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Book Reviews

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Book Reviews

Australian and New Zealand Politics

Peter Bastian, *Andrew Fisher: An Underestimated Man* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2009), x + 419 pp., \$49.95, ISBN 9781742230047 (hbk)

This is the third recent biography of Andrew Fisher. It joins David Day's *Andrew Fisher: Prime Minister of Australia* and Edward W. Humphrey's *Andrew Fisher: The Forgotten Man*, both published in 2008. Clearly, years of neglect have now been addressed. In terms of achievement, Fisher should never have been overlooked. He was a minister in the world's first Labor government in Queensland, served in Chris Watson's Labor ministry, and became Prime Minister three times. He and his governments were instrumental in the introduction of the old age and invalid pensions, workers' compensation and maternity allowances. His government established the first Prime Minister's Department, substantially upgraded the nation's defence forces; commenced construction of the east–west railway; established an Australian currency; created the Commonwealth Bank; introduced the first genuinely Australian stamp; selected the site for the national capital, which was given an Aboriginal name in preference to 'a vast number of possible imperial, nationalist or abstract concoctions' (p. 228); and designated Saturdays as voting days so as not to disadvantage working people. Fisher is also remembered for two declarations. At the 1908 federal conference of the Labor party, he told those assembled, 'We are all socialists now' (p. 133) and in 1914, he promised 'the last man and the last shilling' (p. 185) in support of Great Britain if war should eventuate.

Despite these achievements, it is easy to see why, until recently, authors have focused on more colourful prime ministerial characters. The portrait painted in this book is of a dull but amiable striver. Fisher was born in Ayrshire in 1862 and received a solid, although rudimentary, education in the village school, which he later supplemented with night school and a program of self-improvement. Bastian tells us that 'he was uneasy with too much intellectual speculation and tended to read works that confirmed, rather than challenged, his views' (p. 10). His family were Presbyterian abstainers and Fisher remained a member of the Temperance society all his life. He began working in the Crosshouse coal-mines as a 9-year-old and it is likely that he joined the union at this point, although the first record of his membership is his election as district secretary of the miners union in 1879. Desirous of a secure future, he migrated to Queensland in 1885, where he replicated elements of his Scottish life: work in the mines, temperance, the Presbyterian Church and unionism. He married at age 39 and although his marriage was 'solid and enduring' (p. 93), it was devoid of outward displays of affection when family members or others were present. No whiff of scandal was ever attached to him. As a parliamentarian, he was not an inspired speaker. Like John Howard, he was hard of hearing, and his Scottish brogue added to his audience's difficulty. As a politician, he was frequently underestimated. This was undoubtedly compounded by the fact that the great bulk of his last years were spent in London – first as Australian High Commissioner and then as a retiree.

Bastian makes a convincing case that Fisher's career, with its demonstration that a man of humble background and ordinary mien could become Prime Minister, 'changed forever the way Australians would think about the social aspirations of their democracy' (p. 157). He also makes a solid case for a re-evaluation of Fisher and his numerous achievements.

RAE WEAR
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Richard Berry, *Independent: The Rise of the Non-Aligned Politician* (Exeter, UK: Imprint Academic, 2008), iv + 154 pp., £8.95, ISBN 9781845401283

Roger Ward, *City-State and Nation: Birmingham's Political History 1840–1930* (Chichester: Phillimore & Company, 2005), 288 pp., US\$50.00, ISBN 1860773206 (hbk)

In different ways, both of these books deal with the political maverick. While Ward concentrates on the career of a family of (ostensibly party) politicians in the form of the Chamberlains, Berry provides an examination of this group en masse in modern times.

I suppose I ought to begin by declaring an interest here. As a spotty long-haired undergraduate in 1984, I was taught by Roger Ward on the BA Government programme at the City of Birmingham Polytechnic. In fact, I can still recall that during my undergraduate induction programme, Roger delivered a potted history of the City of Birmingham one afternoon, complete with umpteen slides of the many underpasses which then circled the city centre. Indeed, one of my regrets is that I failed to take Roger's paper on Birmingham history, although to a certain extent this book makes up for my earlier misdemeanour. Although not a 'Brummie', as natives of Birmingham are known, Roger was, and clearly still is, an ardent student of the city's history, as demonstrated by this tome.

On the basis that each academic has at least one good book in him/her, this reader is left asking why Ward left it until well into his retirement to produce this book. It is a scholarly work, one that is the fruits of much meticulous research. The book also provides a useful insight into the role of the Victorian 'city fathers' – led by Joe Chamberlain in the development of the City of Birmingham in the late nineteenth century, and who went on to lead a political dynasty. Chamberlain was that rare breed of successful local politician who was also able to transfer his success to the national stage, as were his sons Austen and Neville.

Berry's book is much more wide-ranging than Ward's in seeking to examine the new feature in British politics of the independent politician. Specifically, Berry chooses to focus on the limited number of people who have been elected either as independent, directly elected mayors or as Members of Parliament. Although the phenomenon of the 'independent' politician is not new in the USA, where the likes of Ross Perot have run for the White House, it is still something of a novelty in the UK.

After a brief examination of the history of the independent politician, Berry examines their rise in the UK, both in the form of MPs and as directly elected mayors. An interesting table on page 7 indicates that the electoral support for non-aligned political candidates doubled between 1997 and 2005 in General Elections. Although the figures are still small – totalling some 172,000 voters in 2005, the rise in support is still of note.

The reader is offered four chapters, each dealing with a differing type of 'independent'. We begin with a chapter entitled 'Down with Big Brother'. Here we are regaled with the stories of how, in both cases, the perceived infallibility of the entrenched local Labour Party in both Stoke on Trent and Blaenau Gwent were humbled by independent candidates – both of whom were Labour Party defectors. Labour historians will know that Blaenau Gwent is the former Parliamentary seat of both Nye Bevan and Michael Foot. Although Mike Wolfe was a 'one term wonder' as mayor of Stoke, the by-election caused by Peter Law's untimely death in the Parliamentary constituency of Blaenau Gwent was subsequently won by Law's former campaign manager – once again upsetting the local Labour hierarchy.

The second chapter deals with 'Island Life' – odd examples of political groupings in a small number of places that buck the mainstream. In a national political sense, Chapter 3 offers much more of an insight into the two independent MPs elected and the underlying rationales for this. Hence, Martin Bell in his trademark white suit, who unseated the seemingly corrupt former Tory minister Neil Hamilton in Tatton; and Dr Richard Taylor in Wyre Forest, who defeated a serving junior minister in 2001, David Lock, on a single-issue platform of saving the local hospital. Although Bell pledged to serve a single term in Parliament, Taylor continues as the Member for Wyre Forest, and seems likely to be joined in the next General

Election by other independent MPs elected in the wake of the scandal over Parliamentary expenses.

The final chapter is the one with greatest appeal to scholars of local government – it is the chapter that focuses on a group Berry classifies as ‘This is My Town’. This group of directly elected mayors were local personalities in their own right prior to achieving elected office – some famous, some infamous. This group consists of Ray ‘Robocop’ Mallon in Middlesbrough; Stuart ‘H’Angus the Monkey’ Drummond in Hartlepool and the late Frank Branston in Bedford. Each of these politicians was elected over and above the established political orders in their respective towns, and subsequently re-elected too.

What is missing from Berry’s book is any mention of the seemingly political independence of Steve Bullock, the mayor of Lewisham, who could justifiably have been included in Chapter 4 of the book. Although elected as the official Labour Party candidate, his re-election in 2008, at a time when the local Labour Party lost control of the council for the first time in over 20 years, is a clear sign of the independence with which Bullock is seen by the voters in Lewisham.

In effect, Bullock has risen above (local) party politics, to be seen as the mayor of Lewisham, untarnished by traditional politicking associated with local government in Britain. For long-standing advocates of the democratically elected mayor in England, such as the New Local Government Network, Bullock epitomises the ‘model’ mayor originally envisaged – someone who is able to rise above the standard mishmash of local authority politicking, and reach out to as wide a range of stakeholders as is possible.

When compared these books are somewhat different in style. Ward offers a fairly heavy tome that is not for the light hearted, whereas Berry’s book is a much easier read. Having said this, in terms of their contribution to scholarly activity, Ward’s book deserves to be recognised as an excellent work of political history.

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Andrew Byrnes, Hilary Charlesworth and Gabrielle McKinnon, *Bill of Rights in Australia: History, Politics and Law* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2009), xvii + 230 pp., \$34.95, ISBN 9781921410178

Labor’s 2007 federal victory put a Charter or Bill of Rights back on the national agenda. Traditionally, it has been Labor governments that have pushed for lists of rights to be enshrined as supra-legislative standards – whether as binding Constitutional law (the 1944 and 1988 referenda) or as hard-to-rebut presumptions of statutory interpretation (the 1974 and 1985 Acts). All of these attempts were rejected by either the voters or the Parliament. As Byrnes, Charlesworth and McKinnon note, ‘Australians have [so far] been persuaded that . . . human rights are a form of special pleading [that is] out of place in an egalitarian society’ (p. 139).

