If there is such a confusion, it is because common elements, as well as differences, exist, but they are not systematically explored.

Interdisciplinarity is a requisite for studying a complex phenomenon such as nationalism. As the author aptly recognizes, 'we do not quite have the conceptual vocabulary' to move forward (p. 241). But if only the author had focused more

on the rich contributions of the broader political and social sciences, this conceptual vacuum might have been filled. As the book is largely anchored to the internal debate within political philosophy, the terminological conundrum abides.

The broader literature on nationalism is neglected largely because 'writings on nationalism ... are subtly interwoven into the very texture of nationalism' (p. 45). This is an important point, but again one is left thirsty for more.

**LIBERTY, RATIONALITY, AND
AGENCY IN HOBBS'S LEVIATHAN**

by **David van Mill**

Albany NY: State University of New York Press, 2001. 265, \$19.95, ISBN 0 7914 5036 8

Readership: Advanced undergraduates, postgraduates, academic/research

Rating: ****

Reviewer: GABRIELLA SLOMP
(University of St Andrews)

Let us face it: Hobbes was as interested in protecting liberty as any cook is in frying snowballs. Indeed, Hobbes's theory of the state has won the admiration of thinkers whom we do not usually regard as champions of freedom – Carl Schmitt being a case in point. Yet Hobbes's views on liberty are far from simple. In the Hobbesian literature, two main tendencies can be detected: one (by far the more common) is to file Hobbes's views on the subject under 'Negative Freedom'; the other acknowledges the various (often opposing) remarks made by Hobbes on the topic and confines them to the 'Miscellaneous' file. The merit of David

van Mill's book is that it consults, evaluates and eventually dismisses both files.

The main aim of the book is to piece together a theory of autonomous agency in Hobbes's work and to show that it has much in common with contemporary thinking. For van Mill, Hobbes's argument goes beyond a defence of minimal freedom, or 'pure negative freedom', in so far as it extends from an examination of external constraints on movement to the study of the requirements of long-term rational action. In other words, according to van Mill, one can reconstruct in Hobbes's works a theory of 'extended freedom' closely related to a theory of 'extended rationality', overlooked by game-theoretical interpretations of *Leviathan*. In order to justify his claims, van Mill makes use of contemporary categories of freedom (borrowing mainly from Feinberg, but also from Flathman and Charles Taylor). Although I disagree with some of van Mill's findings, especially on morality, I believe that this book makes a positive contribution to the understanding of Hobbes's notion of rationality. Finally, the fact that van Mill's methodology will inevitably raise eyebrows in some Cambridge-based contextualists pleases me no end.

**CIVIL SOCIETY AND DEMOCRATIC
THEORY: alternative voices**
by **Gideon Baker**

London: Routledge, 2002. 200, £55.00,
ISBN 0 415 25418 3

Readership: Advanced
undergraduates

Rating: ****

Reviewer: ROLAND AXTMANN
(*University of Aberdeen*)

Baker puts forward essentially four core theses. First, 'liberal democratic' theory assumes that civil society should act merely as a support structure for democracy 'proper' at the level of the state. Second, in the political struggles and the theoretical thinking in Eastern Europe and Latin America, mainly in the 1970s and 1980s, an alternative political vision was developed. It pitted 'civil society' against 'the state' and discovered autonomous associational life as an alternative to statist politics (from which the opposition, and popular forces, generally, were excluded): 'What was sought after was nothing less than the democracy of civil society' (p. 89). With 'civil society' viewed as the location for self-determining praxis by the subaltern classes, this vision embraced a critique of all politics with an orientation to the state – that is, of liberal

democracy also (p. 66). Third, when political scientists appropriated the notion of 'civil society' in the 1990s, they turned it into an analytical category. They tamed it by conceptualizing (and instrumentalizing) civil society as a support structure for actually existing democracy at the state level, and thus seeing it as now merely supportive of statist liberal democracy, rather than as a site for democratic self-determination (p. 93). Fourth, whereas the current dominant thinking on 'global civil society' falls broadly within the theoretical framework of 'civil society as a pre-requisite of democracy', much can be learnt from the Zapatistas who uphold the idea of civil society as revolutionary practice. Indeed, they develop it by placing their activities within a transnational network of counter-hegemonic movements.

The book has grown out of a doctoral thesis, and it betrays this origin in that it is replete with chunky quotations on which the author swings from point to point like Tarzan on jungle vines. The book does offer a clear and succinct review of the literature, but it is not an original contribution to the debate (of which there are glimpses, however, in the chapter 'Theorizing the Democracy of Civil Society'). These qualities make it a very useful book around which to organize an undergraduate course on civil society. The publisher should be encouraged to issue the book as a paperback.

**MAKING SENSE OF SOCIAL
MOVEMENTS**
by **Nick Crossley**

Buckingham: Open University Press, 2002.
214, £16.99, ISBN 0 335 206026

Reviewer: GILDAS RENO
(*University of Rennes*)

'Between Bourdieu and the canons of movement theory, there is, in my view, a very fertile ground.' This sentence encapsulates a large part of Crossley's project. His aim, more generally, is to contribute to the transformation of social movements studies into a more intellectually coherent discipline. This book is conse-

quently much more than a handbook for students.

Crossley's goal is daring. Summing up the different steps of development in this discipline, he avoids the trap of retrospective illusion that could have let us think that historical and cognitive progressions go together. Useful concepts are presented in their intellectual context of elaboration in a didactic way. Thus Tilly's 'repertoires', Snow's 'frames', the 'network problem' launched by Oberschall, the 'political opportunities' popularized by Kitschelt and Tarrow, the 'political process theory' developed by McAdam (and others) are precisely evaluated with their respective heuristic advantages and limits of validity, always aiming to map and structure the discipline. These presentations are therefore always linked to the general project: of finding an alternative to the common paradigm that binds together 'rational action', 'resource mobilization' and 'political process' theories. One of the consequences is the re-evaluation of the 'collective behaviour' approach. After years of domination by the 'rational action' model, the capacity of this other American tradition to focus on identity, emotions, effervescence and beliefs can be a real asset for current research.

For some readers, this focus can serve to offset the utilitarian anthropology adopted by Olson and his successors. For others strictly following Crossley's argumentation, the rehabilitation of in-

teractionist sociology gives substitutive logistics. Crossley even considers the dominant American 'rational action'/'resource mobilization' paradigm as no longer very useful. Moreover, Smelser's *Theory of Collective Behavior* (1962) is fertile ground. Essential Smelserian concepts of 'structural conduciveness', 'structural strain', 'beliefs' and 'precipitating factors' are explained.

