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Book Reviews

Australian and New Zealand Politics

N. Dyrenfurth and T. Soutphommasane (eds), *All That's Left: What Labor Should Stand For* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2010), 224 pp., $29.95, ISBN 9781742232423 (pbk)

R. Cavalier, *Power Crisis: The Self-Destruction of a State Labor Party* (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 224 pp., $34.95, ISBN 9780521138321 (pbk)

Traditionally, books about the Australian Labor Party (ALP) tend to come out after an election defeat, but in this instance Rodney Cavalier has gone into print ahead of an imminent Labor defeat in New South Wales, and Nick Dyrenfurth and Tim Soutphommasane have edited a volume of collected works that appeared after a near-defeat for Labor in the 2010 federal election. Cavalier's brief is to discuss the NSW branch of the ALP, and he does this by charting the NSW Labor government's attempt at alleviating the state's financial problems by privatising the hitherto state-controlled electricity industry. It is a chronicle of internal power politics in which the party's key structural players – the premier, the premier's advisers, the cabinet, the Caucus and, above all else, the party 'machine' and the party Conference with its affiliated trade union delegates to the fore – battle with each other for control of the policy agenda, and indeed for control of the party itself. Dyrenfurth and Soutphommasane, meanwhile, seek to track a slightly different contest in the form of a battle of ideas about just what social democracy means in the era of late-industrialism and consumerism, and how this influences what the ALP stands for. They enlist the assistance of eight other contributors in this task, including some high-profile names such as former finance minister Lindsay Tanner, former Western Australian premier Geoff Gallup, and current national secretary of the Australian Workers Union Paul Howes.

For Dyrenfurth and Soutphommasane, politics is about the contest of ideas. Cavalier, on the other hand, is more of a realist and sees the contest as one occurring within the dominant faction, the Right. Cavalier's study is about brute power as it is exercised by, in this case, NSW Labor's right faction. Cavalier is most dismissive of the Labor left in NSW, partly because of the disappearance of genuine shop-floor unionists and their replacement by tertiary-educated youngsters bought into the party's structure as ministerial staffers, union advocates and/or union executives. Cavalier does not think much of this group – an interesting point of contrast with Dyrenfurth and Soutphommasane whose correspondents include just the sort of Labor left-winger Cavalier worries about, including Tanner and Dennis Glover (a ministerial adviser, a university graduate, and a member of the Socialist Left).

As it turns out, Glover's chapter about the problem social democrats have in defining a reform agenda for a nation like Australia where consumerism and materialism permeate the nation's social classes is the most interesting in the Dyrenfurth and Soutphommasane book. The other chapters were much less lively and suffered from feeling dated. Clearly, much of this book was written when Kevin Rudd was prime minister and his musings on social democracy in *The Monthly* had renewed interest in what modern Labor stands for. The problem is that Rudd did not last long at all, and some of the chapters suffer as a result. Geoff Gallup's chapter on federalism, for instance, reads more like a list of Rudd's failed ambitions rather than a celebration of federal-state reform which appears to have been the author's original intention. Lindsay Tanner waxes yet again on what Labor stands for, but he is no longer an MP and the Australian Greens now hold his seat. Larissa Behrendt laments that Rudd's approach to indigenous affairs replicated that of the Howard government, the apology notwithstanding. Under Gillard, this issue seems to have disappeared from the debate. This chapter in particular has an undercurrent of regret about opportunities lost.

Cavalier's book, on the other hand, is by far the more entertaining read. It is also a very insightful book that provides a valuable description and analysis of the byzantine ways of the most powerful faction in the nation's most important Labor branch. Moreover, the book has a continuing relevance. What Cavalier does is outline the behavioural pattern of a group of people who, having arguably run the NSW Labor government down over a dispute between the machine and the parliamentary leadership ostensibly over policy, are now pivotal to national Labor politics. Of course, disputes over policy are a constant presence in internal Labor politics. Reading about the problems premiers Morris Iemma and Nathan Rees had in trying to get the Labor party to accept privatisation of the state's electricity industry brings to mind the difficulty other Labor premiers have had in trying to force neoliberal prescriptions on their reluctant parties. Interestingly, this is a story that is still unfolding in Queensland where the Bligh government is in the process of selling off sections of its rail network. The ability of the party organisation and the party machine to strike back at leaders is the noteworthy feature of this book – a finding that ought to give Anna Bligh real cause for concern about her future.

