
BOOK REVIEWS

Dylan Kissane, *Beyond Anarchy: The Complex and Chaotic Dynamics of International Politics* (Stuttgart: Ibidem Verlag, 2011)

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It seems that despite the transformations in world politics in the last two decades, the realist paradigm still continues to provide the main framework for the understanding and explanation of international relations. Tracing its origins (at least) to the writings of Thucydides, realism has long been perceived as the cornerstone of the discipline. The stature of the realist tradition has allowed it to dominate not only the ivory towers of the academy, but also the bunkers and boardrooms of applied foreign policy making. Thus, despite the search for alternatives, realist theory continues to provide both a point of reference and a benchmark for such explorations. Dylan Kissane's study, however, emphasizes that the stature that realism has acquired is unfounded. He meticulously goes on to debunk the very foundations of realist thinking – the belief in an anarchic international system, in the awareness that this it merely offers a simplified representation of reality.

Thus, by drawing a detailed genealogy of the 'limitations of anarchy' (p. 151), Kissane proceeds to unravel the fallacies of the realist narrative of international affairs. For him, the flaw in the realist's assumptions is the failure to acknowledge that the parsimony offered by the concept of anarchy comes at 'too high a cost to analytical and theoretical utility' (p. 259). Most commentators would have been satisfied to stop here and draw a conclusion that realism is obsolete – and, in fact, many have done just that. Kissane however takes the road less travelled and constructs an alternative explanation of global politics which recognizes their full complexity. Complexity here is not an accidental word. On the contrary, it is a conscious choice which inscribes Kissane within the small, but resilient (and growing) cohort of analysts that employ the frameworks of complexity thinking to both theorize world affairs and inform policy-making.

A number of commentators have noted that the the pervasive randomness of global life has made the climate of post-Cold War interactions distinctly uncertain. Rather than a transitory stage, the persisting dynamism, unpredictability, and change of international politics has puzzled both popular and policy considerations. This has ultimately challenged the dominant frameworks for the study of world politics. It is in this setting that commentators have advocated the infusion of international relations theory with the conjectures of complexity thinking. Kissane's book provides a much needed framing of the complexity alternative to realist thinking.

His analysis presents in an accessible (yet critical) manner the conceptual and methodological innovations prompted by the application of complexity thinking to international relations. In fact, as the book indicates, Kissane's analysis probably provides probably one of the more coherent 'explication[s] of a theory of international relations based upon an assumption of complexity in the place of anarchy' (p. 23).

The complexity research program charted by Kissane intends to rectify conventional analyses of international relations by identifying 'the complexity and unpredictability of the international political system while leaving the possibility for emergent behaviors to be identified, correlated with system states and for the analyst to identify *probable* among the infinite number of *possible* futures' (p. 230). In this setting the study develops four distinct hypotheses to test the application of complexity thinking to the study of international politics. Firstly, complexity suggests the impossibility of prediction, especially of predicting long-term developments. Secondly, assumptions about world affairs resting on a sub-set of actors' motivations and actions does not offer a valid representation of the reality of international relations. Thirdly, just because sometimes relations between actors appear stable, should not occlude that more often than not interactions are contingent and non-linear. Fourthly, changes in the dynamics and behavior of global life can occur both gradually and abruptly.

Thus, it is in the process of testing these hypotheses that Kissane demonstrates the full potential of the complexity turn to simultaneously refocus the content and context of both the study and practice of global affairs. His analysis makes explicit that 'while international relations studies persist with the notion that the international system is anarchic when, it would seem, there is at least a chance that it may be something else' the disciplinary purview is unlikely to change. Thus, 'without a new paradigm, international relations will continue to misdiagnose the past, hampering its own ability to explain the present, and, one day, predict the storms which sweep the system as we know it today' (p. 266).

In this way, Kissane makes an important first step in insightfully outlining a complexity approach to the study of international relations. Significantly, his perceptive overview indicates that the application of complexity thinking has important implications for the understanding of agency and structure in world affairs. At the same time, the analysis does not shy away from the challenging conceptual, methodological and policy issues attending the complexification of the study and the practice of international relations. One wishes he had spent more time on detailing the complexity alternative; but it is hoped that his next book will do just that. It is expected that it will be eagerly awaited by both students and scholars of international relations. For the time being, however, Kissane has provided them with plenty of food for thought in his extremely erudite and

thoughtful study of the 'complexity' of the complexity paradigm in world politics 'beyond anarchy'.

Monika Nalepa, *Skeletons in the Closet: Transitional Justice in Post-Communist Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010)

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In her first and very promising book Monika Nalepa presents an entirely new approach to the study of lustration policies in Eastern Europe. The starting point of her enquiry is a simple but intriguing thought: during negotiated transitions, promises of amnesty (i.e. not holding the former political elite accountable for their past actions) made by the opposition are not credible. On the basis of this observation, she identifies three puzzles which constitute the backbone of the book. "Why did opposition parties keep their promises of amnesty? Why and when were those promises broken? Why did the successors of former autocrats break them?" (p.4)

With respect to the first puzzle, she questions the viability of many other explanations referenced in the literature relying on game theoretic models. She demonstrates that a basic model of pacted transitions can only give insufficient answers to the questions above. The simple argument is that the peaceful nature of regime change rests upon the promise of the opposition which guarantees immunity from prosecution to former autocrats who, in exchange, allow free and fair elections to be held. However, as Nalepa explains, such promises are simply not credible because once the opposition ascends to power, nothing prevents it from adopting harsh transitional justice measures. Thus she outlines her own "skeletons in the closet" model as a more informative alternative. In her view, the long tenure of communist dictatorships in Eastern Europe has enabled autocrats in most countries to infiltrate the underground opposition with their own informers. As dissidents were mostly uncertain about the gravity of this problem, the asymmetric information at the roundtables about the identity of these informers and about their level of infiltration was an important bargaining chip in the hands of the well-informed autocrats. The informers are the skeletons in the closet of the opposition and their existence makes the adoption of lustration particularly harmful to the dissidents themselves, which in turn ensures the credibility of the promise of amnesty. She illustrates the different equilibria of this game by the cases of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland using evidence from archives, analytic narratives, and data aggregated from numerous elite interviews.

In order to answer the second question, she uses a statistical model based on survey data to show that demand from the electorate cannot explain the adoption of lustration policies. Furthermore, she asserts that these laws had more to do with strategic political choices and thus the reason for their implementation can be better explained by analyzing the development of party systems with special attention to pro-lustration parties. Nalepa approaches the third puzzle with an agenda-setter model and concludes that lustration initiated by former communists may be a pre-emptive strategy against the adoption of more stringent policies. Finally, she describes possible extensions of the “skeletons in the closet” model.