And yet, despite the popularity of the idea among many party activists and academics, Labor MPs have been more ambivalent. (Liberal MPs have been, at best, lukewarm with many, like the Nationals, outright hostile.) ALP leaders (notably Bob Carr) warn that an entrenched, judiciable rights charter could give conservative judges an excuse to strike down social welfare legislation, and that it would focus on guaranteeing civil and political rights against government at the expense of social and economic rights that can be guaranteed only by government. An advisory Charter, perhaps? But such a charter, that is, one that is not entrenched (and can be amended by a determined Parliament) and/or is not invocable to strike down legislation (and can be ignored by a determined Parliament) has little appeal to the true believers, especially after the Howard era showed that, electorally, governments can survive despite – perhaps even profit because of – finger-wagging by rights experts.

The challenge for thinkers on the Left is to come up with a rights charter model that can block reactionary attacks on liberal rights without also blocking, or allowing judges to block, progressive reforms that go behind liberalism. It is tricky, for instance, to formulate the right to life in such terms as to forbid capital punishment without also impeding access to abortion (or giving Victorians living in bushfire country the inalienable right to clear trees around their houses); or to define freedom of expression in a way that stops parliaments outlawing 'blasphemy' but leaving them power to outlaw 'religious vilification'. Unsurprisingly, the Left's wish to enact a 'heads we win, tails you lose' legislative victory has led Australia's many conservatives and few libertarians to oppose the very idea of enshrined rights. Bad enough to lose because you were outvoted on a head count of MPs; worse to have judges officially tell the nation (and its undecided voters) that you lose (even though you win the head count) because you were trying to violate fundamental human rights.

Byrnes, Charlesworth and McKinnon have made a diligent effort to answer these objections. After carefully considering alternative models, they end up recommending a non-entrenched Charter, to leave room for 'legislative dialogue' (p. 155). It would protect economic, social and cultural rights, as well as the traditional civil and political liberties (p. 156). Ministers would be required not to merely assert that each new Bill is compatible with the Charter, but to state reasons why (p. 158). I agree that any such pre-clearance mechanism should have stronger teeth than the (merely directory) New Zealand original: perhaps governments should be confined, when later defending their legislation in the courts, to arguing only those reasons that Ministers gave when those Bills were introduced. Once enacted, legislation should be interpreted consistently with the Charter as far as each Act's purpose allows (p. 160) – a stronger requirement than the usual 'use the Charter as a tiebreaker if the Act is ambiguous'. UK judge Sir Stephen Sedley has similarly argued for using the Human Rights Act to invent additional caveats to an Act that is clearly silent, not merely unclear. The Charter should bind all public bodies (defined widely; p. 160) and courts should award damages as a remedy for breaches of it (p. 163).

The model proposed by Byrnes, Charlesworth and McKinnon largely follows the ACT and Victorian templates, with some improvements, and the authors praise the work of officials outside Parliament and the courts; for example, Victoria Police's Human Rights Project team (p. 26) and ACT Human Rights Commissioner Dr Helen Watchirs (p. 92), to conduct proactive inquiries and educational efforts so that the legislated rights are respected long before matters end up in court.

The authors have dealt carefully and reasonably with anti-Rights Charter objections, even if their case will not convince all opponents. They have done well to show that a Charter mode could be workable in practice while not becoming that bugbear all sides of Australian politics agree must be avoided – a 'US-style Bill of Rights'. Whether a Charter is entrenched or statutory, enforced by courts or promoted by commissions, Australian voters will still wonder, suspiciously, who watches the watchers.

TOM ROUND
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Ronnie Harding, Carolyn Hendricks and Mehreen Faruqi, *Environmental Decision-Making: Exploring Complexity and Context* (Sydney: Federation Press, 2009), xv + 400 pp., \$57.95, ISBN 9781862877481

This is a detailed and comprehensive text on the theme of environmental decision-making. It is aimed at postgraduate and advanced undergraduate students, and takes an inter-disciplinary social science approach. Considerable attention is given to political science topics, such as government processes for decision-making; pressure groups and the media; forms of public participation; regulatory tools; risk management; and the role of stakeholders' knowledge and

values in the policy development process. The quality of writing and analysis is impressive, and exceeds normal expectations for the text market.

In terms of relevance for local students and researchers, there is a strongly Australian flavour to the institutional and policy examples, at both the State and federal levels. However, the broad international literature on sustainable development is also thoroughly covered, especially in relation to key dimensions around sustainability, participatory approaches to complex issues, and science/knowledge issues. The book is also notable for its inclusion of three original Australian case studies, each of about 20 pages, designed for teaching/discussion. The first is concerned with the regulation of waste management in the beverage industry, focusing on the adoption of container deposit legislation in South Australia and the politics of resisting its adoption elsewhere at State and national levels. The second case is the recent controversy over the Gunns Pulp Mill proposal in Tasmania, which raises many political issues around forestry policy, planning practices and water pollution. The third case is the proposed use of recycled/purified water for drinking purposes, focusing on the political controversy in Toowoomba when a referendum of rate payers rejected a Council proposal to add recycled water to the urban water supply.

This is a completely new volume following on from an earlier collective textbook edited by Harding with the same short title *Environmental Decision-Making* (1998). The new volume is longer, more erudite and responds to conceptual debates and policy developments over the intervening decade. It demonstrates some of the recent thinking about how to think about policy development in a world of diverse interests and uncertain futures. Rejecting the old-fashioned notion of policy as a rational process of evidence-based decision-making and evaluation, the authors construct a world of competing claims and partisan uses of scientific information. One of the great challenges is how to better manage the conflict of values, perceptions and interests that underlie so many environmental disputes.

The authors propose that there are 'multiple knowledges' (Ch. 6) that arise from several contexts (e.g. science, public administration, businesses, the professions, local neighbourhoods and Indigenous groups) and which are articulated through research centres, think tanks, business lobbies and community advocacy groups. These 'knowledges' may differ markedly in their standards of evidence, their levels of analysis and their underlying values. In a practical world in which problems are very large and scientific forecasting is contentious (e.g. climate change responses), the way forward may lie in participatory and integrative approaches (Ch. 7). Tools are available to analyse alternative options and likely impacts (Ch. 8), but ultimately the big issues are matters for informed judgement making the best use of available evidence and adopting the precautionary principle (Ch. 9). Finding institutional ways to better reconcile the findings of rigorous science with other (economic and political) forms of understanding is a huge challenge, which the authors rightly put at the centre of attention for the future. The unfortunate (and brief) history of the federal Resource Assessment Commission 20 years ago is testament to this dilemma.

BRIAN HEAD

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Anne Henderson, *Enid Lyons: Leading Lady to a Nation* (North Melbourne, Vic.: Pluto Press, 2008), 356 pp., \$29.95, ISBN 9780980292497

What surprised me most about Ann Henderson's biography of Dame Enid Lyons, the first woman to be elected to the Australian House of Representatives, was how brief her term in Parliament was, and – let's face it – how undistinguished her service. Nevertheless, she is worthy of a biography, not only because hers was a fascinating life story, but also because she represented a totally new sort of parliamentary and Prime Minister's wife.

Enid Burnell was 17 years old when she married the 39-year-old Joe Lyons. Born in a timber camp in remote north-western Tasmania to an itinerant worker and a mother steeled by her experience as the eldest child of a hard-working widowed mother, Enid was brought up to value education, morals, manners, accomplishments, self-improvement and public service. Joe Lyons – then Tasmanian Treasurer, Minister for Railways and Minister for Education and Labor Member for Wilmot (now Lyons) – met Enid when he joined the carefully chosen guests at her mother's table. After two years of courtship and a short engagement, Enid and Joe married in April 1915. They spent their honeymoon in Sydney, where Joe attended a premier's conference.

The story of the Lyons marriage is well known – their devotion to each other, their 12 children, their political partnership. Enid was pregnant before her 18th birthday (although she suffered a miscarriage), and over the next 18 years she had 12 full-term pregnancies – none of them easy – and a number of miscarriages until she had a hysterectomy in 1936. During the March 1916 election campaign Enid began her career as a new sort of supportive political spouse. She was a quick learner and soon matched Joe in political wiliness and endurance and, most of all, the common touch. From her first speaking engagement, she charmed her audiences with her wit, her homely stories and her common sense. She called it talking of politics 'in terms of pots and pans and children's shoes' (p. 101).

In 1923, when they had six children, Joe became Premier of Tasmania. In 1929 he won the federal seat of Wilmot and became postmaster general and then acting treasurer. In 1932 he became leader of the newly formed conservative UAP and Prime Minister of Australia, at which time Enid was 35 years old and they had 10 children (baby Garnet had died in 1925).

Anne Henderson is particularly good at evoking the 'new personality cult' that enveloped the unusual couple and their family as they settled into the Lodge. As she points out, 'They had found a moment in history when their own lives and personalities reflected back to ordinary Australians the hopes and aspirations of millions' (p. 164). The 1931 election campaign was the first to use radio – a medium Joe and Enid used brilliantly, as did their US counterparts Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt. The veranda at the six-bedroom Lodge was closed in to make a large nursery and the Lyons' large brood became the focus of public fascination and adulation. Able, according to Robert Menzies, to make an audience cry even if talking about railway policy, Enid was Joe's political partner. They travelled extensively together and apart, with Enid helping to sustain Joe's popularity and getting his message across.