Meanwhile, Cavalier's study of NSW politics has a wider relevance in terms of the national political scene. A number of the individuals who figure prominently in his tale of self-destruction have since moved into national politics where the same behavioural pattern has been replicated in the downfall of Kevin Rudd as prime minister and his replacement by Julia Gillard. As Cavalier shows, the removal of Labor premiers in NSW always involved party machine men waving opinion poll data around and declaring that the leader, having failed to impact on the stated voting intentions of the electorate, had to go. Factional convenors in the Caucus played their role as did union heavyweights. So went Iemma and Rees, and current premier Kristina Keneally may yet fall. To this list might be added Kevin Rudd. For those who are interested in how parties tick in the real world, Cavalier's book is a must read.

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Timothy L.H. McCormack and Cheryl Saunders (eds), *Sir Ninian Stephen: A Tribute* (Melbourne: Miegunyah Press, 2007), xxxi + 285 pp., $65.00, ISBN 9780522851021 (hbk)

As the title of this work suggests, the collection pays tribute to the crowded life of Sir Ninian Stephen. By any standard this is a remarkable Australian whose career has been distinguished by principal positions at both the national and international levels. In order he has been: a leading barrister, a Justice of the High Court of Australia, the Governor-General of Australia, an international peace envoy and jurist. Yet despite the titles and the trappings of high office it is the warmth, wit and wisdom of the character that is a constant theme expressed by all those who have dissected his life within the pages of this volume.

Sir Ninian Stephen: A Tribute brings together 10 contributors reflecting upon the various offices that Sir Ninian has held. Each author has, to various degrees, worked with Sir Ninian during one or more phases of his public life. This connection brings immediacy to the account of the area and highlights his character as a participant in key offices. Common to all the chapters is a careful balance that contributors have struck between outlining the contribution of Sir Ninian to a particular office and insightful reflection upon the office in general. This in turn demonstrates the deft hand of the editors who have made the book not just a celebration of a life but a means upon which critical analysis can be brought to the operations of various institutions.

The collection is arranged in two parts: 'Australian Public Life' and 'International Public Life'. In terms of the balance between an assessment of the man and the office a good example is Lindell's chapter on Sir Ninian's time as Governor-General (1982–89). Lindell explores the particular contribution Sir Ninian made, but then reflects more broadly on the office in terms of its constitutional and ceremonial aspects. Specifically, Lindell (pp. 39–42) outlines the traditional

constitutional role of a Governor-General, including the right 'to be consulted, to encourage and to warn' the government of the day as well as the dissolution of the Parliament. Drawing on an interview with Sir Ninian, Lindell outlines the evolving nature of the office and how practice has modified the conventions. In the end Lindell comes to the tentative conclusion that the ceremonial and constitutional role of the office have 'shrunk'. As he states:

> In surveying these developments it is difficult to escape the impression that the role of the Governor-General has shrunk – however successfully and smoothly the role has been performed by such persons as Sir Ninian Stephen – especially when it is linked with the gradual erosion of the Governor-General's independent discretion when presiding over a government that enjoys the confidence of the House of Representatives, absent any question regarding the availability of Supply. (Lindell, p. 54)

Lindell (p. 55) concludes with the somehow radical question of 'whether the nation needs a separate head of state for symbolic and ceremonial purposes'. This remains a question worth pondering. Given the tendency of the elected branch of the executive (and especially recent prime ministers) to gather unto themselves many of the ceremonial functions that have traditionally fallen to the Governor-General, there may be an argument to abandon what has become the role most associated with the office.