Crossley rejects utilitarian premises and is looking for an alternative 'model of agency'. He explains in detail the best realistic model he has found, and insists on the importance of giving social movements studies a strong sociological anchor to avoid a theoretical 'eclectic hotch-potch'. The anchor proposed is the 'theory of practice' developed by Bourdieu. Crossley's 'anchorage project' is a blueprint for the moment, and he proposes some stimulating intellectual tracks – 'through Bourdieu's glasses' – to study social movements. However, social movements studies need to benefit from different contemporary sociological theories in a pluralistic epistemological conception. For example, leadership and organizational dimensions in the emergence and change of social movements are underevaluated in Crossley's approach. Political scientists should discuss the bold and original theses contained in this book. Such a debate would help to extend and enrich a beautiful patchwork, and confirm social movements studies as a lively discipline.

DEMOCRATIC THEORY TODAY

by April Carter and Geoffrey Stokes (eds)

Cambridge: Polity, 2002. 317, ISBN 0 7456 2195 3

Reviewer: JAMES JOHNSON
(University of Rochester)

Democratic theory is something of a growth industry and it consequently is difficult to keep ones' bearings. The nearly one dozen essays in this volume traverse the field in useful, provocative ways. They not only help place the field in clearer focus, but make constructive contributions to ongoing debates.

The editors have very nicely organized a sort of challenge and response format in which the first six essays explore problems of inclusion – changes in citizenship, social and economic inequality, gender, claims of indigenous populations, group rights, and nationalism – that democratic theorists must confront. The final five essays largely add modifiers – making democracy ‘deliberative,’ ‘social,’ ‘associative,’ or ‘transnational’ – in hopes of

showing how democrats can mitigate or deflect or respond to the thrust of various challengers. Each of the authors surveys a considerable terrain in a clear and succinct way. So on the whole the volume is well conceived and executed. For the uninitiated it will serve as a nice introduction to current debates. For scholars in the field it will serve as a useful map of where democratic theory now stands. So even the title is apt!

**LIBERAL PLURALISM:
the implications of value
pluralism for political theory
and practice**

by **William A. Galston**

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,
2002. 146, £13.95, ISBN 0 521 01249 X

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

Rating: *****

Reviewer: GEORGE CROWDER
(*Flinders University,
Adelaide*)

You know you are a major political theorist when your photograph appears on your book not on the back but the front cover, and not once but twice. But this important book would confirm William Galston's high standing as a contemporary thinker even without the photographs. His starting point is the idea of value pluralism first formulated by Isaiah Berlin: the view that, although some human values may be universal, they are also multiple, potentially conflicting and incommensurable. Against recent critics such as John Gray, Galston defends and develops Berlin's view that the kind of politics which fits best with pluralism is liberalism. His distinctive contribution is the claim that this will be liberalism in an especially tolerant form, dedicated to

accommodating the ‘expressive liberty’ of many different ways of life, including those of non-liberal religious groups such as the Amish. Value pluralism thus supports a ‘Reformation’ liberalism based on toleration of diversity rather than an ‘Enlightenment’ liberalism committed to promoting distinctively liberal ideals such as personal autonomy.

Galston's case is deeply felt and forcefully expressed, yet constructed with remarkable economy. Inevitably there are openings for questions. Is the diversity-based liberalism he affirms really so different from the autonomy-based liberalism he rejects? The scope of legitimate expressive liberty turns out to be hedged by a number of qualifications that may cumulatively approach an autonomy requirement after all. Furthermore, Galston will not persuade many readers that any kind of liberal universalism is supported by pluralism. His strongest argument here is that liberalism is the best political vehicle for accommodating the multiple legitimate ways of life implied by pluralism. But to the extent that these include illiberal practices, they will be in tension with the public culture of the liberal state. Galston is aware of these problems, but how far he succeeds in solving them may be disputed. What is certain is that this stimulating book is already a landmark in a rapidly growing literature on the politics of value pluralism.

**NATIONALISM:
a critical introduction**
by **Philip Spencer and
Howard Wollman**

London: Sage, 2002. 248, £18.99, ISBN 0
7619 4721 3

NATIONALISM
by **Anthony D. Smith**

Cambridge: Polity, 2001. 192, £13.99, ISBN
0 7456 2659 9

Reviewer: **ANDREW VINCENT**
(*University of Sheffield*)

The focus of these texts is on nationalism. Both are self-conscious introductions to the topic. Although the issue is the same, the approach of each is distinct. The Spencer and Wollman book is a thorough and workmanlike review of many of the main debates and controversies surrounding nationalism. The book is actually quite comprehensive in its scope, well organized and, because it is clearly laid out, will probably be useful for a student readership. The topics covered are quite diverse, incorporating debates about the origins, present status and future character of nationalist discourse. The underlying argument, which is carried quite lightly through the text, is that nationalism needs to be critically contextualized and problematized. The authors advocate a much more sceptical voice in nationalist studies, which does not diminish its significance, but rather understands it more profoundly as a complex concept with often very flawed, diverse and contestable assumptions.

Anthony Smith's book is different. It is written by a scholar who has been slaving at the nationalist coalface for quite a few decades. I recall summary texts on nationalism from Smith's pen in the 1970s – one wonders if he ever feels weary of the

topic. The real difference in this book is that there is a deep – almost to the point of second nature – familiarity with the whole scholarly area. However, this weight of background scholarship does not impinge upon the comprehensibility and directness of the text. What really drives Smith is not so much the effort at introductory survey, as a body of argument. Smith has a quite definite position here, which he is keen to put across to the reader, and this gives the book a more immediate élan than Spencer and Wollman's text. Nationalism, for Smith, has quite legitimately engaged the attention of many heavyweight intellectuals and writers over the past few centuries. It has also obsessed and motivated many millions of people. As such, nationalism needs to be taken very seriously – it is an important intellectual, historical and practical phenomenon. Contrary to many recent critics, for Smith, nationalism does have certain unique 'core doctrines' which can be clearly delineated; the only problem is not so much conceptual poverty as conceptual richness and ambiguity. However, the ambiguity of the core doctrines creates the space for quite diverse readings of nationalist doctrine. Essentially nationalism is a much more intellectually nuanced, emotively orientated and global phenomenon than is often appreciated by critics. Some of Smith's most energetic arguments focus on debate about the origins of nationalism – *qua* modernism, perennialism, primordialism, and so forth. Smith vigorously associates himself with an 'ethno-symbolist' position, which considers nations as embodying collective cultural identities (symbols, myths, values, traditions) over long periods, which need to be analysed and taken seriously. He also considers that nations clearly have a deep ethnic antiquity, even if it is difficult to track down. They are not simply modern constructions.