How did she do this? Despite Enid's image as the motherly helpmate, she was a hands-off mother. She followed the advice of Dr Frederick Truby King not to handle babies too much and she never breastfed her children. From the beginning she had lots of help – her mother, her sisters, Joe's sisters and especially his brother Tom and his wife Mavis. Only the four youngest children, and after her birth in 1933, the baby of the family, Janice, lived at the Lodge. The others, aged from 9 to 16 years, were in boarding school or at university. And when the older daughters left school they were roped in to take charge of the younger children, while their brothers continued their education; and Janice was sent to boarding school at age six.

Enid's constant political activity and childbearing took its toll. She often retired to hospital from exhaustion, and in 1927–28 she suffered from a clinical depression and moved back to the electorate, where she and the children settled in at Home Hill, their home and refuge until Enid's death.

Joe Lyons died in office suddenly, in 1939. Enid was just 42. Seven of the children were still dependent, with the youngest only 5 years old; and the family was close to penniless until they were granted a government pension. Four years later, when the local federal member decided not to contest the next election, Enid's family persuaded her to nominate. Successful, she became the first woman to take her seat in the House of Representatives, and she took up her busy public life once more.

She had enormous popular success, as she had when she was Joe's wife, but she made little impact in the House. She was ill and exhausted when she was appointed to the Menzies ministry in 1949, to the 'toothless' position of vice president of the Executive Council. She resigned from the ministry in 1951 and decided not to stand for re-election. At age 53 she still needed to earn an

income, and her popular appeal led to successful newspaper and magazine columns, based on the model of Eleanor Roosevelt's. She was also appointed to the ABC board, where she remained until 1962. She died in 1981 aged 84.

Enid Lyons' story could have been more interesting and more useful for political science if it had been placed much more in its international context and in the context of feminism of the time. The parallels with the life and work of Eleanor Roosevelt are, to this reader, irresistible, and would have been most illuminating. Nevertheless, Anne Henderson has given us a well-written and researched biography of a national icon that allows us to evaluate her much more clearly as 'Leading Lady to a Nation'.

DESLEY DEACON
Australian National University
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Tony Kevin, *Crunch Time: Using and Abusing Keynes to Fight the Twin Crises of Our Era* (Melbourne: Scribe, 2009), 306 pp., \$32.95, ISBN 9781921372933

In *Crunch Time*, Tony Kevin argues that the 'two greatest national crises' (p. 1) besetting Australia – global warming and the global economic crisis – have been poorly managed by Prime Minister Kevin Rudd, and that the economic theories of John Maynard Keynes offer a better alternative.

According to the author, Rudd's heroic rhetoric on climate change obfuscates the policy reality. Rather than leading a policy revolution to set the Australian economy on the path to environmental sustainability, Rudd has been captured by 'coal and energy lobbies' (p. 18), thus failing future generations. Tony Kevin does a good job outlining the inadequacies of the Labor government's climate change policies in reducing carbon emissions to anywhere near a responsible level. The science of climate change and predictions arising from it are clearly explained.

The book has three main strengths. First, Kevin's critique of climate change denialism is devastating. Their tactics, he argues, are to make selective use of 'anomalous data' (p. 184) in an effort to cast doubt upon the validity of climate change science, and to use the existence of debate among scientists to accuse them of conspiracy. What emerges is a picture of a small, opportunistic movement, providing a convenient spoiling role for 'vested corporate interests that oppose serious national strategies to decarbonise the economy' (p. 186).

Second, although not averse to the use of market mechanisms to achieve an environmentally sustainable economy, Kevin argues compellingly that the state has a strong role to play in this transformation. He justifies this by framing the threat of atmospheric warming as a national emergency, in which context only the state has the capacity to coordinate prompt, effective action. Kevin invokes large state projects such as the building of the Snowy River Hydro Scheme, as well as the federal government's full mobilisation of economic resources during World War Two, as parallel cases in which the state undertook vast economic coordination roles, when the private sector could not. According to the author, the current economic downturn provides a window of opportunity for a Keynesian state-led investment strategy that would address both the financial and the ecological crisis.

Third, Kevin outlines a bold alternative policy blueprint for achieving such a transformation. This blueprint is based upon 'the construction of a new, national renewable-energy grid' (p. 238), overseen by a government body, the 'Australian Sustainable Energy Authority' (p. 239), and funded by the issue of government bonds. Such a plan will not be to everyone's liking. No doubt many would argue against its feasibility. It is a courageous author, however, who advocates such large-scale policy alternatives, and Kevin is to be commended for going beyond mere critique.

The book does have weaknesses. Most significant is an unresolved contradiction regarding the determinants of policy. The author clearly believes in the ability of ideas to shift entrenched views,

and refers to Keynes' oft-quoted statement about the power of ideas over interests (pp. 68–9). Yet, Kevin also recognises the power of vested interests in shaping the Rudd government's climate change policy as well as 'the dead weight of inertia . . . old institutions dominated by old thinking' (p. 158). Although there is no problem acknowledging that ideas, interests and institutions each influence the policy process, there is no evaluation in this book of which is most important, nor how they work in combination. Similarly, there is a sometimes naïve veneration of US President Barack Obama, who, in contrast to Kevin Rudd, is presented as an uncorrupted visionary. Early in the book the author states that Obama and his cabinet appointments 'would be resistant to lobbying by special interest groups' (p. 47) – but why? Having outlined the power of energy interests in Australia, Kevin is unwilling to apply the same critical analysis to the USA. There is also little attention paid to critiques of Keynes. It would have been useful, for example, to engage with common criticisms of deficit-financed investment, including arguments about 'crowding out' and the loss of credit ratings. For much of this book Keynes lurks in the shadows. Although Chapter 3 provides a clear and accessible outline of Keynes' economic theories, there is little explicit attempt to articulate a 'new, green Keynesianism' (p. 1), as promised in the introduction.

Nonetheless, this is a timely and bold book. It engages in an innovative way with some of Australia's most pressing political issues and, as such, deserves to be widely read and debated.

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Patrick Morgan (ed.), *B.A. Santamaria, Your Most Obedient Servant: Selected Letters: 1938–1996* (Carlton, Vic.: Miegunyah Press, 2007), xv + 575 pp., \$49.95, ISBN 9780522852745

The letters in this collection are drawn from 150 cartons of papers, including 75 boxes of correspondence, which were donated to the State Library of Victoria by B.A. Santamaria's family. They were selected by editor Patrick Morgan in order to reveal the development of Santamaria's thinking over more than half a century – the first letter is dated 6 January 1938 and the last, 20 December 1996. His correspondents included Archbishops Mannix and Pell, politicians Arthur Calwell, Vince Gair, Malcolm Fraser and Clyde Cameron, the poet James McAuley, commentators Malcolm Muggeridge and Philip Adams, and one-time adviser to Pauline Hanson, John Pasquerelli. Morgan informs us that some of the letters in the collection were stuck together with tape because, for security reasons, they were originally cut in half and posted separately, a neat confirmation of Richard Hofstadter's (1967, 32) claim that anti-communist organisations often adopted their enemy's clandestine methods.

Santamaria spent, on average, two hours a day writing letters, which is the rough equivalent of the amount of time many professional workers devote to email. The letters are plainly written, practical documents. There is nothing quirky or gossipy about them, although very occasionally they reveal a wry sense of humour. In a letter to economist Colin Clark, he describes one of the consequences of his late blooming friendship with Sir Robert Menzies:

He used to insist on my going to the football with him twice a year and I had the enormous humiliation of driving to the Carlton Football Ground (which is extremely proletarian) in his Rolls Royce, to the hilarity of the crowd (p. 409).

The fight against communism, which was to be fought 'as a heresy not as a political creed' (p. 15), is a central theme in the letters, as it was in Santamaria's life. Communism's eventual collapse brought about a return to an earlier focus on the excesses of capitalism. This made it appear to some commentators that Santamaria was becoming more radical as he aged, but Santamaria denied this, arguing instead that his 'view of life places me against both capitalism and Marxism'. In the penultimate letter of the collection – to broadcaster and journalist Phillip Adams – Santamaria makes it clear that in addressing the problem of capitalism, he was returning to an

'earlier enthusiasm' (p. 519) that had been sidelined by his more than 40 years of opposition to communism. In a 1969 letter to Peter Wertheim, a philosophy lecturer at the University of Queensland, Santamaria reveals a set of values that puts him at odds with many of those members of the current Liberal party who claim conservatism as their inspiration. Santamaria argues for 'the rights of the States against the Commonwealth, of municipalities against States, for co-operatives, land settlement, workers' shares in major industries, co-determination on boards of directors, etc etc.' (p. 272).

The letters provide an insight into an uncommon form of Australian conservatism that is ill at ease with the marketplace. They also show Santamaria's involvement in a series of anti-communist organisations not just in Australia, but in Asia as well. Patrick Morgan provides an extremely useful summation of the groups that Santamaria officiated in or founded, including of course, the Catholic Social Studies Movement and the National Civic Council. The book concludes with a helpful commentary on Santamaria's life by Morgan and, finally, there is an index for those who wish to read letters on selected topics only.