This work is unique in the transitional justice field in many ways. In the vast social scientific literature on lustration in Eastern Europe, it is hard to find studies which address these fundamental questions using such a sophisticated combination of qualitative and quantitative research methods. Case studies, analytic narratives, elite interviews, the statistical analysis of aggregate data and various other ways of interpreting empirical evidence all make her game theoretic models especially convincing. Most importantly, while paying attention to details, Nalepa keeps her focus on these essential questions and attempts to specify something close to a general theory about lustration policies following Eastern European transitions.

While Nalepa’s argument is undoubtedly novel, well-founded, and convincing, there are some problems which are worth noting. First, the choice of cases is poorly explained and the degree of generalization of her argument is unclear throughout the book. The few paragraphs devoted to supporting the case selection are far from satisfactory. Additionally, Nalepa only examines three transitions closely but, as she constantly makes references to other countries, it is not at all clear to what degree she claims her theory to be applicable to other transitions. Some may now say that she does not consider the generalization of her argument important and that her only concern is to find good illustrations for the equilibria of her model. Truly, evaluating the acceptability of this defense would take this review to the slippery soil of the critiques and defenses of rational choice (to discussions about issues such as post-hoc model building and the acceptability of considering only cases that fit while disregarding “atypical” ones at the same time). But no witty riposte from the supporters of game theory can explain why Nalepa dismisses some alternative theories with counterexamples with which she does not confront her own model.¹

Another class of serious problems concern the assumptions of her model which seem to be highly improbable in real life situations. Although these simplifications can be argued for as necessary for the parsimony of the model, what is nevertheless problematic is that these unrealistic assumptions rely on thin or no justification at all. Firstly, the assumption of unitary actors completely excludes the possibility that

1 This dubious practice is present in sections 4.7 and 6.5.

former communists with no informer pasts may stand to gain politically from the revelation of the secrets of incriminated co-members of the former ruling party (the same process may be true for the opposition). The use of unitary actors goes hand in hand with other questionable assumptions like extreme party discipline and the belief that the surfacing of incriminating evidence against one member means the equal loss of face in a political sense for all the other members of the party. Moreover, Nalepa assumes that former communists are hurt in the same way by informers in their ranks as the opposition, and that actors are risk neutral, which is hard to imagine in times as turbulent as transitions.

A few methodological problems² and factual inaccuracies³ are also present in the book, but generally they are not of such importance so as to endanger the validity of the main argument. There is one crucial issue which I believe that Nalepa overlooked, namely the credibility of the autocrats at the roundtable negotiations. If they know the informers in the ranks of the dissidents, they can reveal this information any time to discredit the opposition even without a legal framework for lustration. In Nalepa's model, the autocrats have perfect information about the secret pasts of the dissidents, thus they should be able to exert considerable influence not only in the adoption of lustration legislation, but in all the other political moves of the opposition. Therefore, the communists would also need to make a credible promise that the secret information in their possession would not be released.

Despite these shortcomings, this book is definitely an important work with a theory of high promise in the field of transitional justice. Certainly, it should be read by all those interested in the empirical analysis of the institutions of transitional justice or in the history of Eastern Europe in general.

Roland Erne, *European Unions: Labor's Quest for a Transnational Democracy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008)

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Roland Erne's *European Unions* examines the potential role of trade unions in democratizing the European Union (EU). Those interested in the evolution of a pan-European labor movement can gain much from this elegantly designed study that

2 For example, in the analysis of elite interviews, even though only one fifth of the respondents gave answers to a certain question, Nalepa makes use of this data without any reference to the possible bias involved.

3 For instance, the information about the governing party in Hungary in 2001 is incorrect (Table 1.1) and about the voting share of FiDeSz in 1990 (Appendix D).

draws on interviews with eighty-seven European labor activists, widespread travels across Europe and access to a multiplicity of union archives in a number of countries. Building on an existing literature that points to organized labor's historical role in democratizing the nation-state (Thompson 1980; Hobsbawm 1984; Rueschemeyer, Stephens and Stephens 1992; Florek 1994; Thompson 1994), Erne asks: "In what way and under what conditions do or can European trade unions contribute to a democratization of the EU?"

While noting the importance of uniting labor at the European level, Erne is also attentive to the substantial obstacles standing in the way of such a goal. These obstacles include: (1) "the neoliberal dynamic of the EU integration process," which effectively shields key policy areas from public pressure and reinforces the structural weakness of labor; and (2) the persistence of divergent national union traditions and regulatory environments when it comes to wage setting and welfare regimes. In fact, 'Euro-democratization' is only one of the many potential strategies available to labor in responding to the challenges of globalization, market integration and neoliberal restructuring.

Erne identifies three alternative strategies that are also available to organized labor in the EU, including: Euro-technocratization (favored by union elites with direct access to EU regulatory bodies); technocratic renationalization (embodied by competitive-corporatism); and, democratic renationalization (reaffirming the autonomy of the nation-state in an attempt to salvage the remnants of the social democratic pacts of the past). The bulk of Erne's book aims to analyze the comparative effectiveness of these strategies in influencing wage bargaining (Part II) and EU competition policy (Part III).

Erne's analysis of wage bargaining begins with the downward pressure on wages caused by the introduction of Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) and the subsequent rise of competitive corporatism in the 1990s (including the increasing acceptance of wage concessions by workers). By the late-1990s, the tendency of this model to stimulate a race to the bottom triggered a rethinking of labor strategy. One response was to establish minimal benchmarks for wage negotiations across Europe, including benchmarks set by the Doorn group in September 1998, the European Metalworkers' Federation (EMF) in December 1998 and the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC) in December 2000.

Unfortunately, Erne shows how such complex benchmarking criteria simply tended to reproduce the technocratic logics of EU governance, marginalizing rank-and-file activists in the process and yielding low compliance rates as a result. More promising for EU-wide wage bargaining, according to Erne, has been the cross-border mobilization of unionists in support of a coordinated minimum wage and

innovative organizing by the European Federation of Building and Wood Workers' (EFBWW) to set standards in the increasingly transnationalized construction sector.

Erne also found that a Euro-democratization strategy was more effective than a Euro-technocratization strategy in politicizing EU competition policy. The broad mobilization of workers in the *ABB Alstom* merger and its politicization served to partially offset job losses in 2000-2001 and saved the company from bankruptcy in 2003. Conversely, the Euro-technocratization strategy adopted by the same unions in challenging the merger of Canada's *Alcan*, France's *Pechiney* and Switzerland's *Algroup* in the aluminum sector met only with short-term success and ultimately failed to curb ambitious restructuring plans.

Regardless of their preferred strategies, trade unions are increasingly being driven towards the Europeanization of organizing by the supranational reorganization of firms and the contradictions inherent in EU integration according to Erne. The existence of statutory EU-wide institutions, like the European Works' Councils (EWC), acts as a further catalyst to transnational action. The related mobility of labor activists in the EU also encourages greater cross-border mobilization and the forging of wider networks needed for sustained collective action.