For those very familiar with recent debates over nationalism, Smith's book is probably the livelier short read. It is an overtly 'critical' introduction, from a particular perspective, which many critics (including myself) will no doubt disagree with. However, the book definitely 'pulls one in' to the arguments and engages the critical faculties. On the other hand, I think that students being 'introduced' to nationalism for the first time might initially get more out of the Spencer

and Wollman book. Their argument is less forcefully pushed and they allow more space than Smith for the various contestants to speak. This is not to say that Smith does not cover the ground well. He also provides insightful discussions of a number of key issues. However, his arguments are more resolutely tied to fostering his own particular perspective on nationalism and this makes the introductory dimension less satisfactory, even if it is more intellectually engaging.

<p>VIOLENCE: a reader by Catherine Besteman (ed.)</p> <p>Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002. 335, £12.99, ISBN 0 333 94776 2</p>
<p>VIOLENT POLITICS: strategies of internal conflict by Michael Addison</p> <p>Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002. 260, £45.00, ISBN 0 333 73085 2</p>
<p><i>Readership:</i> Undergraduates <i>Rating:</i> ***</p>
<p>Reviewer: ROSEMARY H. T. O'KANE (Keele University)</p>

Though both books are concerned with violence within nation states and each contains a case study of Northern Ireland, they are chalk and cheese. *Violence: a reader* is edited by an anthropologist who, as she explains, 'takes the state as a reference point, and uses ethnographic cases to examine local interpretations of motivations for violence'. *Violent Politics* is written by an ex-Brigadier turned scholar whose focus is on the problems faced by governments in responding to violent conflicts, especially terrorism and riots.

The theme of *Violence* is the role played by aspects of modernity in shaping political violence, with a focus on what is new and enduring about local violence. Thirteen readings appear under three headings: 'Violence and the State', 'Political Violence', and 'The Normalization of Violence'. There is also a helpful introduction and conclusion. Under the first heading are the classic works of Weber, Arendt, Tilly, Moore and Bauman. Section two covers violence against the state by its subjects and opens with Crenshaw's classic article on the causes of terrorism, followed by four ethnographic cases: Khalistani Sikhs, Cambodia, Northern Ireland, Bosnia-Herzegovina. The case studies in section three, including the Palestinian intifada, are concerned with the cultural interpretation of violence in places where violence is so pervasive that it has become the norm. Though all the readings are deserving of inclusion, the classic ones are not much referred to in the case studies and it is odd not to have something by Marx or Lenin on capitalism, imperialism or the state. The distinction made by Arendt between governments based on laws, where subjects know what actions to avoid, and governments based on lawlessness, where terror is deliberately directed at innocents, is not pursued in the discussion, which is a pity

as it relates also to different kinds of violence at the local level.

Violent Politics is a highly individualistic book. Addison argues that it is not 'political violence' but 'violent politics' that should be the focus of analysis because conventional politics is its subset. A refrain of the book is that politics and war are two ways of solving conflicts and 'violent politics, lying in the zone between peace and war, is a third'. This book falls into three parts and a conclusion. In the first three chapters, theories, both explanatory and strategic, are critically considered and the possibility of producing a 'theory of political violence' is rejected. The next three chapters concentrate on Northern Ireland. The following four chapters consider the viability of kinds of countermeasures to internal conflicts within the law (criminal law, political crimes, internal war) and outside the law (disappearances). There is also a comprehensive appendix of statistics on Northern Ireland in respect of deaths, terrorist crimes, convictions and compensation.

Violent Politics, like *Violence*, is full of food for thought. The chapters on Northern Ireland are clearly explained, and the concern for loss of life is heartfelt

and poignant given the author's involvement as a soldier. There are some flaws. Addison does not appreciate the distinction between legitimate and justifiable violent protest. Arguments are not always tightly made and lessons are sometimes drawn from inappropriate examples: too many examples are taken from revolutions and revolutionaries when the aim of the book is essentially to offer lessons for democratic governments, not the kinds of dictatorships and *ancien regimes* overthrown in revolutions. 'Will, skill, manpower and materiel' are identified as what is needed by those involved in violent politics to succeed, with will (involving passionate belief) the most important. Yet strength of 'will' is never defined separately from the fact of success itself. The conclusion that violent politics must be treated as internal war is built on experience and compassion, but if violent politics is a form of internal war, then it is a contradiction to claim that conventional politics is its subset. Both the forms and circumstances of violent politics differ widely. Some come closer to war (like civil war); others (where violence is threatened rather than actually used, as is often the case in riots) come closer to conventional politics.

**THE SENTIMENTAL CITIZEN:
emotion in democratic politics**

by **George E Marcus**

University Park PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002. 171, £16.95, ISBN 0 271 02211 6

Readership: Undergraduates, advanced undergraduates, postgraduates

Rating: ***

Reviewer: PIETER VANHUYSE
(*London School of Economics*)

Conventional approaches in politics, this book argues, have hitherto missed the mark either by being altogether oblivious to the emotions or by entertaining erroneous views about their role, based on false dichotomies or the false assumption that emotions only exist if they can be consciously expressed. Emotions actually allow us to subconsciously perform millions of everyday actions, thereby enabling the mind to do what it does best – deliberate and reflect. Two brain systems in particular are instrumental to this. The disposition system, relying on enthusiasm, allows us to learn from posi-

tive experiences and thereafter rely on efficient habits. The surveillance system, by making us anxious, alerts us whenever the environment warrants our breaking out of such routine modes. Both emotions are at play in democratic politics. Liberal institutions such as independent judiciaries, periodical elections and press freedoms ensure that habits are critically examined. And anxiety, as created by situations of crisis or by negative campaigns, leads voters to shed partisan

habits and more consciously consider unfamiliar alternatives. Marcus concludes that citizens, paradoxically, are better informed when anxious than when they are calm. The book could have benefited from the presentation, rather than citation, of some of the neuroscientific evidence it draws on. Nevertheless, its original claim that democratic citizenship, far from being diminished by emotions, is positively enabled by them, merits close consideration.