As noted, the collection provides an opportunity for contributors to provide pen portraits of Sir Ninian. In the absence of a biography these insights will prove invaluable for future historians. Mason (p. 5) notes the 'urbanity and charm', as well as his 'elegance of literacy style, lightness of touch, [and] indeed elusive quality'. Others note his 'geniality, modesty, charm and sense of humour' when outlining his character (Lindell, p. 28). The generic skills that Mason has noted in regard to the High Court proved to be invaluable in other areas. So for instance Saunders noted in the context of the Constitutional Centenary Foundation that:

> He invariably commanded respect, without apparently trying; he was courteous, genuine and a good listener, receptive to new ideas; and he was a skilled and elegant communicator, with an enviable and distinctive turn of phrase, orally and in writing. (Saunders, p. 66)

These skills honed first in Australia, were tested when Sir Ninian entered the international arena. For instance as a member of the High Level Team in Burma or the Northern Ireland peace talks or International Court of Justice he earned the respect of colleagues as well as protagonists in conflict (McCormack, p. 153).

Sir Ninian Stephen: A Tribute is a well-edited and handsomely produced collection worthy of the Miegunyah imprint of Melbourne University Press. The authors are not uncritical of the institutions and offices which Sir Ninian has held. They are, however, unstinting in their assessment that Sir Ninian is an exceptionally gifted man who is a 'model for all citizens' (Kirby, p. xvi).

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Joanne Watson, *Palm Island: Through a Long Lens* (Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, 2010), x + 212 pp., $34.95, ISBN 9780855757038 (pbk)

Picturesque Palm Island has been in the news a lot in recent years, following the death of local indigenous man Cameron 'Mulrunji' Doomadgee in a police cell in November 2004. The subsequent riots, coroner's inquiries, trials and appeals have caught the public's attention. What

is going on in Palm Island? What circumstances led to Doomadgee's death, and why did his death result in such an explosion of emotion and violence within the Palm Island indigenous community? These events in 2004 bookend Joanne Watson's history of Palm Island as an Aboriginal reserve through the twentieth century. Although her research on the book began more than a decade before, it is a successful strategy: Doomadgee's death, according to Watson, is evidence of the continuation of Palm Island's sordid history into the present. Poignantly, death in custody is a consistent theme.

Isolated by geography and policy, the Aboriginal reserve on Palm Island was characterised by a series of authoritarian and sometimes sadistic superintendents; rationing of food to starvation levels; death from epidemics and neglect; arbitrary and violent punishment; hard work with no wages; the separation of families into locked dormitories; and the control of marriages and sexual relations. Watson draws on interviews with Palm Island residents, personal letters, official documents, reports, and media articles, to recount the sorry history of the island. The first half of the history is divided according to the rule of superintendents: 'Kenny's time', 'Curry's time', 'Gribble's time' and 'Bartlam's time'. Each era reveals how the reserve was characterised according to the whims of the particular superintendent. Watson describes the brutality of Curry's time, which included the 'cat o'nine tails-like-whip' made on special request for Curry in 1929, that he hung on the wall of the girl's dormitory, and used on one girl until she lost consciousness (p. 45). Gribble's time, from 1935, was characterised by financial restraint which led to the severe malnourishment and death through starvation of many island residents. When worse conditions do not seem possible, Watson introduces her account of Bartlam's time, from 1953, as 'the most extensively repressive in the history of the island' (p. 103), during which the superintendent's authority was reinforced through incarceration, intimidation and police brutality. A chapter on Palm's neighbouring Fantome Island, used to quarantine indigenous people suffering disease, describes conditions so poor that some people swam through shark-infested waters to escape.

Watson notes, but does not detail, the Australian policies that enabled such unregulated and arbitrary control by superintendents over every aspect of the lives of people incarcerated in the reserves. And while she describes how the authority of individual superintendents was reinforced by 'the blind eye' of consecutive Queensland and federal governments, the focus on the individual superintendents risks ignoring the fact that indigenous people were subject to similar situations throughout Australia. Nevertheless, the book is not a story of passive submission of indigenous people in the face of these regimes. The chapters 'Whistle-Blowers' time' and 'Campaign time' recall the legal and political strategies pursued by indigenous people to seek justice and compensation for their treatment on Palm Island, albeit with limited success.