Erne thus effectively problematizes accounts that take 'national differences' as an insurmountable obstacle to working class mobilization. 'National' frameworks are only important, he claims, in so far as there is "a congruence between nationality and [a worker's] economic and social interest" (p.196). As the congruence between the national and the economic unravels, activist networks, migrant workers, EWCs, European trade-union federations and cross-border mobilizations all serve to breakdown the appeal of narrow national frames. The prospects for a Euro-democratization strategy are thus "rather encouraging," though it requires that "EU-level politics be seen not just as a threat [by labor activists] but, rather, as a decisive battlefield in the fight for social justice and egalitarian democracy" (p.202).

While the book provides many crucial insights into the broad challenges confronting the emergence of a pan-European labor movement, it also leaves ample room for further study. Though Erne's argument is persuasive, it is possible that his study suffers from a case-selection bias that tends to favor the beneficial effects of democratic over technocratic and European over national labor strategies. Similarly, *European Unions* was published prior to the global financial crisis and the resulting recrudescence of right-wing populism and xenophobic rhetoric within the EU. Finally, the book tends to reproduce the frequent bracketing-out of the global by scholars of the EU, thus undercutting more internationalist, cosmopolitan, feminist and postcolonial alternative frames for imagining transnational labor solidarities. Nevertheless, Erne's contribution

highlights many of the on-going challenges confronting those wishing to close the EU's democratic deficit.

Josette Baer (ed.), *From Post-Communism toward the Third Millennium* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2011)

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From Post Communism toward the Third Millennium is a collection of contributions whose origins are different in style and content. The main aim of the book can be found concisely within the last part of the title 'toward the third millennium'. It offers a consumptive panorama after a period where most of the political transitions in the area were either resolved or had reached a conclusion defined by the membership in NATO or the EU, or had simply come to a standstill.

The book offers to this purpose a sort of requalification of the term Eastern Europe (p.7) in order to differentiate it from Central Europe, the fate of which is signed in fact by the integration in the above mentioned supra-national organizations. As the editor puts it, the whole post-communist Europe must be divided in three regions consisting of the Visegrad Region, the South Eastern region or the Balkans and the 'hegemonic or imperial region' of the post soviet countries (p.21). The back bone of the book are the contributions made by the editor, Josette Baer, who has signed the introduction and a chapter on transition in Belorussia, while other authors origins are mainly from the countries considered in the volume. The book offers a panorama of case studies concentrated mostly on three general lines: political transition or missing transition; ethnic identity and political developments; and economic transition and development. Apart from the theoretical prospective, the books is enriched by the case studies the authors have included. From this perspective, the book offers a valuable tool for understanding the political contexts and evolution in some of the countries of the chosen area. The book consists of a foreword and an introduction that give the reader a brief panorama and a theoretical prospective from which the text can be read. The long introduction by Baer defines the theoretical boundaries in which the cases are considered while trying to introduce the reader to the specificities of the region, especially in relation to the wave of colored revolution which affected the post soviet area in the mid 2000's (p. 13).

The book is so sub-divided across three broad lines with two or three chapters each. The first contains two chapters on Ukraine, authored by Walzenbach and Kuzyk, which offer, respectively, a comparison of the European governance system and transformations within the country, while the second one points mainly to the quest

on national or missing national identity as a potential facilitator on the political developments.

The second part of the book offers a heterogeneous panorama of three contributions which are difficult to be justified under the title of the second part 'Aspects of Nationhood –or its Absence'. This part contains in fact a review of the theoretical aspects of political psychology by Nenad Markovic who tries to explain the relationship and the combination of nationalism with mentality (intended by the author in terms of ethnic stereotypes and the consideration of the other) . The analysis is highly theoretical focusing (p. 111) on the methods used to manipulate the stereotypes, as a way of not only defining the national identity, but also as a potential tool of triggering violence and hatred among different ethnic groups (p. 123).

The fourth chapter is a political and historical account of the study of religion in Bulgaria by Daniela Kalkandijeva . It tends to give an overall account of the role of religion, in the stereotyped vision of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, as one of the main factors in the making of the Bulgarian national identity. Kalkandijeva offers not only an account of the way in which the study of religion is carried out but also puts forward some of the main trends in the development of such studies in today's Bulgaria (p. 143). The third chapter of the second part on Belarus (p 145) from Baer is probably the most valuable piece of the whole volume. It analyses the evolution of the Belarusian political system, pointing out the absence of transition in the country and its relation to the fate of what the author has previously defined as the 'hegemonic imperial region' of the former Soviet Union. In fact, the first part tries to put forward a crucial concept, which explains the peculiar evolution of Belarus since the end of the Soviet Union, namely the concept of a 'neo-soviet' style regime. This kind of regime (p. 151) is mainly based on a post authoritarian conception of power, with a 'guided transition toward capitalism' (p. 152). Belarus represents, in this way, one of the most complete examples of "post-sovietism" as long as it retains and bolsters most of the features of the past regime, like a centralized economy or as an absence and refusal of political and ideological freedom.

The third part of the book is dedicated to the economic reforms in Russia. Overall it tries to remain in line with the theoretical prepositions exposed in the introductory part, concentrating mainly on the relation between the individual and the state. Rybakov's contribution on health care (p. 181) analysis one of the paradoxes experienced in many east European countries where an apparently free health care system is accompanied by private arrangements between doctors and patients. Malinka's contribution instead concentrated on the paradox of state guided capitalism in Russia and the difficult consolidation of the small and medium enterprises, which according to the author, could redress the social balance in the country (p. 243).

As explained in the introductory note, the book is the seventh work out of a nine volume series published on the basis of annual conferences held by the University of Fribourg concentrating on topics relevant to the Eastern European region. As such, the book suffers somewhat from the difficulty of putting together a coherently edited work, considering, too, the fact that a considerable portion of materials were presumably gathered from the 'Interdisciplinary Studies on Central and Eastern Europe' project. Furthermore, the book suffers from a visible degree of heterogeneity in the choice of the arguments presented. This heterogeneity is manifested in two crucial moments: that of the delimitation of the area under scrutiny, namely Eastern Europe and the selection of the arguments as in the case of the contribution of Kalkandijeva in the chapter on the study of religion in Bulgaria or the one on Nationhood and Mentality which are "miss fitted" in the volume. The theoretical delimitation of the term Eastern Europe, that the editor proposes in the introduction, should have eliminated the chapter on Bulgaria. As the parts on Ukraine and Russia seem to fulfill the initial prepositions of the book, the central part of it on 'Aspect of Nationhood - or its Absence' is highly heterogeneous in terms of the cases presented.

Nevertheless, from a global perspective, the book represents a valuable tool for understanding and studying the area in question, with special value brought by the chapters on Belarus or Ukraine, which provide an adequate picture of the difficulties of transition not only in terms of the international position of the countries in question, but also in terms of their national identities and the passivity of the civil society.