CHARLES TAYLOR:
thinking and living deep diversity
by **Mark Redhead**

Lanham MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002.
271, £18.95, ISBN 0 7425 2127 3

Readership: Postgraduates,
academic/research

Rating: **

Reviewer: ANDREW SCHAAP
(University of Melbourne)

Redhead surveys Taylor's life and work in relation to the problem of 'political fragmentation' – that is, how to recognize different forms of life within a polity while promoting allegiance to its central institutions. In this context, Redhead places the concept of 'deep diversity' (taken from a minor political essay) at the centre of Taylor's thought. Deep diversity is the notion that citizens should be able to belong to a polity either as rights-bearing individuals (as Anglophone Canadians tend to think of themselves) or as members of an ethnic group, which mediates the individual's relation to the state (as with most Quebecois). Redhead draws out

the difficulties that Taylor's self-avowed 'holist-individualism' leads him to. The ideal of deep diversity is found wanting because it relies on: (1) an exaggerated critique of liberalism; (2) an account of recognition that tends both to reify culture and arbitrarily to limit valid claims to recognition; and (3) a moral ontology that turns out to be as inhospitable to certain forms of life as the procedural liberalism it serves to critique.

Contrary to Zuckert (on the back cover), Redhead's approach *is* reductive. In taking Taylor's thought to be unified by his vision of deep diversity, Redhead pays least attention to (and ultimately wants to jettison) what is most original and striking about it. Against Taylor, Redhead advocates a 'practical non-ontological approach', 'rooted cosmopolitanism' and a more sympathetic account of liberalism. But what appears to me as a failure of the author seriously to grapple with what is most challenging in Taylor perhaps also points to the fact that Taylor is at his best when accounting for what it is to be a moral agent, rather than when he is addressing the somewhat narrow set of concerns of mainstream political philosophy that preoccupy Redhead.

**CONTEXTS OF JUSTICE:
political philosophy beyond
liberalism and communitarianism**
by **Rainer Forst**

Berkeley CA: University of California Press,
2002. 358, £15.95, ISBN 0 520 23225 9

Readership: Advanced
undergraduates, postgraduates,
academic/research

Rating: *****

Reviewer: JOHN HORTON
(Keele University)

The appearance in English of a book concerned with the almost *passé* liberal-communitarian debate, first published in German eight years ago, may seem a less than appetizing dish, with any food for thought about this subject by now rather stale. However, this book simply illustrates how expectations can be confounded. *Contexts of Justice* is a demanding work, but one that has strong claims to be the most comprehensive, systematic and sophisticated discussion of the key issues at stake in the liberal-communitarian literature yet written. It is rich with detailed arguments, insightful analysis and careful criticism. The work of most of the usual suspects – Rawls, Sandel, MacIntyre, Walzer, Taylor, Larmore *et al.* – is sub-

jected to vigorous but fair-minded assessment. These discussions are often marked by a sharpness and perceptiveness that sheds fresh light even on questions where one may have believed no new illumination to be possible.

These very real strengths, however, do also have a downside that bears on Forst's central thesis. This thesis is that the overall strengths and weaknesses of various liberal and communitarian arguments can only be properly appreciated once we distinguish four distinct contexts of justice and justification: the ethical, the legal, the political and the moral. Each has its own audience, standards and forms of reasoning. These, it is claimed, are typically confused within liberal-communitarian discourse, but need to be carefully separated and appropriately integrated. This approach owes much to Habermas but, as with his mentor, Forst's commendable desire for analytical precision is liable to lapse into theoretical fiat and a failure fully to grasp the contested character of his conceptual structure. However, even if like this reader, you are not persuaded that what lies 'beyond liberalism and communitarianism' is Habermas, and think that here Forst's formidable critical powers rather desert him, this remains a deeply impressive and thoroughly rewarding book.

**THE TOCQUEVILLE READER:
a life in letters and politics**
by **Oliver Zunz and Alan Kahan**

Oxford: Blackwell, 2002. 384, £17.99, ISBN
0631215468

Reviewer: MADIS QVORTRUP
(London School of
Economics)

'A New Science is needed for a world in itself quite new'. This quote from Alexis de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* is but one of many *bon mots* by the nineteenth century French politician, sociologist, and travel writer. Tocqueville (1805–59) is best known for his treatise on America. Yet he was more than that – as Oliver Zunz and Alan Kahan show in this timely reader.

Tocqueville is the intellectual godfather of modern theories of Social Capital (as recently developed by Robert Putnam in *Bowling Alone*). The view that the success – or otherwise – of polities depend on the citizens' mores (or 'habits of the heart' as Tocqueville calls it) has had important implications for the study of politics. Tocqueville famously noted that while the constitutions and formal institutions in Latin American countries were identical to those of the USA, the former countries lacked the civic virtues necessary for developing democracy. It is undoubtedly this aspect of Tocqueville's *oeuvre*, which is best known today. Another aspect of his production is that he pioneered the single country case study as valid approach in

comparative politics. In this way he was a precursor for the likes of Lijphart and Stein Rokkan.

Every generation seems to have its own Tocqueville. Half a century ago, Hayek championed Tocqueville as the great liberal critic of the ceaseless drift towards equality. (Indeed, Hayek toyed with the idea of naming the Mont Pelerin Society the Tocqueville Society!) Tocqueville was a critic of these tendencies. And an important one at that. The primary recommendation of this book is that it presents all these different aspects of Tocqueville's thinking – not only from *Democracy in America* but also from his other – less known – books and letters.

**THE CAMBRIDGE COMPANION
TO ROUSSEAU**

by **Patrick Riley (ed.)**

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,
2001. 466, £15.95, ISBN 0 521 57615 6

**ROUSSEAU AND NIETZSCHE:
toward an aesthetic morality**

by **Katrin Froese**

Lanham MD: Lexington Books, 2001. 216,
\$24.95, ISBN 0 7391 0300 8

**BEING AFTER ROUSSEAU:
philosophy and culture in
question**

by **Richard L. Velkley**

Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press,
2002. 168, \$18.00, ISBN 0 226 85257 1

Reviewer: **MADS QVORTRUP**
(*London School of
Economics*)

Poor Jean-Jacques Rousseau – so often cited, so rarely quoted, so consistently misunderstood. Approaching the tercentenary of his birth in 1712, the Swiss vagabond-thinker continues to fascinate,

appeal, and convince editors that new perspectives are needed on the man who has been called the 'author of the French Revolution'.