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Ariadne Vromen, Katharine Gelber and Anika Gauja, *Powerscape: Contemporary Australian Politics* (Crows Nest, NSW: Allen and Unwin, 2009), 2nd ed., 463 pp., \$55.00, ISBN 9781741756258

There is a range of introductory texts on Australian politics and this second edition of *Powerscape: Contemporary Australian Politics* is both excellent and unique. It is certainly unique in that it is the only book of its kind written entirely by women, although the authors acknowledge that the title of the book came from Michael DiFrancesco, who has since gone back to political practice within the public service.

This edition changes somewhat from the first (in the sense that the first edition has four sections), yet it retains the central nexus of power and participation. Of course, there is the addition of a third author, Anika Gauja, and the subtitle has changed from contemporary Australian political practice to contemporary Australian politics. The authors set themselves two key challenges. The first challenge involves finding a way to present introductory institutional information in a way that engages lecturers, students and policy analysts. The second challenge involves distilling the complexity of Australian political processes and relating them to actual everyday experiences. The second edition includes two new chapters on political institutions and policy making.

The authors suggest that 'The study of politics is a bit like trying to catch the wind. It is very powerful, you can see that it effects all around you, but it is hard to grab hold of and difficult to measure. Politics is all around us, whether or not we consider ourselves "political"' (p. xi). They acknowledge that, when considering political communities, we often think in terms of nations as geographically defined territories, but that there are other ways to define political communities that include shared identities, common histories and mutual experiences. The authors claim that the study of politics is about the unequal relations of power between individuals and groups within and between political communities, and are interested in why some fare better than others in these processes. The authors argue 'that political interactions and decision making events take place in a continuous process of contestation. There is ongoing dispute over values and choices

within any political system that reflects people's engagement with the system at many levels – the formal institutions of parliament and government, by pressure groups, through social networks and as individuals' (p. xii). The text examines a wide range of political actors in both the formal and informal areas of Australian politics.

The second edition is structured into three key parts that enable the authors to investigate contemporary Australian politics from the perspective of power, what they identify as 'the Powerscape'. Powerscape examines relationships of power by examining formal and informal political arenas, the key players in the political process, as well as both the internal and external processes that influence policy making. The authors do not understand power as either top-down (i.e. an understanding of power where those with power impose their decisions on those without power) or in institutional terms, being mediated through formal institutions of government, or pluralist terms, with the assumption that everyone has the equal opportunity to engage in political processes equally. Instead, they see power from a participatory perspective, so that, ultimately, it is participation that counts because this demonstrates people shaping their own futures. This is a multifaceted understanding of power that is complemented with an understanding of power as a relationship, as something 'exercised rather than possessed' (quoting Foucault 1995, 26, xvi). The text recognises that people do not have the equal power to either participate or engage in contemporary Australian political realities and that inequalities exist that are perpetuated by the frameworks and institutions for governing.

The three key sections are 'Power and Democracy', 'Political Actors' and 'Policy Processes', containing 14 chapters. One of the most exciting aspects of the text is the 'snapshot' that accompanies each chapter, consisting of a contemporary issue and the positions of various key players. There are topical snapshots that include, from Part 1, 'Judges v/s legislators: individual rights and government power' about Al-Kateb, an 'unlawful non-citizen' being kept in immigration detention, emphasising the problem of statelessness, citizenship and immigration (p. 53), as well as deliberating the difficult issue of the RU486 debate (the only piece of legislation in Australia initiated by four women MPs from different parties) (pp. 80–3). Snapshots in Part 2 include 'YouTube, earwax and blogs biting back: the Internet and election 2007' (pp. 174–7) and the question of whether young people are politically active or apathetic? (pp. 204–6). Snapshots in Part 3 include the question of whether federal–State cooperation can save the Murray-Darling (pp. 290–3), Australia's policy climate change on ratifying the Kyoto protocol (pp. 318–21) and 'from insiders to outsiders: "mainstreaming" women's policy' (pp. 348–50). Complementing the various snapshots are delightful illustrations by Fiona Katauskas. The various snapshots relate to discussions in each chapter that contain boxes with definitions of key terms, and highlighted examples to illustrate key points made. There is no concluding chapter but, overall, the text provides an overview of contemporary Australian politics that reveals a dynamic political system with high levels of political participation. This challenges the prevailing view that political participation in liberal democracies is characterised by apathy. This text tells a different story – a story about complex interactions with political processes by various political actors.

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Comparative and International Politics

W. Neil Adger and Andrew Jordan (eds), *Governing Sustainability* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), xviii + 338 pp., \$59.95, ISBN 9780521732437

Among the recent overviews of sustainability policy and governance issues, this collection is one of the best. Thirteen chapters canvass many of the key policy issues – including the many meanings of 'sustainability', the politics of environmental debates, the limits of science in guiding policy outcomes, participatory approaches, global political economy and so on. Most of the 17

authors are from English universities and five are linked to the University of East Anglia, the venue for the conference that inspired the book. Note that the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) not only helped fund parts of the research but also the conference itself, as part of 'Social Sciences Week' in 2005 – something we could do more of in Australia. The book's focus is decidedly comparative and international in flavour rather than narrowly British, with several contributors commenting on European and OECD developments. However, the North American and Asian experiences are noted only incidentally, and mainly in relation to climate response negotiations.

Most indicators suggest that environmental quality continues to deteriorate in most areas of the globe. Adger and Jordan set the tone by suggesting that the crisis is not about nature as such, but about governance; that is, the challenge is to ensure better long-term policy settings to address the evident risks to ecological health and human settlement. Why, despite growing awareness of problems, have we been unable to reverse these unhappy trends? The 'simultaneous desire for economic growth and environmental protection and social harmony' has been at the heart of 'environmental politics and policy making' (p. 5). Desired objectives and outcomes for key areas affecting sustainability have been widely documented and broadly accepted in general terms by governments and stakeholders. There are now many excellent international and national reports about the nature and extent of the problems. And there are many cogent strategic documents that outline matters for action and instruments for achieving improved outcomes.

The challenge is to translate these into meaningful and feasible actions in the context of nations and regions. Adger and Jordan suggest that 'governance' arrangements are vital – good processes are needed to achieve faster progress. What processes are most effective? These authors agree that it is not enough to canvass the best available technologies to 'fix' each problem. Other dimensions include raising community awareness, public participation, working across public/private/community boundaries, coordination across government agencies, risk assessment and planning, scientific monitoring and evaluation, and working across regional and larger scales.

Some of the most rewarding (although complex) chapters deal with the science/knowledge base for understanding and responding to environmental challenges (Chapters 7, 9 and 10); the key roles of precaution and risk analysis are underlined, and the case is made for taking seriously the potential roles of stakeholders and 'lay' knowledge in areas of uncertainty. The authors accept that there are unlikely to be widely agreed solutions to most problems, and that single disciplines (e.g. economics, engineering) cannot supply adequate answers to complex problems.

Hence, there is a need for adaptive political approaches that make use of a range of knowledge bases and policy instruments – regulatory prescription, market mechanisms, and networked information and dialogue. Collective action and behavioural change are also necessary to address the large-scale problems, including the special requirements for international regimes to facilitate environmental outcomes. Here, there is more room for debate about different logics of decision making operating at local, regional, national and international levels. Pursuing the UN's eight Millennium Development Goals is rather different from cleaning up a river basin in Germany.

It is important to ensure, claim the editors, that governance research does not become a 'dry and technocratic exercise of counting and cataloguing different governing instruments and ... trying to identify the right governing tool for the job' (p. 20). The chapter authors appear to agree that normative and goal-oriented research is important, in order to draw attention to the tacit issues of power and contestation underlying the majority of the big issues of sustainable development. This reflects the strongly conceptual themes of the book, and a determination to avoid overdependence on specific case studies. The downside of this approach could be that evidence-based assessments are undervalued. The remedy is to ensure that analyses operate at several levels, continuously linking up the insights from various geographical scales and the key issue-based strategies across the economic, social and ecological domains.

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Alex J. Bellamy, *The Responsibility to Protect: The Global Effort to End Mass Atrocities* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009), xiv + 249 pp., £16.99, ISBN 9780745643489

It is because the international norm of state behaviour known as the responsibility to protect (R2P) has attracted such a great deal of controversy, since it was first articulated on the world stage, that it has become so widely known and debated. That has helped, no doubt, in mobilising a broad cross-section of global civil society behind it – notably the centre the author of this book directs, at the University of Queensland – but it is also, arguably, one of the factors hindering its practical implementation.

Contestation over its meaning and applicability has often been occasioned by the concept coming wrapped, as it were, in provocative binaries: picking up on what Kofi Annan, in the UN Millennium Report, *We the Peoples*, called ‘a new concept of security . . . a more human-centred approach . . . as opposed to the traditional state-centred approach’ (emphasis added). On one level, this is a mere figure of speech, but it was perhaps an unfortunate one, given the sequence of events leading up to it.