David Altman, *Direct Democracy Worldwide* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011)

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Democracy, both conceptually and practically, has remained a subject of debate for centuries. Though ancient Greece is regarded as the birth place of democracy, there is disagreement over the nature, meaning and practice of democracy worldwide. Etymologically, democracy referred to direct popular government by assembled citizens. This kind of democracy came to be known as "direct democracy". In practical terms, Greek democracy was simple. People would assemble, discuss and votes would pass on a simple majority. This was made possible owing to the small number of citizens in the polity as well as simplicity of issues at the time. Distinctively, Greek democracy emphasised community autonomy as opposed to individual autonomy. Yet, the issue of inclusiveness in this democracy was

problematic. Citizenship, which formed the sole criterion for participation, was inherently founded on exclusion. To be sure, citizens were mainly free male adults who owned property. Women and slaves were not regarded as citizens and hence excluded from political participation. This means that citizenship was restricted by sex, property and birth origin. It should be admitted that this was the first inborn omission of democracy which later democracies have yet to escape. One obvious explanation for such exclusion rests on the class stratification of Greek society. It was by and large a slave society dominated by a patriarchal culture. Arguably, democracy in a stratified society is an ideological weapon that serves the interests of the dominant class.

On the other hand, with larger populations as well as more complex issues, modern societies require a different way of doing democracy. This is called "indirect or representative democracy". Emphasizing individual autonomy, representative democracy (commonly used interchangeably with liberal democracy) was born in Western Europe. It is this fact which sometimes makes it known as Western democracy. Understandably, Western societies are ideologically founded on capitalism. Yet, capitalism does not always precede the practice of liberal democracy. It should be emphasised here that, in comparative terms, representative democracy has been under severe attack, unlike its predecessor Greek democracy. Some of the most frequently asked questions include, for example: how can the interests of the majority be represented? How accountable can the leaders be? Is this kind of democracy universal?

Direct Democracy Worldwide links both direct and indirect democracy. It focuses on revealing the relationships between the two forms of democracy. Rather than viewing direct and representative democracy as necessarily opposing each other, the author notes that the assumptions and practices of direct and representative democracy interact under different institutional settings. In discussion and analysis, the author unveils specific moments that allow the two forms of democracy to coexist in a mutually reinforcing manner. The book argues that while some mechanisms of direct democracy (MDD) are positive in so far as they attempt to democratise politics, others are backward looking as they tend to boost the power of politicians instead of that of the people. In grand terms, the book deals with the distribution and exercise of power in relation to making decisions that affect lives in their respective societies. Towards that end, it examines mechanisms of direct democracy such as referendums, plebiscites, recalls, and popular initiatives.

In studying direct democracy and its related mechanisms, the author provides a simple but an innovative typology. The typology focuses on three issues: (a) who initiates the MDD, either citizens (through signature gathering), the political establishment (executives, legislators, or both), or the legal or constitutional regulations in a country? (b) what is the purpose of the MDD - maintaining status

quo or altering it? and (c) whether the MDD is the final word on an issue or otherwise (binding law or nonbinding outcome). This typology is then applied throughout the volume. Overall, the volume contains an in-depth and rigorous analysis with clear cut arguments and concrete evidence. It therefore breaks new ground by providing thoughtful provoking insights with regard to direct and indirect democracy. The author accomplishes his objectives in eight chapters.

Yet, the book has a number of shortcomings. Firstly, the title of the book obscures its scope. As can be noted, the book presents significantly one region, that is, Latin America, with specific focus on Uruguay. Europe, Asia and Africa are virtually absent. Since the author appreciates the leading role of Switzerland in practicing MDD globally, it would have been an omission not to devote a section for this unique case (p.8). Instead, Uruguay has been taken as an exemplary case of direct democracy within democracies (p. 140-61). Secondly, the author posits that the book addresses the relationship between direct and representative democracy. Accordingly, such a relationship is based on mutual coexistence and reinforcement (p. 1). Contrary to this promise, my close reading of the volume indicates that the author dealt with how direct democracy complements representative democracy. His definition of MDD is self explanatory to this point. He states "MDDs are composed of those mechanisms through which, after the representatives and the government are elected, the citizenry continues to be – voluntarily or involuntarily, explicitly or implicitly – a veto actor or a proactive player in the political process (p. 7)." Throughout the volume there is nowhere representative democracy appears to feed direct democracy. Hence, the mutual coexistence and reinforcement of direct and representative democracy is fallacious. Thirdly, the volume includes deficiencies in terms of its methodology. It appears to me that the author made use of interviews to understand citizen-initiated mechanisms of direct democracy (CI-MDD) in Uruguay. He interviewed three former presidents of Uruguay. Questions and responses are in detail covered by the author (p. 180-6). Similarly, the author interviewed Uruguayan legislators. He did this without even mentioning how he sampled his respondents. Question and answers appear as appendix 2 (p. 209-12). What I find strange is that the author does not provide any discussion and analysis of the responses from interviews. Further, it is more problematic for a study on CI-MDD to omit citizens as key respondents. As it stands, the book presents opinion from the establishments through a top-down model. Fourthly, the book falls short when it assumes liberal positions unquestionably. For example, throughout the book, citizenship, individual and equality are taken as given based on the *Rousseauian* social contract (p. 7).

A critical examination of the social contract theory, which is an embodiment of liberal democracy shows that these concepts conceal exclusionary tendencies. It was John Locke who argued that the state of nature forced individuals to fear death and therefore entered into a social contract, a contract that is based on consent,

and the one that would protect all against all. Interestingly, Locke's state of nature argument shows that prior to this consent, men were already dominant in their families. He argued that a wife's subjection to her husband had a foundation in nature. This implies that women were excluded from the status of being "individual" which is basic to consent theory. Arguably, if a wife's subjection to her husband has a "natural" foundation, she cannot at the same time be "naturally" free and equal individual. This means that citizenship is a natural property of man. It is not surprising to see that, prior to 1918 and 1920, women were not allowed to vote in Britain and USA, respectively. Despite the aforementioned gaps and omissions, this book is instructive to understand the workings of democracy. It may be useful to political scientists, activists and policy makers.

Lisa Blaydes, *Elections and Distributive Politics in Mubarak's Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011)

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Elections and authoritarianism have been subjects of debate since the third wave of democracy began. There are those who argue that elections are a curse to authoritarianism due to the fact that citizens can remove an authoritarian regime through elections. Arguments have also been advanced that elections legitimize authoritarianism. *Elections and Distributive Politics in Mubarak's Egypt* is indeed a relevant piece on elections and authoritarianism. The book addresses an important aspect of competitive elections in an authoritarian context. This is a distributive function of elections, thereby joining those who see elections as a blessing in an authoritarian regime. The book sets itself to interrogate several issues about elections in Egypt: One, in what ways does an authoritarian regime benefit from holding elections? Two, why do candidates spend scarce resources to run for a seat in a parliament that does not make policy? Three, why do citizens engage in the costly act of voting in such a context? Four, do we observe patterns of economic change surrounding autocratic elections that resemble the trends observed in democracies?