Readers will have no excuses for failing to familiarize themselves with the literature on Rousseau after the publication of Patrick Riley's edited volume *The Cambridge Companion to Rousseau*. With brand-new essays by specialists such as Robert Wokler, Geraith Perry, Victor Gourevitch, Jean Starobinsky, Christopher Kelly (and a recycled one by the late Judith Shklar), the *Companion* is literally a cacophony of the foremost interpreters of Rousseau. Most of them live up to their reputations – perhaps especially Victor Gourevitch, whose essay on Rousseau's religious thought presents a much-needed update of a subject which has been neglected since Grimsley's dated classic. What is missing from the tome, however, is a decent survey of Rousseau's political philosophy. There is virtually nothing new in the sections on the Social Contract, and the writings on nationalism – for example, in *Considerations on the Government of Poland* – are wholly

absent from the volume. These shortcomings notwithstanding, this book deserves to be included on every shortlist on Rousseau's philosophy. It is simply very good.

Katrin Froese's *Rousseau and Nietzsche: toward an aesthetic morality* is a more traditional study. The book is not without merit. An observation such as 'Rousseau and Nietzsche are virulent critics of modernity and at the same time remain two of its most perceptive critics' is insightful but hardly path-breaking. Contrasting the two thinkers is an interesting exercise, yet the book contains its fair share of problems. There is scant regard for methodological issues – we search in vain for a discussion of the hermeneutical problems that are bound to appear in a serious study of two great thinkers. Moreover, the references to the classical exegetical literature are sparse. Froese criticizes Starobinsky and Bloom – which is fair enough – yet the analysis of primary sources is weak. The author does not probe into the available French literature on the subject, nor does she use Rousseau's correspondence to illustrate her points. The same charge could also be raised against the section on Nietzsche. The book is not scholarly or innovative, yet it is interesting and useful as an introduction to the two great thinkers – and an easy read at that.

Richard Velkley's *Being after Rousseau: philosophy and culture in question* is a work in a different category. Erudite, thorough and with occasional moments of brilliance, Velkley's volume presents a new – and well-researched – reading of Rousseau's *Wirkungsgeschichte*. Velkley states his thesis forcefully: 'In our time, Jean-Jacques Rousseau is usually cited as a classic of early modern political philosophy. He is more than that: he is a central figure in the history of modern philosophy and perhaps the pivotal figure in the history of modern culture as a whole. He

proposed a fundamental change in the way the human essence is conceived. The idea that human nature has at some deep level a fixed character was shaken when Rousseau argued that humanity has undergone a radical change from pre-rational and presocial beginnings.' It is well known that Rousseau inspired the French Revolution, Mozart (Rousseau's musical *Le Devin du Village* inspired Mozart's first opera), Johan Wolfgang von Goethe, the Romantics and even John F. Kennedy. But Rousseau has always been seen more as a social theorist and thinker than an epistemologist. Unlike Descartes, Hume and Kant, Rousseau did not base his philosophy on first principles (the only exception is the *Profession of Faith of the Savoyard Vicar* – a separate part of the educational treatise *Emile*. Velkley deserves credit for reconstructing Rousseau's influence on German thinkers such as Kant, Schelling, Nietzsche and Heidegger. The introduction to these thinkers – especially to Kant – is admirable (though probably not the first choice for an undergraduate non-specialist seeking knowledge). Yet it is as if this book somehow bites off more than it can chew. Rousseau's presence gradually fades out through the book. His influence on the thinkers is indirect, not a result of an engagement with his thinking. True, Schelling, Nietzsche and Heidegger's respective philosophies would arguably have been different had it not been for Rousseau's writings. Yet not in the same way as was the case with Kant, whose overall philosophy was inspired and influenced by Rousseau in much the same way as Marx was inspired by Hegel, and Aristotle was inspired by Plato. Kant famously noted his debt to his Swiss colleague, declaring that he was '*selbst aus Neigung ein Forscher*' (I am a researcher by inclination), but that Rousseau had him '*zurecht gebracht*' (had put him right) (p. 49), and goes on to explain how and why. It would have been interesting to have read a similar

account of Rousseau's influence on the other thinkers – as well as his influence upon Fichte (Rousseau's fellow founder of the ideology of nationalism). This is an interesting book – though by no means the last word on the subject. Watch this space.

The continued fascination with Rousseau – and his continued relevance today – is perhaps best summed up in the final words in the first book under review, namely Robert Wokler's confession after a

long career dedicated to understanding Rousseau: '*Où veux-tu fuir?* He asked in *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, recalling some of Satan's lines in Milton's *Paradise Lost*. *Le Phantôme*, he answered, *est dans ton coeur*. Across what would now be termed different disciplines, Rousseau managed to probe and uncover some of modernity's deepest faults, and to my mind, the flawed world that he portrayed throughout his writings was not only his but also ours (p. 438). So regrettably true!

POWER by John Scott
Cambridge: Polity, 2001. 192, £13.99, ISBN 0 7456 2418 9 <i>postgraduates</i>
<i>Readership:</i> Advanced undergraduates, <i>postgraduates</i> <i>Rating:</i> ****
POWER: a reader by Mark Haugaard
Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002. 348, £15.99, ISBN 0 7190 5726 9
Reviewer: CHRIS ARMSTRONG (<i>University College Dublin</i>)

Power remains one of the central concepts of the social sciences, and thus these two texts, which steer an accessible course through the various theories of power, are welcome additions to the literature. The emphasis in both is primarily sociological, since many of the major modern sociologists have contributed to debates on power in one way or another. Political theorists, on the other hand, play a relatively minor part in the debates under discussion here, and either need to attend remedial classes, or get themselves better agents. It is perhaps unfortunate that both books take their starting point as

the post-war sociology of Robert Dahl and C. Wright Mills, rather than the political theory of Hobbes or Machiavelli, but this does make for a more manageable account. Mark Haugaard's very helpful reader brings together fifteen more or less substantial pieces, each with fairly extensive introductory comments. The readings, all drawn from the 1960s onwards, begin with Dahl, Bachrach and Baratz, Lukes *et al.*, and continue through Giddens, Bourdieu and Foucault to theorists such as Stewart Clegg – and Haugaard himself – who have attempted some kind of creative synthesis. Haugaard's comments introducing each piece are generally very helpful, and will certainly assist students in navigating this difficult area. Not only do they situate each reading within the context of the theorist's broader work, but they suggest some of the interconnections and tensions between the theorists discussed.