As a history of the island and the reserve, Watson's account is as detailed as it is shocking. The accounts of Doomadgee's death and its aftermath are less successful, however. One has the impression that Watson is too emotionally invested in the case, and does not master – as Chloe Hooper (2008) did in *The Tall Man* – a subtle analysis of individual behaviour in the context of wider social relations. Indeed, she critiques Hooper's work for attempting to 'present the side of the "misunderstood" cop' Sergeant Chris Hurley. In contrast, Watson seems too eager to paint Doomadgee as a flawless man: for example, she explains away Doomadgee's unfortunate choice of song as he walked past the police car the morning of his death 'singing "Who let the dogs out" – one of his three favourite songs' (p. 2). This over-compensation is unnecessary: whether Doomadgee was a good man or not makes no difference to the injustice of his death. This is a small point, however, in an otherwise well-researched, important, and often horrifying book.

Reference

Hooper, C. 2008. *The Tall Man: Death and Life on Palm Island.* Melbourne: Penguin.

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Comparative and International Politics

Mark Beeson and Alex J. Bellamy, *Securing Southeast Asia: The Politics of Security Sector Reform* (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), 218 pp., $75.00, ISBN 9780415416191 (hbk)

This book deals with the politics of security sector reforms in four Southeast Asian countries, namely Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia and the Philippines. It critiques an emerging approach known as security sector reform (SSR) that links economic development and security and is rooted in the development policy adopted by Britain's Department for International Development in the late 1990s. In this approach, development aid flowing from Western countries to developing countries is aimed at promoting a democratic peace in which democratisation and the improvement of security are combined. It is underpinned by the idea that civilians must control the military, which requires parliamentary power to scrutinise military affairs, improved professionalisation of the military, military officers that are familiar with democratic values, and the promotion of cooperation among security agencies in order to strengthen democratic peace.

The authors believe that there are substantial flaws in the above approach, which fails to adequately account for the different historical contexts of civilian–military relations in the Western world and developing countries. Beeson and Bellamy criticise the use of Huntington's notion of military professionalism as a pivotal pillar of democracy, as this has not been the case in Southeast Asia, where the military has been deeply involved in the process of nation building and therefore justifies its involvement in non-military affairs as a part of its 'tour of duty'. The authors offer an alternative theoretical approach which takes into account ideational factors at the international and national levels, as well as the importance of an institutional approach in shaping the evolution of civilian–military relations. They propose a more grounded, nuanced and historically connected approach to examining the complexity of security sector reform in Southeast Asia.

The book offers four case studies. The first concerns Malaysia, which the authors argue offers a different story compared to Thailand, Indonesia and the Philippines as the military is not an important player in national politics. Historically and constitutionally, the British colonial administration put the Malaysian military under civilian rule. In Malaysia, the police have played a more important role in society. In analysing the Malaysian case, the authors suggest that the politicisation of the police, which benefits the ruling elites, has been a core issue. The Malaysian police force has viewed SSR as a potential threat to their political and economic interests.

The second case concerns Thailand. The authors examine the surprise 'return' of the military to Thai politics, analysing the causes and consequences of the coup on 19 September 2006, and drawing out the implications of the rise and fall of Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra for Thailand and its neighbours. This case, they argue, offers insights into the complexity of civilian–military relations in Thailand. Almost entirely absent from this discussion however is the role of the Thai monarchy in supporting military leaders during the 2006 coup. The role of the so-called 'networks of monarchy' which include former military leaders cannot be ignored, and reforming the Thai military must be understood in the context of commitment to the preservation of the monarchy.

The third case study is Indonesia. Civilian–military relations in Indonesia have evolved over decades and in many ways reflect the journey of modern Indonesia more broadly. The military leaders have always claimed legitimacy for their role in social and political affairs on the basis of their contribution to nation building and therefore have not been easily sidelined. The fall of Soeharto in 1998 provided an impetus for military reform in Indonesia but the reforms have been slow and costly. The authors have done well in analysing the difficulty of implementing military reforms in Indonesia due to the nation's confrontation with other challenging issues, including economic, political and bureaucratic reform, together with decentralisation. Their discussion of the challenges the current President Bambang Susilo Yudhoyono faces in overseeing SSR is insightful. I agree with their perception that the strengthening of democracy and the support of the Indonesian people themselves must accompany SSR.