The central argument of the book is that the authoritarian regime in Egypt has endured not despite competitive elections but to some degree because of these elections. The author holds that competitive elections help resolve conflict over distribution of rewards to regime's supporters particularly the rent seeking elites. Other important functions of elections in the Egyptian regime include institutionalization of dominance through formal channels as well as providing important information for the regime regarding the performance of party leaders. This is especially useful because elections reveal information about the competence

and loyalty of bureaucratic officials and party cadres, providing the authoritarian leadership with what is perceived as an even-handed way for the autocrat to decide who should receive party appointments (p. 5). Information also provides the regime an opportunity to punish those who are indifferent to it. Although the book acknowledges the possible dangers related with elections, such as increasing tension in the state- society relationship and specifically the relationship between the state and supporters of Muslim Brotherhood, it nonetheless sees their advantages outweigh their disadvantages. However, the author cautions that although the authoritarian regime is stabilised by elections, the by-products associated with authoritarianism like institutionalised corruption and budget-cycle induced inefficiencies have the possibility to destabilize the regime.

With regards to the second question posed above, the author posits that holding a seat in the parliament gives parliamentarians informal access to power and preferential treatment. One of the important preferences is a high guarantee of parliamentary immunity which protects them from arrest, detention, or charges of criminal activity such as corruption. Citizens engage in a costly act of voting for a variety of reasons. One is the direct benefit poor citizens get from selling their votes to powerful politicians in order to meet their needs. A second is that some Egyptians believe that democracy is a relatively good means of governing themselves, in which case democracy and elections are related. Yet there are those who are ideologically driven, too, especially the supporters of the Muslim Brotherhood. Participating in elections is therefore an important avenue for them to support their candidates.

Methodologically, the book uses a quantitative methodology whereby data was collected across time and space. The quantitative analysis is complimented by a great deal of interviews with variety of actors such as politicians, activists, journalists, academics, and government officials. The book has also relied on "highly informative Egyptian press" (p. 22).

The author has to a large extent managed to achieve what was intended. The book explains the distributional function of elections in authoritarian regime in Egypt that goes beyond the conventional wisdom of elections being only a means of legitimacy. The book is well organised, readable and with a clear argument. The author indeed makes a significant contribution to both the theory and practice of elections in the authoritarian regime in Egypt and beyond. What made this book a success in its objectives is the use of empirical data both from existing body of literature and information collected in her field work through interviews.

However, this volume is not without shortcomings. First, in her argument the author states in risk of repetition "authoritarian regime in Egypt has endured not despite *competitive* elections but to some degree because of these elections". My problem in this argument is what is meant by competitive elections. In her discussion about

elections and the Muslim brotherhood, the author points the regime's strategies to deal with such a group during elections. These are among others, constant manipulation of the rules of the game, intimidation and electoral irregularities, and repression (pp.161-167). Under such a context it is inconceivable to refer to competitive elections.

A second shortcoming is in the methodological rigor of the book. The author claims to have used "informative Egyptian press" (p. 22). The quoted phrase over-celebrates the press in Egypt. It can be asked: What constitutes a highly informative press? As far as authoritarian regimes are concerned, the authenticity and impartiality of the press and media in general is highly questionable. This is because, in most cases, the regime controls what is or not to be said by both the state media as well as the private media. Third, in the selection of cases, the author chose Egypt because of, among other reasons, its institutional arrangements closely resembling the model of authoritarian regime that exist in the world and that Egypt is described as the perfect model of semi-authoritarianism. This is to my opinion a hasty generalisation.

Taking a single case to be a perfect model in the world is a sweeping analysis. By suggesting Egypt as the perfect model, the author fails to acknowledge specificities that exist in different kinds of such regimes like culture. For example the author reviews existing explanations on the source of stability of the authoritarian regime in Egypt. She cites the role of Islamic culture especially the need for Muslims to obey their rulers. The author proceeds by identifying submissiveness and tolerance to authoritarianism as broad characteristics of Egyptian political culture that is ingrained in the Egyptian consciousness as a result of Egypt's Islamic legacy (p.13). Although this explanation goes unquestioned by the author, it does suffice to demonstrate the uniqueness of authoritarianism in Egypt thereby making it doubtful to be described as symbolic to authoritarian regimes in the world.

The fourth gap is related to the discussion on the relationship between authoritarian regime in Egypt and the world, such as the United States of America and International Financial Institutions (IFIs) namely the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Although the author acknowledges their agenda to be democracy promotion, they also at times support authoritarianism due to their other interests, e.g. the need for oil in Arab countries and gaining markets for their manufactured products. This tendency suggests that these actors pretend to promote democracy thereby having no genuine intention of democratic promotion as they principally claim to advance. The author remains silent on this point.

Despite the aforementioned gaps, the book remains informative as far as Egyptian politics is concerned. It is especially useful to politicians, academics and students of

politics, activists and authoritarian leaders, especially on the adverse dangers of authoritarianism.

Tatiana Zhurzhenko, *Borderlands into Bordered Lands. Geopolitics of Identity in Post-Soviet Ukraine* (Stuttgart: Ibidem Verlag, 2010)

Viktoria Potapkina
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The border between Russia and Ukraine became a political reality in 1991 with the breakup of the Soviet Union and the creation of two independent states. Since then, Ukraine's Eastern border has turned itself into a perfect laboratory for studying processes of border construction. "Political parties, state bodies and civil societies in both countries; regional elites and politicians in Moscow and Kyiv; experts, local communities and ordinary citizens have been contributing to these processes in various ways" (p. 155), while the "geopolitical status of the border, a proper regime of border crossing and forms of border controls have been constantly contested and re-negotiated on international, national, and regional levels" (ibid.). It is this border that presents itself as a challenge to both Ukraine and Russia, and perhaps even the European Union, which have varying perspectives on its status, as well as symbolic and political meaning.

It is this issue of Ukraine's eastern borders, as well as the process of border construction, that Tatiana Zhurzhenko's book *Borderlands into Bordered Lands. Geopolitics of Identity in Post-Soviet Ukraine* focuses on. It was published as volume 98 of the Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics and Society series, edited by Dr. Andreas Umland. The book is based on the results of the author's research project *The Ukrainian-Russian Border in National Imagination, State Building and Social Experience*, carried out in the years 2002-2004. Although parts of the book have appeared in various languages and in numerous publications in the form of articles or conference papers, the book contains rewritten, reedited and updated information as of 2009. The author herself rightfully points out that the book is not a monograph, but a "collection of texts united by a common subject" (pg. 37). As a result, the chapters can even be read selectively, rather than as a single volume, each finding its own reader as the book manages to combine several methodologies and disciplines. Furthermore, each chapter contains references to the others, helping selective readers navigate through the book. Nevertheless, it is not a book for the general public. A reader with no knowledge of Ukrainian history and/or politics, or at least of Eastern Europe, will have a hard time understanding the author's references to regional specifics.