It is worth noting that, for the majority of the theorists discussed by Haugaard, there are actually two inter-linked questions at hand. The first question obviously concerns what power is and what it might mean to exercise or be influenced by power. The second concerns who has power right now, if power is something we can be said to have in the first place. This is neither surprising nor problematic,

but it does mean that Haugaard's book, in particular, sometimes feels more like a commentary on the agent-structure debate within sociology. Are contemporary societies dominated by 'power elites' (to use the old phrase), or not? The primary division that Haugaard draws between theorists runs therefore along a 'conflictual versus consensual' axis, based on the extent to which power is a matter of coercion, at one extreme, or of generating shared norms, on the other. But as Haugaard acknowledges, this distinction only really works, if at all, for 'modernist' sociologists, and adding post-modernists and analytical political theorists into the mix makes for one of the more perplexing conceptual maps you will encounter.

John Scott's book takes a different approach, and will also be very helpful to advanced students in a range of disciplines. Rather than trying to chart the differences and similarities between competing theories of power, Scott tries to work out an overarching theory of power from the ground up. He therefore guides us through the various domains of social activity, and in each chapter attempts to determine what kind of power relations are at work. Scott deals with sovereign

power, interpersonal power, economic power, and with structures of protest and resistance, in a politically engaged and accessible way. Throughout, Scott argues that we can reconcile the different theories of power if we achieve a suitably refined model of how power works in practice (cue another complex conceptual map). The basic point is that, if we can comprehend the influence of agenda-setting, processes of discursive individuation, and so on, then we can hang on to a notion of power that is basically both causative and tangible. Like Haugaard, Scott also breaks with tradition by including a discussion of a feminist account of power; although consigning the feminist challenge to one subsection of a chapter on 'Interpersonal Power' perhaps obscures the strength of that intervention. A similar point can be made about Scott's discussion of Foucault. The general approach is that, rather than inconveniencing Scott's model of power, the insights of postmodern thinkers can be 'added on' to achieve a more exhaustive typology of forms of power which often looks like retaining a more or less positivist character, albeit a sophisticated one. Whilst Haugaard's book helpfully summarizes the arguments so far, Scott's, to his credit, is likely to start some new ones.

**LOVE AND POLITICS:
women politicians and the ethics
of care**
by **Fiona Mackay**

London: Continuum, 2001. 249, £19.99,
ISBN 0 8264 4783 X

Readership: Advanced
undergraduates, postgraduates,
academic/research professional

Rating: *****

Reviewer: JACQUI BRIGGS
(University of Lincoln)

Recent revelations by Edwina Currie, coupled with the honest self-assessment when Estelle Morris resigned as Secretary of State for Education and Skills, led some media commentators to criticize women in politics. Fiona Mackay's *Love and Politics* should be requisite reading for such detractors.

Mackay's text examines, first, women's entry into political life and success at gaining representation at various levels of governance. In addition to tapping into the literature on women and politics,

Mackay interviews fifty-three female Scottish local councillors. Women's real-life experiences are portrayed in an evocative and illuminating manner. Part two examines the literature on care and women's involvement in the politics of care. The book is primarily of interest to academics, scholars of women and politics and practising politicians.

Writing in a lucid and accessible style, Mackay takes the debate about women and politics beyond current political discourse and rhetoric. Mackay states, 'We look at alternative discourses and consider some of the ideas associated with the "ethic" or "ethics of care"', encouraging us to challenge traditional notions of politics. Instead of denigrating the traditional role of women as the pre-

dominant caregivers in society, we should elevate this aspect. The claim is that society, as a whole, will benefit if these carers are given a voice.

Mackay's research interests mean that the focus in parts, especially of the qualitative research, is upon Scottish politics but, whilst this could potentially narrow the appeal, this adds to the richness, originality and scope of the material. The book is innovative in promoting the assertion that women's experience of care work might give rise to political competencies or political values. Viewing 'difference' in a positive light means that the literature on women and politics has grown up. Perhaps the detractors of Currie and Morris would do well to remember that fact!

**REAL CHOICES:
feminism, freedom, and the
limits of the law**
by **Beth Kiyoko Jamieson**

University Park PA: Penn State University Press, 2001. 269, \$35.00, ISBN 0 271 02136 5

Readership: Advanced undergraduates, postgraduates, academic/research

Rating: *****

Reviewer: JOHANNA KANTOLA
(University of Bristol)

This is an extremely well written, thought-provoking book. It is clear and strong in its argument and a pleasure to read. The work is a contribution to feminist jurisprudence. Its central argument is that justice requires both equality and liberty. So far, however, feminists have focused excessively on equality disregarding liberty. The author argues that feminist theory has problematically constructed a dichotomy between liberty and equality. She emphasizes that there is a need to develop a

notion of liberty that is a partner of equality rather than a threat.

The book develops a feminist theory of liberty, which is based on three contingent principles. The first is the identity principle – that the individuals should be able to define themselves as they wish and that such definitions are not mutually exclusive, permanent, or of fixed meaning. The second is the privacy principle – that individuals have the right to control their bodies and that the state should not force individuals to act against their declared will in ways that compromise standards of human dignity. Finally, the author proposes the agency principle – that individuals have the right to make their own decisions about how to live their lives, and that individuals must be assumed to be capable of making ethical decisions.

This theory of liberty and its three principles are explored in three case studies on specific legal disputes. The chosen case studies are on controversial contemporary

issues: antigay legislation (identity principle), state regulation of surrogate parenthood (privacy principle) and domestic violence (agency principle). By focusing on different areas and levels of jurisprudence they show the depth and breadth

of law's influence. The book achieves its aims and it is an innovative contribution to feminism and law. I would also recommend it to a wider audience as the case studies make the book very readable and interesting.