In the last case the authors examine critically the politicisation of the Philippines military starting from the colonial period, through the Marcos era, to the recent Macapagal-Aroyyo presidency. The role of American military assistance and its meaning for the evolution of the Armed Forces of the Philippines is scrutinised. The authors argue, however, that the Philippines offers a unique case in which the politicisation of the military resulted in an inability on the part of the central authority to govern the country as a whole. Military leaders have used every opportunity to threaten civilian administrations, a course of action contrary to the professionalism principles which these military leaders learn from their American counterparts. On this note, I share the authors' view that SSR in the Philippines is difficult, indeed.

The Conclusion sums up the main issues addressed in this book very well. It is well written and easy to read. The authors highlight some issues which deserve further attention and point to future research directions. Without doubt, both specialists and generalists who are keen to study security issues in Southeast Asia will welcome this book.

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Daniele Caramani (ed.) *Comparative Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), xliv + 786 pp., $79.95, ISBN 9780199298419 (pbk)

Daniele Caramani's *Comparative Politics* is a quality foundational text for any student of political science. The book has 26 chapters grouped in six sections, covering areas such as 'theories and methods', 'structures and institutions' and 'public policies', with chapter offerings from over 30 contributors. Caramani's collection of contributors has produced a thorough and consistent political text. The book is intended for a political science student audience and is classical in its textbook layout. *Comparative Politics* is replete with charts, tables, profiles, key points and related information boxes used to highlight key thinkers and authors in the specific area of study. Each chapter begins with an outline, a reader's guide and an introduction to assist the student to hone in on the information presented.

The introduction by Caramani defines the key aspects of comparative politics and establishes comparative politics as a major branch of political science. Caramani provides the contextual basis for the modern study of comparative politics by covering the development of the field, particularly the broadened areas of comparison since the Second World War. In all, the introduction details effectively the mechanics of comparative politics, describing in some length the methods of comparison and covering the science behind this important field of study.

Klaus von Beyme authors the first chapter which outlines the evolution of comparative politics and in the process sets the standard for subsequent contributions, clearly marking his area of expertise. Students reading Beyme's chapter, building on the introduction provided by Caramani, are given a sequential depiction of the development of comparative politics. Beyme draws on the work of Foucault, Kuhn and Weber when exploring postmodernist developments in comparative politics. The use of these thinkers provides depth to the material covered and directs students to explore their work further in the context of comparative politics.

Caramani's coverage of party systems (Chapter 13) is insightful, starting with the evolution of party systems in the modern nation-state in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This chapter covers the two-party, multi-party and dominant-party systems. The formula provided in this chapter is dense in part and does detract somewhat from the excellent preceding chapters which provide the context for this subject. The author's systems/models formula would have been best delivered in appendices to the chapter or through the well-crafted information boxes utilised elsewhere in the book.

The final section of the book, 'Beyond the Nation-State', is an excellent addition with three chapters devoted to exploring the complexities of contemporary comparative political study. The penultimate chapter, by Georg Sorensen, analyses the impact of globalisation on the nation-state and how this can be best explained through comparative politics. While the issue of sovereignty is already afforded considerable coverage in this volume, the value of Sorensen's chapter lies in his examination of the impact on the modern nation-state in terms of sovereignty.

The overall quality of this book is first class, and Caramani's selection of contributors was well considered as each author fitted effectively with the intent of the book. In places the book gets bogged down with detail, a consequence perhaps of trying to cater to diverse interests and emphases when it comes to teaching. However, in understanding the broadness of the material covered by the text, and the support of the study tools within it such as the tables, information boxes and profiles, the book is an invaluable collection for any student interested in comparative politics. *Comparative Politics* provides the historical and contextual basis for more specific study and research and through the exploration of new areas of comparative study has broadened the field for future political scientists.