With her work the author intended to fill a “research gap and apply new approaches and concepts developed in the relatively young field of border studies to the Ukrainian-Russian case” (p. 23), since there exists a general lack of academic interest in Ukraine’s eastern border, as opposed to the western one, which continues to attract the attention of economists, political scientists, historians and anthropologists, to name a few. Yet it is this border that both countries seem to have the most trouble with, as it practically cuts through “backyards”, leaving family and friends on different sides of the division; it is a border that did not exist before, and has yet to be demarcated; it is a border that causes tension as well as is a border the regulation and standardization of which could play an important role in Ukraine’s negotiations with the European Union.

To explain these aspects, Tatiana Zhurzhenko divides the seven chapters of her book into three parts, according to three levels of analysis. Part One focuses on symbolic geography and geopolitics of the post-Soviet space, giving special attention to theoretical interpretations of the concept of “Eurasia”, its impact and development from the historic perspective both in Russia and Ukraine. It also discusses the concepts of “Sister Republics” and “East Slavic Unity” in Ukraine, Russia and Belarus. As not much academic literature exists on the topic of the post-Soviet relations of Ukraine and Belarus, this chapter is an interesting addition to the study as it suitably covers a not so popular topic. Part Two presents the Ukrainian-Russian border in bilateral relations as well as in regional politics, while Part Three considers an often overlooked but nevertheless considerable role of border construction and the border’s impact on everyday life. This part contains numerous interviews and group conversations with people living in the border regions conducted by the author herself.

A very pleasant aspect of the book is the inclusion of photographs taken by the author herself of some places and people she discusses. Helping to visualize certain aspects, the photographs also serve as an important indicator that the author includes her personal research into the work, not merely conclusions drawn from other publications. Furthermore, the book combines this personal insight and research (which is most visible in the third part of the book) with a large number and, most importantly, variety of other sources – speeches, books, academic articles, online sources and print media. Moreover, the sources used are in an array of languages. This consequently leads to a feeling of a well-rounded and well-researched piece of work, information and conclusions of which can be seen as credible and trustworthy.

Tatiana Zhurzhenko tackles an interesting yet challenging topic in her book. She successfully examines Ukraine’s eastern borders, closely linking them with political developments in Ukraine. Nevertheless, Ukrainian politics are always a challenge to write about, since what is true today may not be so tomorrow; it is an ever-changing,

perhaps even unstable area, still developing and evolving. This fact makes some conclusions of Zhurzhenko's work no longer applicable. For example, the author repeatedly stresses the importance of the Orange Revolution in bringing change to the country as well as the region, however, fails to acknowledge the failures of Ukraine's Orange government to consolidate change and go beyond elaborate rhetoric to decisive action. In retrospect the achievements of the Revolution are questionable at best, as they did not lead to a large political turnover or replace the political make up of the country, as was initially intended by the population of Ukraine, leading to a general disenchantment of the people with the events of 2004, and Ukrainian politicians in general. However, the repeated use of the Orange Revolution as a central event does not undermine the conclusions the author presents or the other well researched and little-known aspects of the borderlands of Ukraine. The more recent developments in Ukrainian politics that were not covered in Zhurzhenko's work cannot be seen as a flaw in the book; on the contrary, it should be viewed as an opportunity for further research on the topic of Eastern borders. It was the author's initial goal to fill a gap with her work. She managed to begin this process, yet there remains much space left for new and further analysis.

Overall it is hard not to agree with the author that "democratic consolidation and a decisive progress towards integration into the EU remain crucial preconditions for Ukraine to become a strong and independent player in the post-Soviet space. Unfortunately, a confrontation with Moscow in this matter is difficult to avoid, and Ukraine's position in the EU-Russia-Ukraine triangle is still the weakest one. This means that the dichotomy of 'Europe/the West' vs. 'Eurasia/Russia' will remain an important symbolic axis of Ukrainian politics for years to come." (p. 74).

Kerem Öktem, *Angry Nation: Turkey since 1989* (London and New York: Zed Books, 2011)

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Turkey's transformation evidenced best by its more active and assertive foreign policy and economic growth for the last decade has deservedly attracted a great deal of attention. More and more students of Turkish politics have tried to explain underlying domestic, regional, and international dynamics of these monumental changes. As Turkish landscapes alter, a powerful current of scholarship with a revisionist approach to nationalist historiography and the Alevi, Kurdish demands as well as Armenian genocide claims have also surfaced. Kerem Öktem's *Angry Nation: Turkey since 1989* is better taken in this overall context; it is one of the most recent

efforts to make sense of Turkey's metamorphosis through the lenses of revisionist views of the history of the Turkish Republic.

In this timely book Öktem seeks to explain the causes of what he perceives Turkey to be today, an angry nation that has finally started facing its deep structural and other problems. Feeling obliged to stray from the general framework of the 'Global History of the Present' series, of which this book is a part, Öktem commences Turkey's journey from the late Ottoman Empire to end it with Turkey in the first decade of the 21st century by taking the reader through the Cold War years and the derelict first post-Cold War decade with weak coalition governments, the 'Kurdish war', and a post-modern coup d'état in 1997. Digging in the history of the Turkish Republic for Turkey's ills today the author pins the blame on the founding ideology of the Republic, namely in the nationalist modernization forms of Unionism (İttihatçılık) and later Kemalism. Three key areas that Kemalism resolved in a very problematic fashion stand out in author's analysis: the definition of citizenship, the (mis)practice of secularism, and the absence of clear separation of roles between the judiciary, military, and governments. An actor that figures constantly and elicits the most blame from the author is 'the guardian state' which, according to Öktem, has disguised itself in many forms throughout the Republic. And three structural, one domestic and two international, turning points are singled out to have impacted Turkey's transformation most: 1980 coup d'état with deep scars it has created as well as the ensuing economic liberalization programme under Prime Minister and then President Turgut Ozal, the end of the Cold War and Turkey's reengagement more actively with the outside world, and most recently the 9/11 attacks, which have put Turkey on the frontline of the declared 'global war on terror'.

However, one problem that tarnishes the value of this book are the free-floating concepts scattered all around. Not wanting to define the PKK [Partiya Karkaren Kurdistan] as a terrorist organization, Öktem uses "fighters of the PKK" (p. 89), "guerillas" (p.89) and "PKK combat units" (p.185) all interchangeably in an unscholarly manner although he acknowledges in passing at one point that the PKK used terrorist strategies (p.66). He also offers an analogy between stone-throwing kids in Southeast Anatolia and Palestinians (p.143) but he simply takes for granted the aptness of such an analogy as he does not feel any need to justify it. Another freely used term is 'genocide'. It is not only that the author rushes to label what happened during the Republican period in Dersim in 1937/1938 a genocide (pp. 35-37) and extermination of Dersim Alevis (p. 7), something historians would hesitate to do, but also that elsewhere he refers to the same events as "Dersim massacres" (p.145). The reader is left wondering whether there is a distinction between massacre and genocide.