**THE PSYCHOLOGY OF LEGITIMACY:
emerging perspectives on
ideology, justice, and intergroup
relations**

by **John T. Jost and Brenda Major
(eds)**

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,
2001. 493, £18.95, ISBN 0 521 78699 1

Readership: Advanced
undergraduates, postgraduates,
academic/research

Rating: ***

Reviewer: SHANE P. MULLIGAN
(University of Cambridge)

While equality is generally seen as a fundamental value in the West, the persistence and apparent acceptance of various forms of inequality presents a dilemma to social researchers. This collection seeks to tackle this problem from a social psychological perspective. The contributors build upon theories of social identity, social dominance, and system justification, and through these perspectives seek to explain the perceived legitimacy (or illegitimacy) of seemingly unjust intergroup relations. Its sections look at (1) historical and conceptual approaches to

legitimacy and legitimation, (2) the cognitive and perceptual processes underlying the acceptance of non-ideal relations, (3) the consequences of the tolerance of injustice, (4) the role of stereotyping and ideology, and (5) institutional or organizational perspectives on the receipt of authority. Many chapters summarize and generalize from experimental data, and in doing so offer some interesting arguments on the connections between emotional needs, beliefs, and attitudes in individuals and groups. Yet the concept of legitimacy, as the authors are aware, is exceedingly broad, and the links between prejudicial attitudes or 'ingroup bias' and the acceptance of law and government are not so clearly drawn. Moreover, while the book makes some useful points, one feels a nagging discomfort with the way these seem based on the play of words. To speak of 'appraisals' and 'construals', of 'justifications' and 'rationalizations', of 'subjective perceptions of fairness' or 'accordance with values', is to offer cognates of 'legitimacy', not explanations. Thus while expanding the scope of these concepts somewhat, the collection may do more to stir the muddy waters of political discourse than to clear them up.

**POLITICS, WELLBEING AND
THE MARKET**

by **A. J. M. Milne (edited
by Roger Crisp and Alistair Milne)**

Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001. 190, £42.50,
ISBN 0 333 71444 X

Reviewer: JOHN O'NEILL
(Lancaster University)

Politics, Wellbeing and the Market is a book edited from a manuscript left by Alan Milne on his death in 1998. It also includes the record of a conversation between Alan and Alistair Milne recorded in 1998. It attempts to extend the arguments in his earlier book *Ethical Frontiers of the State* (1998) to include consideration of the role of markets in an ethically

defensible political and social order. The 'humanistic social ethics' defended in the earlier work provides the basis for the arguments in this book and throughout there are references back to the previous work.

Politics, Wellbeing and the Market offers a defence of a modern welfare state within a market economy governed by a representative democracy on the grounds that this arrangement preserves the wealth-creating virtues of the market economy, while protecting individuals from the hazards that a market economy necessarily produces. The position will have its critics, both from those who, like myself, believe that it assumes an overly benign view of the market, and economic liberals who will believe that it extends the frontiers of the state too far. However the book has real virtues in articulating a view that is widely held but which rarely

gets a systematic defence of the kind that Milne offers. Moreover a number of the detailed discussions will be of interest to all sides in the debate. Of particular value are the analysis of the concept of desert, the defence of the citizens' basic income, and his account of the different languages of politics and the market and his arguments for protecting the former from the infiltration of the latter. The book has the virtue of being written in a conversational style that will render it accessible to a wide readership. My own disagreement with the book lies mainly in the exhaustive choice drawn in the first chapter between a market economy and a command economy of the type that existed in the USSR. Given that choice, a market constrained by the welfare state wins by default. However, I remain unconvinced that this really does exhaust the field of possibilities.

**TAKING RESPONSIBILITY FOR
THE PAST:
reparation and historical justice**
by **Janna Thompson**

Cambridge: Polity, 2002. 194, £14.99, ISBN
0 7456 2885 0

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

Rating: *****

Reviewer: ANDREW SCHAAP
(University of Melbourne)

Janna Thompson provides a sophisticated and parsimonious theory of reparative justice. This is situated in relation to a more extensive theory of justice, according to which reparative claims based on past injustices must be balanced against claims of equity based on present circum-

stances. Taking the reparative claims of indigenous peoples and black Americans as paradigmatic examples, the author examines: why historical obligations and entitlements exist; what we are obliged to do about past wrongs; and when claims for reparation are superseded by historical change. The answers to all of these questions are carefully developed from a central argument. Namely, that 'our lifetime transcending concerns as citizens, members of families or individuals give us a moral reason for maintaining a practice of keeping the commitments of our predecessors and repairing the wrongs they have done'. As such, our past-referring obligations and entitlements are derived from our future-oriented moral expectations.

This 'diachronic' theory of justice, which emphasizes the moral significance of transgenerational relationships, furnishes a persuasive account of why citizens have

a collective responsibility for wrongs perpetrated by their predecessors. At the same time, it avoids some of the difficulties that other approaches lead to: it does not presuppose a duty to the dead; it does not require that we feel shame for wrongs perpetrated by our ancestors; and it does not make responsibility depend on ancestry. Moreover, it draws out the historical dimension of Rawls's theory of justice, which allows us to differentiate

more adequately particular claims for reparation based on past wrongs from universal claims to redress present inequalities. As a study in analytic moral philosophy, which is nonetheless sensitive to the political dilemmas that surround claims for reparation, the book makes a timely and original contribution to contemporary debates about multiculturalism, distributive justice, reconciliation and transitional justice.

Political Theory

New books received

Mitchell Aboulafia, Myra Bookman and Catherine Kemp (2002) *Habermas and Pragmatism*. London: Routledge, 255, £50.00, ISBN 0 415 23458 1

Gabriel A. Almond (2002) *Ventures in Political Science: narratives and reflections*. Boulder CO: Lynne Rienner, 245, £16.50, ISBN 1 58826 080 1

Robert J. Antonio (ed.) (2003) *Marx and Modernity: key readings and commentary*. Oxford: Blackwell, 418, £15.99, ISBN 0 631 22550 1

Anthony Arblaster (2002) *Democracy*. Third edition. Buckingham: Open University Press, 132, £12.99, ISBN 0 335 20969 6

Yehoshua Arieli and Nathan Rotenstreich (eds) (2002) *Totalitarian Democracy and After*. Second edition. London: Frank Cass, 422, £45.00, ISBN 0 7146 5184 2

Paula Baker (ed.) (2002) *Money and Politics*. University Park PA: Penn State University Press, 120, \$19.95, ISBN 0 271 02246 9

Jason Barker (2002) *Alain Badiou: a critical introduction*. London: Pluto, 197, ISBN 0 7453 1800 2

Bat-Ami Bar On (2002) *The Subject of Violence: Arendtean Exercises in Understanding*. Lanham MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 216, £18.95, ISBN 0 8476 9771 1