Bellamy rehearses the standard NATO narrative for the 1999 Kosovo conflict, in which ‘the international community failed to stem the tide of Serbian ethnic cleansing through diplomacy, sanctions and threats’ (p. 29). This is to disregard the evidence presented to the organisation’s North Atlantic Council of ambassadors in 1998, that the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) were responsible for most breaches of the ceasefire being policed by the OSCE verification mission, and the German government report that, by the time NATO started bombing the following March, all but a handful of those displaced had returned to their homes. It was the bombing itself, then its cessation, that triggered the really large population movements – of non-Albanians in the latter case, most of whom have never moved back.

R2P thus became associated, from the outset, with attempts to re-draw international borders, since Washington brought its client, the KLA, on board with the Rambouillet accord only after a sleight-of-hand from Madeleine Albright turned it into a *de facto* promise of independence. And with a challenge to the foundational UN principle that force may only be used either in self-defence or when the Security Council authorises it to meet any threats to international peace and security.

Elsewhere, Bellamy is notably deft in unravelling such familiar binary oppositions: ‘the whole concept of R2P rests on the idea that sovereignty and human rights are two sides of the same coin’ (p. 33), and he is often at his best when offering well-informed accounts of arguments behind the scenes at the UN as the world body grappled with the implications of its new doctrine.

He is right to draw attention to the shift of emphasis from the ICISS report of 2000 to the Outcome Document of the World Summit five years later, when the UN General Assembly, meeting at Head of State and Government level, made the ‘momentous’ decision to adopt R2P by consensus. The former fudges the question of the indispensability of Security Council approval, whereas the latter spells it out with absolute clarity. The declaration, Bellamy notes, ‘disappointed those who wanted to see greater progress on questions concerning non-consensual intervention’ (p. 67).

It bequeaths an opportunity to work creatively on the prevention aspects of R2P, helping the authorities in countries where human security is threatened by incipient inter-group conflicts to establish early warning capacity and shore up precautionary mechanisms. Overshadowing such prospects is the illegal US-led invasion of Iraq, which enabled, for instance, the government of Sudan to argue – albeit ‘disingenuously’ – against decisive international intervention in Darfur, on the grounds that such action would be ‘oil-oriented and anti-Islamic’ (p. 69).

In the event, Bellamy notes, a report on Darfur by the newly created Human Rights Council, adducing the R2P principle, ran into concerted political opposition and emerged only in the much-attenuated form of recommendations drawn up ‘in consultation’ with Khartoum (p. 127).

‘New advocacy campaigns’ could be contemplated to ‘encourage’ measures to strengthen the R2P principle (p. 196), and Bellamy underscores the historic significance of governments having accepted the underlying notion of sovereignty entailing responsibilities as well as rights. It should

be 'sharply distinguished' from the concept of humanitarian intervention, he says (p. 198). It is, in the form agreed, much diminished from the dreams of its early advocates, but Bellamy makes a convincing case that much positive potential remains, to operationalise it in various ways to protect human lives.

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Ronald Findlay and Kevin O'Rourke, *Power and Plenty: Trade, War, and the World Economy in the Second Millennium* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), xxvi + 689 pp., US\$39.50, ISBN 9780691118543 (hbk)

This is a big book with a big idea: that power (politics) and plenty (economics) are inextricably intertwined. As Jan Pieterszoon Coen, the Governor-General of the Dutch East India Company explained to his directors: 'we cannot make war without trade nor trade without war' (p. 178). It is also a big book in terms of its subject matter: 1000 years of history. Although running to over 500 pages, at times this reviewer yearned for more detail on particular periods and regions. This was most notable when the book dealt with the post-World War Two world economy. But this is definitely asking too much of this wonderfully comprehensive book. As one might imagine, there is a long list of acknowledgements, including 11 research assistants! Still, my mind boggles at the work that must have been involved in putting this book together. And, as Findlay and O'Rourke intended, *Power and Plenty* will add greatly to the historical literature on the global economy.

The authors begin with what should be an anodyne statement: 'that you cannot make sense of today's world economy, or indeed of the world more generally, without understanding the history that produced it' (p. xvi). The recent economic crisis has reminded us that globalisation has its costs as well as its opportunities. The authors remind us of the power of politics to both spur and retard economic integration, as the retreat from globalisation in the twentieth century clearly shows. Findlay and O'Rourke make the salient point that, for most of the world, the twentieth century retreat lasted until the 1980s.

Too often in recent years it seemed that many economists and political scientists had forgotten about history and the continuing possibilities of conflict and politics undermining globalisation. Findlay and O'Rourke hope that if readers take away one lesson from the book it should be this: 'extrapolating the immediate past into the indefinite future and calling the result a prediction is a hopeless endeavor' (p. 535). They rightly point out that 'history suggests that globalization is a fragile and easily reversible process' (p. 535).

The authors also point out the importance of geography to understanding the trajectory of the world economy. Until the 'discovery' of the 'New World', the book's entire focus is on the Eurasian landmass (augmented to include North Africa). This is fair enough, when one remembers that the book is about world trade. The augmentation of world trade to include North America and Australasia was, of course, a European endeavour and signalled the rise of Europe to world domination.

Like all such macro-historical treatises a major aspect of the investigation must be why it is that Europe, relatively insignificant in the global trading system at the turn of the last millennium, should rise up from the late fifteenth century to dominate the world and why of that region a particular island state should become the world's first truly global power.

But before the rise of Europe, the Eurasian landmass was dominated by the Mongols. The book illustrates the importance of the Mongol conquests, showing how the period of Pax Mongolica stimulated trade and led eventually to the Black Death. Out of these geopolitical and biological shocks, Western Europe emerged. Findlay and O'Rourke also suggest that the fall of Sung China to the Mongols 'represented a tragic setback to what possibly could have been a breakthrough to modern industrial society and civilization well ahead of the West' (p. 66).

Nevertheless, the eventual European domination of the globe means that globalisation was a European invention rather than an Asian one. Understanding the interaction of trade and conquest needs to be a fundamental part of any explanation of European domination, as the authors contend. Their conclusion is worth quoting at length:

The success of the European Industrial Revolution is intimately connected with trade and overseas expansion, which reached a crescendo after the last great achievement of Europe's 'Middle Ages', the voyages of discovery. In turn those voyages have clear historical antecedents, notably the Viking impulse to explore the North Atlantic, but also in such episodes as the Crusades, overland contacts with East Asia during Pax Mongolica . . . This characteristically European urge resulted not just from Europe's desire for Asian trade goods, but also from her geographical location, which left her at the mercy of whichever powers controlled the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, and the approaches of the Black Sea. In this sense, Muhammed was as much responsible for da Gama as for Charlemagne (p. 364).

The authors acknowledge from the beginning that the emphasis on 'conflict violence and geopolitics' might strike economists as 'odd', but although the book is definitely political economy, for this political economist it occasionally lacks sufficient emphasis on the arena of power. This is an issue because the authors argue throughout the book that plenty has often been determined by power (even if trade, in turn, often shaped politics). Although the authors contend that 'each era can be seen as one in which trade is conducted within a geopolitical framework established by the previous major war or conflict' (p. xxv), more time could have been spent on analysing the significance of constitutional, strategic and military developments and their relationship to trade. But, perhaps, that is another book, yet to be written by a political scientist with an interest in the world economy. Findlay and O'Rourke do acknowledge that: 'As economists, we may have a lot to say about "globalization backlashes", but international relations may in fact be a more relevant discipline for those wishing to understand what lies ahead for the world economy' (pp. 539–40)

The authors maintain that there are 'three great historical events' of the past 1000 years: the Black Death; the discovery of the new world; and the industrial revolution. One can only imagine what will be the three major events of the current millennium! Overall, the book provides a sound warning to those who think that late twentieth century globalisation has pushed the world permanently away from the conjoining of power and plenty. The 'rise of the rest' is unlikely to be peaceful, but it is not just their rise that will create friction, but the relative decline of the West.

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Robin Hambleton and Jill Simone Gross (eds), *Governing Cities in a Global Era: Urban Innovation, Competition and Democratic Reform* (New York: Palgrave, 2007), xix + 267 pp., £21.00, ISBN 9780230602304

You might be forgiven for thinking, from the ongoing soap opera of events around the issue of Auckland's misgovernance, that this book was heaven sent to those involved in the mismanagement of New Zealand's biggest city. You would, however, be sadly mistaken. For those of you reading this who do not have an association with the 'City of Sails', let me explain.

First, a quick lesson in New Zealand's political and economic geography. One-third of all Kiwis live in Auckland – the name given to both the city and the region. Auckland is the economic engine of New Zealand. The existing local government structure dates back to 1989, when during the last attempt to reform local government nation-wide resulted in a 'one size fits all' approach to local authority structure and function being essentially adopted nationally.

By the early years of the twenty-first century, it became increasingly clear that the 1989 structure, which gave us one regional authority and seven city or districts, was wholly inadequate to deal with the rapidly changing demands of a culturally diverse global city.