Further, the author casts the onus mostly on the secret dealings and behind the scenes operation of the 'guardian state.' However, the suspicion against the 'guardian state' reaches levels of paranoia at certain points in the book. For example, Öktem goes as far as to claim that guardian state was behind even the idea to film the 'Valley of Wolves in Iraq' [sic] in order to create a hotbed for chauvinism and militarism, which would then help preempt the newly emerging scholarship with revisionist re-reading of Turkish history (p.147).

Concerning the increased receptivity inside Turkey of Armenian genocide claims as illustrated by an 'apology campaign' recently organized (p.178), Öktem, in an act of exaggeration, argues that "the memory of 1915, and of many more instances of state violence such as the Dersim massacres of 1937/1938, the Wealth Tax and Istanbul pogroms of 1955 had not been excised from the *collective memory* as thoroughly as republican nation-builders would have hoped" (my emphasis) (p. 145). Here it remains obscure whose collective memory Öktem is alluding to because he also acknowledges that "outside the Armenian community and those families that had witnessed or taken part in the deportation of Armenians, or had escaped extermination by conversion, *few Turks* questioned the official orthodoxy and made no connection with the recollections of their grandparents" (p.145)? If it is only a few Turks who are today willing to accept the Armenian genocide claims, how does that allow for the authors' conclusion about Turks' collective memory?

Finally, the Armenian genocide receives a relevant role in the book. The author claims that the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) intended to exterminate or annihilate Armenians in the events of 1915. Yet, his assertion that "this [official] narrative [which denies there was genocide] was flying in the face of international scholarship, *where there was little disagreement*" (italics added) (p.145) could not be further from the truth unless such renowned historians as Malcolm Yapp, late Stanford Shaw, Norman Stone, and Bernard Lewis, who hesitated to pass judgment on these events on account of absence of historical evidence to convict the CUP of conspiring to exterminate the Armenians, are dismissed from this collection of international scholars. The problem of the overall absence of in-text referencing in the book gets even more acute in this section because the reader is given no chance to know which sources the author relies on while making certain assertions. Among the referenced books that one finds in the list of sources at the end, Vahakn Dadrian's book, for example, has been claimed by Malcolm Yapp to have harbored no new evidence for the CUP's deliberate extermination plans.⁴ Yet, the author seems so convinced about the truth of the Armenian genocide that he does not even feel the need to open a thorough discussion on the subject by defending his

⁴ Malcolm E. Yapp, review of *The History of the Armenian Genocide: Ethnic Conflict from the Balkans to Anatolia to the Caucasus*, by Vahakn N. Dadrian, *Middle Eastern Studies* 32 (4) (Oct 1996): 395-397.

sources without discounting a whole body of opposing voices from the gambit of international scholarship.

Overall, *Angry Nation: Turkey since 1989* is written in nice prose and can be easily read in one sitting. The fact that Öktem minces his words at no place throughout the book serves as added value in certain sections. However, it is hard to claim that the book, which is written more with freely-floating concepts and unfounded assertions than one expects to come across in a scholarly publication, is a great service to scholarship on Turkey.

Robert Bowker, *Egypt and the Politics of Change in the Arab Middle East* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2010)

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The last two years have seen a transformation in the Arab world that stunned several regimes after the eruption of protest in Tunisia. When the first signs of the protest began to unfold in the Arab world's major cities, the world no doubt was skeptical as even some keen observers were caught saying the protesters would be dispersed with the "usual iron fist" by the Arab regimes' internal security apparatus. Though each country in the Arab world is unique, the Egyptian protest could be said to be the most dramatic. Robert Bowker's *Egypt and the Politics of Change in the Arab Middle East*, sounds like a futuristic study whose seeds germinated recently as it came to the reading stand a few months before the inevitable reforms that will have to take place despite the problems of "accommodation, reaction and resistance" under way (p. 1) in the corridors of power in the Middle East.

According to Bowker, any curious observation of the Middle East should start with Egypt. The Middle East is a restless region as a chunk of its population will, in a short time, reside in the cities and we know what this entails in social parlance: urbanization. Other "dynamics" that have characterized the region for many years and which continue to make headlines daily include "foreign occupation, rise of nationalist, secular leftist and Islamist reform movements," (p. 3); all of these suggest uncertainties on a large scale. These are factors that cannot exist devoid of the types of power structures in the Middle East which create "disconnection" between the Arab population and their leaders. If it is not a leadership change from father to son, it will surely then be what critics may call a "camouflaged democracy," a kind of democracy with no elections or with elections consistently dismissed as flawed. This, to Bowker, has created an absence of "political transparency or accountability" (p. 5). When rulers do as they wish, then you should expect trouble

sooner or later to rear its head because, for generations, a culture of "non-accountability" has been entrenched.

Readers do not need to go further to appreciate the Arabs political landscape: Egypt and Syria have been under the "state of emergency" (p. 19) for decades and, ironically, the September 11, 2001 terrorist attack and its aftermath has given the Arab rulers an opportunity to crack down on popular dissent. What do you expect from regional political rulers that are hell bent in exercising their authorities at all cost? There are, however, some regimes that came into being as "nationalist" which removed monarchies but there systems are more "authoritarian" (p. 77). In this context, the trouble with Arabs, to put it colloquially, is like a case of people moving from the frying pan to the fire.

Bowker reveals that while all this was happening the Arab rulers have not paid attention to the fact that a substantial proportion of the population in the Middle East are under "14 years of age" and they could be "volatile", indeed as the world is now witnessing (p. 83).

In some of the succinct discussion in the pages of the book, Bowker provides an understanding as to what led to the present protests in Egypt and many other countries where the voices of the people are being heard for the first time, even if the book was written at a time before the "Arab Awakening". Changes have been witnessed in many countries of the Middle East in areas like literacy and mass communication (p. 167) so the era of "limiting the political space" against popular governance that should carry on board all and sundry is not going to be possible because this touches on the Arab's leaders' "credibility" as well as their legitimacy as some of the regimes are now battling to curtail the people's anger upon them (p. 184).

There are certain fundamental reasons why this book deserves to be read. To begin with, when people have risen from years of "misrule" governments have no choice but to listen and make amends instead of politicizing reforms critically needed in the Middle East. Like other analyses Bowker's book is useful at a time for the Arab rulers to heed warnings clearly written on their walls. Cosmetic changes have their limit and only genuine reform will save the situation. Youths are still demonstrating at the Tahrir Square and changes dearly needed are said not to have been coming, at least the way people wanted to see.

Secondly, the nature of the book brings to light the power struggle in the Middle East. Various actors are in the interplay currently as "key indicators" of the line of politics the Arab Middle East will be engulfed in (p. 187). This conveys to the world the need to widen its scope so that it benefits from the uncertainties in Egypt and other countries not just in the Middle East but beyond. The implication is enormous.

China, we read in the news, is studying the situation as it discovered its people were planning to take to the streets and, interestingly, it is followed by Africa, where some leaders do what they can to stay in power, yet now they seem jittery.