Robert J. Barro (2002) *Nothing is Sacred: economic ideas for the new millennium*. Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 200, £16.50, ISBN 0 262 02526 4

Seyla Benhabib (2002) *The Claims of Culture: equality and diversity in the global era*. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 262, £11.95, ISBN 0 691 04863 0

Isaiah Berlin (1996) *Karl Marx: his life and environment*. Fourth edition [with a new introductory essay by Alan Ryan]. New York: Oxford University Press, 242, £11.99, ISBN 0 19 510326 2

Paul Blackledge and Graeme Kirkpatrick (eds) (2002) *Historical Materialism and Social Evolution*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 252, £47.50, ISBN 0 333 99562 7

Georgina Blakeley and Valerie Bryson (eds) (2002) *Contemporary Political Concepts: a critical introduction*. London: Pluto, 236, £13.99, ISBN 0 7453 1796 0

Albert Breton, Gianluigi Galeotti, Pierre Salmon and Ronald Wintrobe (eds) (2002) *Political Extremism and Rationality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 261, £45.00, ISBN 0 521 80441 8

Kathleen Canning and Sonya O. Rose (eds) (2002) *Gender, Citizenship and Subjectivities*. Oxford: Blackwell, 245, £16.99, ISBN 1 4051 0026 5

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

David Carvounas (2002) *Diverging Time: the politics of modernity in Kant, Hegel, and Marx*. Lanham MD: Lexington, 136, £16.95, ISBN 0 7391 0373 3

Tom Christensen and Per Læg Reid (eds) (2002) *New Public Management: the transformation of ideas and practice*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 363, £19.95, ISBN 0 7546 3212 1

Tony Coady and Michael O'Keefe (eds) (2002) *Terrorism and Justice: moral argument in a threatened world*. Carlton South: Melbourne University Press, 160, \$24.95, ISBN 0 522 85049 9

David Coates (ed.) (2002) *Models of Capitalism: debating strengths and weaknesses*. 3 volumes. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 1,680, £365.00, ISBN 1 84064 440 0

Joan Cocks (2002) *Passion and Paradox: intellectuals confront the national question*. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 220, \$16.95, ISBN 0 691 07468 2

Daniel Cohen (2003) *Our Modern Times: the new nature of capitalism in the information age*. Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 126, £16.50, ISBN 0 262 03302 X

Richard N. Cooper and Richard Layard (eds) (2002) *What the Future Holds: insights from social science*. Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 285, £20.50, ISBN 0 262 03294 5

Wolfgang Danspeckgruber (ed.) (2001) *The Self-Determination of Peoples: community, nation and state in an interdependent world*. Boulder CO: Lynne Rienner, 482, £18.50, ISBN 1 55587 793 1

Peter Davies and Derek Lynch (2002) *The Routledge Companion to Fascism and the Far Right*. London: Routledge, 440, £14.99, ISBN 0 415 21495 5

Gerard Delanty and Patrick O'Mahony (2002) *Nationalism and Social Theory: modernity and the recalcitrance of the nation*. London: Sage, 224, £17.99, ISBN 0 7619 5451 1

P. E. Digeser (2001) *Political Forgiveness*. Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 224, \$39.95, ISBN 0 8014 3810 1

Betty A. Dobratz, Timothy Buzzell and Lisa K. Waldner (eds) (2002) *Theoretical Directions in Political Sociology for the 21st Century*. Oxford: Elsevier Science, 250, Eur 86.00, ISBN 0 7623 0865 6

Douglas Dowd (ed.) (2002) *Understanding Capitalism: critical analysis from Karl Marx to Amartya Sen*. London: Pluto, 183, £15.99, ISBN 0 7453 1782 0

Raya Dunayevskaya [edited and introduced by Peter Hudis and Kevin B. Anderson] (2001) *The Power of Negativity: selected writings on the dialectic in Hegel and Marx*. Lanham MD: Lexington, 432, \$24.95, ISBN 0 7391 0267 2

Alistair Edwards and Jules Townshend (eds) (2002) *Interpreting Modern Political Philosophy: from Machiavelli to Marx*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 249, £15.99, ISBN 0 333 77242 3

Amitai Etzioni (1998) *The New Golden Rule: community and morality in a democratic society*. Boulder CO: Basic, 336, £13.99, ISBN 0 465 04999 0

Ekbart Faas (2002) *The Genealogy of Aesthetics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 452, £47.50, ISBN 0 521 81182 1

Ernest L. Fortin [translated by Marc A. LePain] (2002) *Dissent and Philosophy in the Middle Ages: Dante and his precursors*. Lanham MD: Lexington, 190, £20.95, ISBN 0 7391 0327 X

Eliot Freidson (2001) *Professionalism: the third logic*. Oxford: Polity, 264, £15.99, ISBN 0 7456 0330 0

Gary Goertz and Harvey Starr (eds) (2003) *Necessary Conditions: theory, methodology, and applications*. Lanham MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 356, £24.95, ISBN 0 7425 1926 0

Mark Goldie (ed.) (2002) *John Locke: selected correspondence*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 412, £35.00, ISBN 0 19 823542 9

Scott Gordon (2002) *Controlling the State: constitutionalism from ancient Athens to today*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 405, £16.50, ISBN 0 674 00977 0

Sohail H. Hashmi (ed.) [with a foreword by Jack Miles] (2002) *Islamic Political Ethics: civil society, pluralism, and conflict*. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 241, £11.95, ISBN 0 691 11310 6

Colin Hay (2002) *Political Analysis: a critical introduction*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 327, £16.99, ISBN 0 333 75003 9

Martin Heidegger [translated by Ted Sadler] (2002) *The Essence of Human Freedom: an introduction to philosophy*. London: Continuum, 230, £16.99, ISBN 0 8264 5924 2

Andrew Herod and Melissa W. Wright (eds) (2002) *Geographies of Power: placing scale*. Oxford: Blackwell, 327, £16.99, ISBN 0 6312 2558 7

Nancy J. Hirschmann (2003) *The Subject of Liberty: toward a feminist theory of freedom*. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 305, £12.95, ISBN 0 691 09625 2

David L. Hoffmann (ed.) (2003) *Stalinism: the essential readings*. Oxford: Blackwell, 331, £15.99, ISBN 0 631 22891 8

Barry Holden (2002) *Democracy and Global Warming*. London: Continuum, 194, £25.00, ISBN 0 8264 5070 9

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