After much agitation – led initially by the One Auckland Trust – the Labour government, led by Helen Clark, established a Royal Commission to examine the issue of Auckland's governance in 2007. You would have thought that given this background the publication of this book would have been timely. You also might think this, given the fact that the only research commissioned by the Royal Commission from an expert on city and regional governance was from Robin Hambleton. You would, however, be wrong to make such logical assumptions. Let us examine the wise advice offered by this book, advice that the Royal Commission, the current New Zealand government and a House of Representative's Select Committee have all seen fit to totally disregard.

As noted above, Hambleton is a recognised expert on issues surrounding urban and regional governance. Together with his co-editor, Jill Somone Gross, Hambleton provides the reader with a concise collection of papers written by a raft of fellow experts in the field of urban and regional governance. The diversity of the location of the experts adds to the rich flavour of the book, and adds support to the argument that once national and regional idiosyncrasies are overcome, large cities, irrespective of location, in effect all face a common set of issues that need to be addressed. In total, we are presented with both an interesting and stimulating journey through urban and regional governance. Given that the book is presented in three parts, it seems logical to review it in such a fashion.

The first section examines the growing impact of globalisation upon traditional institutions of local government, and increasingly on institutions and stakeholders associated with local governance. Principally, the focus here is the dominance of economic globalisation, and the role and capacity of the institutions of local governance to competently deal with these pressures. The cases of Berlin, Germany and Dublin, Ireland are used to effectively illustrate the pressures.

Following on from this, the second section offers an interesting journey through the dilemmas posed to those involved in local governance. Put simply, there is the increasing requirement to balance, on the one hand, the growing pressures created by global capitalism, against those more traditional pressures associated with the democratic foundations that underpin our institutions of local governance, such as the maintenance of both 'local choice and local voice'. Here we are treated to case studies from Shanghai, China; Medellin, Columbia and Sydney, on Aotearoa's West Island.

It is, perhaps, in the final section that the book makes the most striking contribution – certainly this is the case in the Auckland context. This section deals, amongst others, with the key issue of leadership within local governance. For this reviewer, Hambleton's chapter on this issue is of major importance. Hambleton has long been an advocate for the concept of the directly elected mayor with executive power. Both the reviewer and Hambleton have close knowledge of just how successful this model can be, as demonstrated by its application in the London Borough of Lewisham. In this book, Hambleton makes a compelling case for the need for strong, direct, democratically accountable leadership within our institutions of local governance, a call unfortunately unheeded by those charged with providing Auckland with a robust and sustainable system of local governance.

It is alas, too late for Auckland to learn from this venerable text. We can but hope that other cities will take the opportunity to read and inwardly digest this book. It will not only assist in the avoidance of pitfalls, but also provide some pointers on how to get the most from our cities and regions as they strive to improve in a constantly changing and demanding environment, as well as seeking to regenerate and re-invigorate the democratic intuitions that are essential if we are to enjoy vibrant local governance.

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G. John Ikenberry, Thomas J. Knock, Anne-Marie Slaughter and Tony Smith, *The Crisis of American Foreign Policy: Wilsonianism in the Twenty-First Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009), 157 pp., \$51.95, ISBN 9780691139692 (hbk)

This book consists of four essays by four eminent American scholars that examine the influence of liberal internationalism on George W. Bush's foreign policy and on Woodrow Wilson's legacy in contemporary US thinking on international relations. Each of the essays takes a different view of whether or not Bush was heir to Wilson. The book revolves around questions relating to what extent post 9/11 Bush foreign policies of prevention and democracy – promotion reflected continuity with America's liberal internationalist past, or whether they marked a break with this legacy. For many, this reviewer included, this will seem an unlikely topic for a book, for surely it is clearly evident that Bush's unilateralist and militaristic policies marked a clear departure from Wilsonianism, however defined. The word 'crisis' in the title of the book is also a little exaggerated, although perhaps more appropriate, given the damage to both US interests and America's image abroad that resulted from US foreign policies under Bush.

In debating this issue it is then understandable that Tony Smith should be alone among the four authors to argue the case for linking Bush with Wilsonianism. Although the case he makes is very well-put, Smith's argument relies on a definition of Wilsonianism that is somewhat stretched to better match the democracy-promotion policies of Bush. Yet one can take issue with this on two levels: democracy-promotion was not the real stimulus for Bush's war on Iraq; and Wilson himself never prescribed unilateral forced regime change to spread democracy. Ikenberry provides an overview in the introductory chapter in which he lists six ideas that he suggests make up the essence of Wilsonianism: democracy, free trade, international law, collective security, and a community of power with the US having responsibility, given its status and stature in world politics, to act as the community's vanguard. Ikenberry identifies these six ideas through an analysis of Wilson's 'Fourteen Points' speech to the US Congress in January 1918. Ikenberry states that this was the most important statement of US foreign policy in the entire twentieth century.

Slaughter and Knock both recognise that in the changed circumstances of the post-Cold War world – with threats to stability emanating from non-state actors, weak, failed or failing states, ethnic conflicts, risks of genocide, terror, all in the context of globalisation – that liberal internationalism needs to evolve and develop new rules for intervention. Yet, the unilateral preventive war doctrine of the Bush presidency is not the model, and has little resemblance to the liberal legacy of Woodrow Wilson. Slaughter and Knock see multilateralism as the central component of Wilsonianism, whereas Smith challenges the contention that this should be singled out as the most important feature of the liberal internationalist approach. Furthermore, Smith sees multilateralism as a cloak for American hegemony, and the difference between unilateralism and multilateralism as a difference in means, not in ends. Smith claims that the neoconservatives who came to have such a profound influence on Bush's foreign policy are the intellectual heirs of the neoliberals who wish to make the world in their own image.

In her contribution to the book Slaughter rebuts Smith's arguments while also developing a practical and theoretical distinction between contemporary Wilsonianism and neoconservatism. Slaughter claims that Smith has twisted Wilson and his legacy beyond recognition. Even assuming that Bush's motivations for going into Iraq were at least, in part, to promote democracy, Slaughter points out that in Wilson's Fourteen Points speech the word *democracy* was not even mentioned once. Wilson spoke rather of the right of nations to self-determination, for the right of peoples to govern themselves how they saw fit, although with the hope that democracy would ultimately prevail. Having dealt with what she sees as Smith's misapplication of Wilsonianism, Slaughter concludes with a set of new liberal principles that reflect what she sees as the new realities of the twenty-first century. These call for adaptations to notions of state sovereignty and the further development of the responsibility to protect in order to ensure human security and progress – updating Wilson's principles to meet changing circumstances. The book

can be recommended for those interested in the legacy of Woodrow Wilson and how his ideas still shape contemporary debates in US foreign policy.

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Mona Lena Krook, *Quotas for Women in Politics: Gender and Candidate Selection Reform Worldwide* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), x+289 pp., US\$49.95, ISBN 9780195375671 (hbk)

The representation of women in legislatures worldwide has been the subject of analysis for several decades now. For much of this time, debate centred on the role of political institutions (electoral laws and political parties), socioeconomic factors and cultural norms in seeking to explain the vast variation in women's political presence. More recently however, we have seen the rise and consolidation of gender-specific strategies aimed at enhancing and embedding women's representation in parliaments. Mona Lena Krook provides a thorough examination of such a strategy – gender quotas – from an explicitly comparative perspective. In doing so, her aim is to draw from, but go beyond, the individual case studies that now abound but which, as stand-alone studies, reveal few clear patterns. Through an in-depth reading of existing literature and a paired comparison of quotas in six countries, Krook offers a systematic, coherent and rich analysis of why quotas are adopted and what impact they might have on women's parliamentary representation.

The first three chapters take what Krook refers to as a 'global lens', whereby data on quotas in existence worldwide is collated in a series of tables (in the Appendix) according to gender quota type (reserved seats, party quotas and legislative quotas) and region. The broad-ranging literature on the adoption and implementation of gender quotas is then reviewed to uncover the range of explanations already on offer. Krook identifies four factors underpinning quota adoption: the work of women's movements, as well as that of international organisations and transnational networks, the strategic motives of political elites and the capacity of existing political norms to adjust to quotas. She then interrogates the three dominant explanations given for (successful) implementation, measured as increasing women's representation over and above extant factors (such as proportional representation). Krook concludes that it can be difficult to unravel which factors matter most – often alliances between key actors emerge, critical junctures appear or actors we may intuitively expect to support quotas, resist their adoption and implementation (and vice versa).

She also argues it is important to recognise 'institutions' as encompassing structures, practices and norms that interact with each other, in a variety of sequences, over time. As such, it becomes impossible to develop a single causal model of quota adoption and implementation – more productive is a cross and within-case comparative approach that enables the exploration of iterated attempts at gender quota adoption. It is this methodological approach that leads Krook to choose her paired case studies: Pakistan and India; Sweden and the United Kingdom; Argentina and France. Each pair represents a different form of quota, a different degree of success and either a harmonising or disjointed sequence of reform. Each pair has a chapter dedicated to the respective historical antecedents, ideas, strategies and actors behind the attempts at quota adoption and the various outcomes. These empirical chapters are thoroughly researched and presented in a systematic format, providing readers with accessible data on each case over time and make a useful resource in their own right.