Much of the criticism of the Arab rulers have also been extended to Western countries, with America always taking the largest share of blame for dilly-dallying with the need for genuine democracy. Bowker is clear on this as he states that United States has no “coherent policy approaches and concrete steps” (p. 184). It is not, therefore, hard to find the reason. Mubarak, for example, was a darling and an ally until he was kicked from power by the people. The politics in the Middle East should be well studied as the region is the hot spot for now and indeed many years to come. This is the valuable insight the book should have addressed and tabled to the global policy makers and powerful nations so that the world should be cautious and do the right thing in supporting genuine change from Egypt. It is understandable, to some extent, as Bowker is a diplomat but this is the reality and there is no middle way.

Neil Rollings, *British Business in the Formative Years of European Integration* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007)

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Neil Rollings' book targets the historical dynamics of Great Britain's entry into the European community (EC) from the early steps of the European economic integration process at the turn of the 1940s through to the country's final access to the EC in 1973. It provides us with a reconstruction of this history from the vantage point of the British business community's economic initiatives and attitudes, dealt with in part one and part two of the book respectively, toward the country's move towards entry into the common market during these decades. Both the subject and the time period covered, as widely known, have been much discussed and reconstructed in the literature. The author ventures towards adding a new kind of reconstruction on this topic in two ways. On the one side he attempts to draw up a truly interdisciplinary history cross-cutting economic and political history of European integration; on the other, he investigates the role of British business in this history through the initiatives and policies of the micro and meta-level business organizations and of single groups of companies and enterprises, rather than the peak-level business associations' role, mostly researched by historians so far.

Accordingly, Rollings founds his reconstruction on a mixture of macroeconomic quantitative sources and data, used in part one to offer a snapshot of British foreign trade and foreign direct investments (FDI) trends and dynamics throughout these

decades, and an archive-based narrative history of whether, how and to what extent the business community followed up the political history of Great Britain's move to step in the EC during this period, with particular attention to their approach to the issue during the country's three applications to access the EC in 1963, 1967 and 1973. He draws upon this research approach in part two, dedicated to a detailed reconstruction of British business changing perceptions and policies over time, and in part three. Here, the author chooses three subjects(competition policies, taxation and company law) to account for how the British business community featured an early and wide perception of European economic integration as a process of Europeanization going way beyond the mere adoption of tariff removals or the undertaking of common external tariffs.

The book makes the case for two main theses and, on the whole, it is coherently structured and quite convincing in that. Notwithstanding, as we will note at the end, there are some missing points whose consideration might help the author further these thesis.

The first and most important objective is to discuss and bring into question the so called 'missed opportunity' argument. According to this interpretation, the country's self-exclusion from joining the six founding countries of the EC from its early rejection of the Schuman Plan and the European Coal and Steel Community, through to the decision to keep trading with the Commonwealth countries as its main post-war trade pattern accounts for a British manufacturing system lagging behind the other West European economies in terms of industrial modernization and price competitiveness on foreign markets. According to this interpretation, Britain's post WWII decision not to dismantle the system of Imperial Preference set up with the 1932 Ottawa Agreement "whereby imports from the Empire were given preference in Britain in return for preferential treatment of British export in empire markets" (pp. 8-9), kept the British exporters tied to low-income markets. This trade pattern prevented them from a demand induced and trade liberalization based capital intensive modernization and race for competition as it would be the case for the fast growing American and European consumer markets. In this framework -so the 'missed opportunity' argument maintains - the 1973 move into the EC came to be a cold shower of competition for the British export sectors.

Rollings convincingly disproves this argument both in part one and in part two. In chapter one first he demonstrates that the shift in the trade relationships of British exports from the Commonwealth countries to the EC economies did not occur suddenly upon the country's entry into the EC but was the long term result of a changing trade pattern stretching throughout the 1950s and 1960s, with a significant acceleration in this trend at the turn of the 1950s. Secondly, he brings into focus the commodity composition of British foreign trade during these decades to maintain that, contrary to the 'missed opportunity' argument, the high added

value sectors, led by the mechanical engineering firms, grew their share of British foreign trade, whereas the backward sectors, such as the textile firms, declined. A further third argument is that this rise in the high capital intensive industries' share of British export did not only follow the changing trade relationships of Great Britain from the Commonwealth to the EC market, but it also led the British engineering firms to experience the most significant upward movements in the most competitive European market of France, Germany and Sweden. Similarly, the British FDI followed the same pattern. Although in the postwar years the Commonwealth economies were the main recipients, since the late 1950s the EC capital markets had grown their share of British total FDI, and those most dynamic West European economies became the main recipients.

Rollings continues with this interpretation in part three through a detailed reconstruction of British business attitudes and initiatives toward the EC. Through an analysis of how the business organizations and the British government interacted with each other to prepare for British application and accession to the EC, he stresses how the business community's early skepticism toward the EC made way, since the late 1950s, for increasing approval of the same. In this respect, he maintains that what accounts for this move were both, as it was the case for other national business communities of the EC⁵, the opportunity of enlarging British export markets, and the popular attraction of removing tariff barriers, as well as the achievement of economies of scale, as so forth production rationalization and competition to cope with the inflow of American consumer goods (pp. 144-158). In turn, mechanical engineering and chemical mid- and large-sized industries took the lead in this move, whereas the smaller firms and the least capital intensive sectors, opposed entry into the EC.

The second thesis is that the attitude of British business to the EC was at variance with the changing policy of British politics, that the latter repeatedly impeded the business community's eagerness to join the EC, and that there were clashing views within the government between the political sections interested in achieving economic integration as a way to speed up political integration, and the economic units worrying about the economic consequences of integration. The author provides evidence of this thesis in most chapters.

The book is well structured around these two theses and timely, too, both because the role of business communities and organizations in the making of the EC has risen

⁵ One of the most remarkable example is that of Italy's business community. See Francesca Fauri, *What Italian Business disliked about a European Common Market*, "Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte", 2 (2008), pp. 39-52.

as one of the most vibrant research subjects⁶, and because the historiography on the EC has increasingly kept its eyes on the 1970s, by far considered a decade in the history of the European integration marked by acceleration through the UK entry, and stalemate thereafter.

Notwithstanding, some attention to either the broader place of Great Britain in the international economic system after WWII, or an account of any of the macroeconomic conditions featuring the British economy during the time period considered might help Rollings push forward his arguments. In particular, he describes and then provides evidence on the reshaping of the British economy's trade and financial patterns from the Commonwealth to the EC. In this narrative framework some reference to London's attempt to oppose the decline of Sterling as the leading currency for international trade and payments until the 1950s, or a sense that the early 1950s British business opposition to the removal of trade barriers found its ground in the internal inflation threatening a national manufacturing system exposed to foreign firms, could strengthen this reconstruction and interpretation further.

⁶ The most recent example, although stressing business opposition to the EC, is Niklas Jensen-Eriksen, *Industrial Diplomacy and Economic Integration: the Origins of All-European Paper Cartels 1959-1972*, "Journal of Contemporary History", Vol. 46, 1, 2011, 179-201.

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