The final chapter brings together, in a thoughtfully woven analysis, the conceptual and the empirical sections, with six key conclusions and some directions for future research. Most of the conclusions seem intuitive, but what Krook's nuanced and necessary examination provides is a solid bank of evidence for what we would expect to be the case. Those interested in Australia and

New Zealand will have to take Krook's framework and apply it themselves. For although she claims this work to be global in its perspective, a number of countries, Australia included, only appear in the Appendix. No detail is given of debates where progressive women in parties of the left have chosen explicitly to reject gender quotas (in New Zealand, for example, where there exist reserved seats for their Indigenous people). However, any comparative analysis requires trade-offs and the approach and findings presented in this book will ensure it remains a key text for feminist political science.

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Scott Strauss, *The Order of Genocide: Race, Power and War in Rwanda* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2006), xiv + 273 pp., US\$19.95, ISBN 9780801474927

Fifteen years after one of the worst genocides in history, Rwanda has been accepted into the Commonwealth and the Rwandan government has changed the official language from French to English. Rwanda's recovery has been consistent, if not successful, in part because of the reconciliation and healing processes during the thousands of trials against the perpetrators of genocide. In our efforts to try to understand the horrific magnitude of the Rwandan genocide in 1994, the pre-meditated and strategic plan to kill Tutsis by moderate Hutus, and the complicity and inaction of the international community, many scholars have covered the historical and structural factors that led to these events. In this book, Strauss has contributed something different and valuable to the discourse, in particular through his important research involving interviews with the perpetrators in Rwandan prisons awaiting trials for their crimes. His aim was to examine the reasons why individuals participated in the violence and what their understandings of the logic of genocide were. Strauss covers all of the bases on the analysis of genocide, the background of why it happened, competing interpretations, patterns of violence and an analysis and overview of Rwandan history from the 1950s. This book will be important to all scholars of African and genocide studies at both undergraduate and postgraduate levels, and to a more general readership.

Strauss argues that the Rwanda genocide occurred because of three main reasons. First, the civil war that 'began on April 7, 1994, after the president was assassinated and which the hardliners were losing'. Strauss contextualises his argument within the theatre of order, authority and power, arguing that the death of Habyriyamana 'ruptured Rwanda's political order and created a temporary gap in authority ... [thus] setting the stage for local power struggles'. The 'Hutu hardliners gained control of the state, and urged war against the Tutsi "enemy"'. Thus, making 'genocide the order of the day' (p. 7).

Second, the Rwandan state institutions played a role because they enabled the state to dramatically influence the 'local level', thereby having 'control of the state' equated to having authority, and this justified the killing of Tutsis and other violence as a state policy. Importantly, Strauss notes that because of the history of 'obligatory labor' it was much easier to mobilise civilians within Rwanda. Here Strauss notes the 'irony' for the African state, because 'most African states are weak' and cannot control what happens within their borders, either through ineptitude, neglect or corruption. Yet, the Rwandan state was strong, and was able to mobilise civilians, even in the rural areas. Strauss recognises that much of this mobilisation was made easier due to the physical geography – a landlocked, heavily populated, mountainous region, with nowhere to 'exit' – which explains, to some extent, the reason why so many were killed, and why so many killed.

The third reason is 'not ethnicity'. Strauss argues that it is not the case that Hutu killed Tutsi because of 'ethnic prejudice, pre-existing ethnic antipathy, manipulation from racist propaganda, or nationalist commitments'. Although the hatred of Tutsis and the dehumanisation of them

'mattered for some perpetrators' (p. 9) it was not the major motivating factor. Before the genocide there were ethnic differences, but they didn't matter. Hutu and Tutsi were neighbours and even inter-married. Somehow, 'during the genocide, Tutsi were labeled the enemy' and this justified killing them. Strauss calls this process 'collective ethnic categorization' and argues that there were three other driving forces at work behind the genocide: (1) 'wartime uncertainty and fear'; (2) 'social pressure'; and (3) 'opportunity'. Strauss' research with the perpetrators revealed their reasons for committing these crimes and participating in genocide. 'Hutus killed because they wanted to protect themselves during a war and during a period of intense uncertainty, because they felt that complying with those who told them to kill would be less costly than not complying, and because they opportunistically used the period of confusion and violence to obtain power and property' (pp. 9–10). All of these mechanisms were at play to 'varying degrees' by different individuals and perpetrators. Strauss explains how the genocide was a 'final solution' for the hardliners who were losing the battle, which resulted in the top-down instructions from leaders in the civil war. 'Genocide is not usually the first choice of leaders, but the outcome of a process of escalation' (p. 12).

Interestingly, Strauss argues that despite the failures of the international community in responding to the genocide, unless they had 'intervened quickly' they would not have made much difference. However, if they had intervened quickly and stabilised the country, average Rwandan men (Hutus) would have just as easily 'accepted a moderate position ... [and] complied with orders for peace, as with orders for violence' (p. 13). This captures Strauss' basic argument, that the Hutu did not simply hate the Tutsi before or after the genocide, and the implications for this in present-day Rwanda run deep, because these ethnic distinctions have been 'banned' from 'public discourse' and other authoritarian policies restricting civil society have been implemented. However, as Strauss argues:

[I]f [his] model is correct, then repression is not necessary to prevent future violence. Rwandans are particularly vulnerable to coercive mobilization and a future rupture in political order and acute insecurity could again produce civilian-perpetrated violence. But Hutus are not predisposed to hating Tutsis, despite the large-scale civilian participation that characterizes the Rwandan genocide (p. 14).

Therefore, although it would seem that creating a new nation of Rwandans, not divided by ethnic identities such as Hutus and Tutsis, may assist in a recovery from such violence, this may not be the complete answer. The government's attraction to the Commonwealth and desire to become an English-speaking nation may have more to do with the French support for Hutu hardliners during the civil war, and the French accusations against current President Paul Kagame for his role in the genocide, rather than any particular affiliation with former British colonies, or any perceived benefits of the Commonwealth.

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Political Theory and Methodology

Alex J. Bellamy, *Fighting Terror: Ethical Dilemmas* (London and New York: Zed Books, 2008), viii + 176 pp., \$45.00, ISBN 9781842779682

As the worst excesses of US security policy during the Bush era linger in the memory, this book is a timely reminder of the uncertainties and injustices that characterise the ongoing war on terror. For Alex Bellamy, the dilemma at the heart of *Fighting Terror* is that, although 'the world would be a better place ... if there were no (or not many) Islamist terrorists', the use of force to achieve this can be 'ineffective and counterproductive' (p. 2). Formulating

policy is thus a vexing challenge, so Bellamy seeks to identify and explain ‘the moral anchorages necessary to make good decisions about the type of war we want to fight’ (p. 2). The author *qua* author wants to fight it, for at various points in the book he goes beyond explaining concepts and offers advice on how (not) to achieve success. Contrary to the notion that adherence to moral rules in war amounts to fighting with one hand tied behind one’s back, Bellamy observes that no ‘state fighting a just war [has] lost *because* it fought according to the moral rules of the day’ (p. 15). Rather, he laments that ‘it is precisely our departure from shared moral principles [drawn from the centuries-old just war tradition and contemporary international law] that has contributed to the escalation of world terrorism’ (p. 3).

The opening chapter confronts the intuitive notion that connecting ethics and war is oxymoronic, by first canvassing arguments against such a connection. In answer to realist objections, for example, there is evidence throughout the book of symbiosis between the exercise of prudence in international affairs and the realisation of shared expectations of justice. Bellamy then explains the history of and contemporary rationale for just war principles for resorting to war and conducting hostilities. The second chapter tackles the question: What exactly is it that we find wrong with terrorism? The answer ultimately lies in the abhorrence of politically motivated harm to non-combatants, and Bellamy sees no merit in distinguishing between state and non-state perpetrators of such harm. Chapter 3 dismantles the question of whether the war on terror is a just war by insisting that it cannot be analysed as a singular, coherent whole. Rather, the war on terror comprises individual components, each having a separate and unique moral status. Selecting the most salient of these, Bellamy, in later chapters, argues that pre-emptive self-defence can be employed only in limited circumstances, that torture is always morally wrong, and that the United States and its allies have failed in their post-war responsibilities in Iraq and Afghanistan.

Although each chapter of *Fighting Terror* stands on good research and clear explanation, the book as a whole is not well integrated. For example, although the author promises to refer ‘again and again’ (p. 25) to two parameters for applying just war reasoning – the ‘consensus test’ and Kantian generalisability (p. 26) – neither is employed explicitly and systematically through the book. Also, despite the compelling argument that state terrorism is just as immoral as non-state terrorism in violating non-combatant immunity – the act, not the actor, is what matters (p. 40) – the book mostly contemplates acts of terrorism perpetrated by non-state entities. Terminology shifts, sometimes confusingly, from ‘Al Qaeda and its allies’ (p. 18) to ‘Al Qaeda-inspired terrorism’ (p. 19) to ‘terrorists and rogue states’ (p. 80) to ‘Basque separatists in ETA and other such terrorist organizations’ (p. 67) to ‘would-be terrorists’ (p. 81) to ‘mass casualty terrorism’ (p. 84), depending on the context. As a result, the overall message of the book is a little muddled. If anything, however, this variation illustrates the argument that ‘Because we cannot specify who the enemy is [in the war on terror] and what threat they pose, we cannot begin to make a case for just cause or proportionality’ (p. 128).

Habitual readers of Bellamy’s work will recognise in the book some ideas and material from articles and chapters published over the preceding five years, and these are listed in the Preface. However, for readers less familiar with academic literature on the ethics of war and peace, this quasi-anthology is an excellent introductory text and would serve well as a teaching resource. A volume that is slim and eminently readable, *Fighting Terror* combines sound explanation of concepts with judicious use of empirical data from ancient to modern times. In the ebb and flow of the continuing war on terror, as policies shift and more dilemmas emerge, this book may prove a handy guide to avoiding future mistakes and injustices.

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C.A.J. Coady, *Messy Morality: The Challenge of Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), ix + 123 pp., US\$29.95, ISBN 9780199212088 (hbk)

What new can you say about political morality in 120 pages? Ask Tony Coady, philosopher from the University of Melbourne, and you will get this book as your succinct answer. The text is a revision of the 2005 'Uehiro Lectures' originally presented at the University of Oxford, sponsored by the Uehiro Centre for Practical Ethics. What is practical ethics? According to Uehiro Centre head Julian Savulescu's note that opens this book, practical ethics is analysis about ethics that 'should make people's lives better'. Practical yes, but very ambitious with high expectations that are not easy to satisfy. Coady's title refers to his preference for the everyday practice of 'messy' morality that eludes the neat nets of conceptual clarity wielded by advocates of the two schools of thought he tilts against: pragmatic 'realism' on one hand and abstract 'moralism' on the other. The problem with realism is that it undersells its useful warning against misplaced high moral principle by overselling flexible pragmatism. The problem of moralism is that, from time to time, it discounts the need to adapt or bend high principle to accommodate the requirements of unavoidably low practice.

Coady's perspective is that of a third alternative: think of realism and moralism as two points at the base of a triangle and Coady's 'messy-ism' as the third point over and above them. In this framework, 'above' is indeed the right term, given that Coady spends some time justifying the practical and theoretical relevance of 'ideals' as resources that can save what is valuable and recoverable in both realism (its bias towards prudence; see pp. 21–8) and moralism (its bias towards idealism). Coady is not so much attempting to deny realism or moralism as put them in proper perspective. Both alternatives are too neat, in the way that simplified abstractions often are. Moralism is given very close attention with an anatomy of six classic types. Coady has had enough of those 'overmoralizing the universe' (p. 17). His tone is set by his crisp rejection of 'misguided appeals to morality' (p. 15). By contrast, realism 'has something to teach' with 'certain insights that seem to me to be essentially right' (p. 11). The claim here is that messy politics is true to the untidy realities of everyday political life, including the trade-offs that define morality as the fascinating realm of contingent judgement 'when issues are morally complex and genuinely contentious' (p. 45).

The mode of analysis is philosophical rather than political. After a few contemporary examples of dirty-handed politics, mainly drawn from the US contribution to the war on terror, Coady turns his sights to interpretations from fellow philosophers. The book becomes a running commentary on academic analysts rather than policy actors. Searching for a 'suitably nuanced and attentive international morality' (p. 49), Coady is generally satisfied with the important preliminary task of knocking down all competitors to his own position, reserving space for his own position to grow into recognition, perhaps in future work. The central of the five chapters is the long one about ideals (pp. 50–75). This chapter will strike many readers as the best example of Coady at his worst (which is still well ahead of most of us). This fascinating chapter defends either a version of morality against realism or of a version of high principle against flexible relativism or, perhaps, of Isaiah Berlin's liberal pluralism against his many universalist critics. Or all three.

Attracting tighter focus are debates over 'dirty hands' in politics, including less dramatic degrees of dirt associated with conventional exercises of political power where 'disfigurement of character' among the crafty political elite can produce public cynicism. Dirty hands thinking is distinctive because it keeps alive the moral costs of exceptional conduct: conscientious (if that term is right) dirty hand exponents are affected with what Walzer originally described as a moral sense of regret that they did what, normally, they should not and would not do (pp. 82–3). Coady notes that justifiable lying is quite different: it really is messy precisely because of the typical absence of regret, in good cases as well as bad. The final chapter on 'politics and lying' is a good illustration of Coady's ethic of exceptions, complete with a qualified defence of old-fashioned casuistry. The price is that, at the end, many readers will have lost their sense of what the rule is for governing non-exceptional

situations. *Messy* isn't meant to be easy; but *Messy Morality* will do its bit to 'make people's lives better'.

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Steven B. Smith (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Leo Strauss* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), xiv + 307 pp., \$49.95, ISBN 9780521703994

Many readers of this Journal will remember Norman Wintrop's fine review essay on 'New Perspectives and Leo Strauss' in the issue of December 2008 (pp. 729–38). Among the six books reviewed by Wintrop was one called *Reading Leo Strauss* by Steven Smith, a political theorist at Yale. Wintrop noted that Smith's book was distinctive in its close attention to Strauss' investigation of 'the theological-political problem', particularly evident in Strauss' early writings on the pioneering liberal theorist, Spinoza. Smith is the author of an influential book on Spinoza's political philosophy, which might help explain his position, nicely captured by Wintrop, that Strauss is not the pre-modern reactionary often portrayed but, instead, a 'liberal pluralist, cautiously democratic', much like Spinoza. Now Smith emerges as the editor of this new contribution in the valuable *Cambridge Companion* series, which brings together a state-of-the-art collection of critical encounters with the thought of Leo Strauss.

How accessible is Strauss' thought, given the studied opaqueness of many of his writings? Strauss is notorious for his hide-and-seek exposition of the arts of esoteric writing. His less friendly critics suspect that Strauss never fully disclosed his interest in esoteric writing because he was never really committed to liberal pluralism and was not so much a cautious democrat as a secretive anti-democratic elitist, deconstructing rather than defending democracy. Smith's collection provides the richest investigation of the public and personal side of Strauss' intellectual development, with a range of different perspectives on the enigma of Strauss' esotericism. Almost all the chapters are organised around issues of interpretation, using a combination of Strauss' public and private statements to try to discern a sustainable method in Strauss' preferred mode of self-revelation, which is the indirect form of respectful commentary on other authors, some of whom are selected on the basis that they, in turn, are commentators on other authors. The collection runs the risk of incoherence, which is deftly held at bay by Smith's two opening chapters (first a preview of the book, followed by a valuable intellectual biography) that frame the subsequent search for 'the real Strauss'.

For readers coming to Strauss for the first time or wanting a simple explanation of why modern thinkers would reserve a special place for such esoteric practices, consider the famous example of the British utilitarian, Henry Sidgwick, who is, perhaps, J.S. Mill's most influential disciple. Sidgwick concluded his treatise on the progressive doctrines of utilitarianism with a word of warning to his followers that some aspects of the utilitarian doctrine (lying to produce public benefits is his example) should be withheld from public knowledge. Sidgwick concedes 'the more refined and complicated rule' allowing 'enlightened' utilitarians to bend the rules of conventional morality, which prohibit lying. The larger point is the importance of 'an esoteric morality, differing from that popularly taught', which if revealed could be 'dangerous' to ordinary followers. 'Thus, on utilitarian principles, it may be right to do and privately recommend, under certain circumstances, what it would not be right to advocate openly; it may be right to teach openly to one set of persons what it would be wrong to teach others; it may be conceivably right to do, if it can be done with comparative secrecy, what it would be wrong to do in the face of the world . . . ' and so on (Sidgwick 1907; 489–90). If J.S. Mill's followers can accommodate esotericism, Strauss is much closer to the mainstream than his reputation would suggest.

Twelve chapters trace Strauss' intellectual development. A feature of the collection is the use made by almost all contributors of Strauss' private correspondence now being published in

German, which provides the source for a rich commentary by Strauss on his public positioning. Smith's Introduction welcomes many of the friendly critics, like Lampert and Rosen, who follow with high praise for Strauss' ultimately unsatisfactory recovery of classical or Socratic political philosophy. Smith's separate chapter on Strauss' life sets the scene for others to use the private archive to clarify the public achievement. Batnitzky reviews the early years, investigating the 'theologico-political' problem. Lampert revels in Strauss' recover of esotericism. Rosen laments Strauss' limited grip on the nature of modernity. Catherine Zuckert sketches Strauss' public turn to premodern thought. Kraemer tells the story of Strauss' encounter with Arabic philosophy. Shell uses Strauss' long-lost New York lecture of 1941 on German Nihilism as a case study in his practical politics. Galston makes a good case for Strauss as a friend of democracy rather than a democrat. Behnegar investigates the Weber theme in Strauss' philosophy of social science. Fuller places Strauss' educational thought ('great books') in political context ('great politics'). Finally, Michael Zuckert rounds out the collection with a chapter on 'the Straussians' – east coast, west coast and mid-west varieties, all hardy hybrids. The absence of editor Smith from this concluding portrait underlines the independence that he brings to this remarkable collection.

Reference

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