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Jacqueline Leckie (ed.), *Development in an Insecure and Gendered World: The Relevance of the Millennium Goals* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2009), xviii + 246 pp., £55.00, ISBN 9780754676911 (hbk)

This book brings together a diverse collection of writing on the contemporary policy frameworks which shape development in the new millennium. Contributors include feminist scholars of development and international relations, scholars of the political economy of the Pacific Islands, together with members of the policy community. While offering a range of perspectives on contemporary development challenges, the collection is united by a common concern about the problem of achieving human security in a way that that alleviates rather than compounds vulnerabilities. Focusing in particular on the implementation of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), the collection provides an illuminating snapshot of the ways in which intersecting global and local influences shape contemporary development initiatives, and the varied and not always anticipated outcomes which this process entails.

The chapters in the first half of the book provide a critical examination of contemporary development frameworks. Sylvester's outstanding chapter draws heavily from conflict scenarios in Rwanda and Zimbabwe to examine the nature of postcolonial development. Never free from the legacies of colonialism, Sylvester contends that in these contexts local leaders have invoked notions of development to legitimate the exclusion or marginalisation of certain sections of their citizenry who are relegated to a situation of bare life, and 'without hope of justice' (p. 33). Jane Parpart's essay on gender mainstreaming offers a critical assessment of the extent to which this global policy trend contributes in concrete terms to women's empowerment. While an important aspect of contemporary development, Parpart warns that mainstreaming needs to go beyond the simple numerical inclusion of women into the 'inner circles of power'. This, she claims, does little to change the 'rules of the game' (p. 61). Rather, the answer lies in a more nuanced and contextualised understanding of gender and power and greater sensitivity to particular sociocultural settings.

A. Haroon Akram-Lodhi's chapter provides an interesting critique of the macro-economic assumptions underpinning the MDGs. He contends that the neoliberal orthodoxy which shapes contemporary development planning relies on women's caring responsibilities to support state downsizing in the name of efficiency. Ironically, these same responsibilities are said to limit

women's capacity for market participation. If these considerations are not taken into account, Akram-Lodhi concludes, women will have little opportunity to benefit from MDG-inspired programs to increase their empowerment.

The last essay in this section is concerned with the ways social movements or so-called 'bottom-up' actors have rallied behind international development frameworks to promote human security. In this chapter, Helen Hintjens examines the roles played by women's movements in promoting a substantive and gendered critique of state practice on the global stage through their efforts to promote state implementation and adherence to the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women. Hintjens also examines the work of the Indian-based Self-Employed Women's Association, which has used innovative political strategies to build a transnational network aimed at protecting the status of self-employed women globally. According to Hintjens, these examples demonstrate how social movements collectively contribute to global debate on human security, expanding the terms of the discussion in ways which go beyond the more conventional emphasis on the 'isolated, individual self' (p. 106).

The second half of the book comprises chapters offering a more localised discussion of some of these concerns, focused on the Pacific Islands and Indonesia. Ronni Alexander's chapter examines how militarism and militarisation in the Pacific compounded gender insecurity in Bougainville during that territory's protracted 10-year conflict, and continues to threaten human security in Guam and Okinawa as a result of the US military presence in each of these settings. Alexander is highly critical of the utility of liberal peace-building mechanisms such as UN Security Council Resolution 1325, which calls for international recognition of women's experiences of conflict and their contributions to peace building. She asks how far these are able to challenge forms of cultural governance which in the Pacific Islands may legitimate women's peace-building work but also make that work invisible against a more predominant patriarchal militarism (p. 124). Essays by Phil Goff and Maria Angelica Arce Mora provide insight into government thinking in New Zealand and Mexico on the MDGs and while less critical in an academic sense offer insight into the challenges policy practitioners face in MDG implementation.

Essays by Terrence Wood and Vijay Naidu, and Jane Kelsey, examine the nature of contemporary development policy in the Pacific Islands. Neoliberal policy prescriptions, branded by Wood and Naidu as 'inappropriate' (p. 155) and likened by Kelsey to a liberalisation 'carousel' spinning 'ever faster' (p. 190), are viewed as externally imposed on Pacific Island states and contributing to heightened human insecurity. The final chapter by Budy Resosudarmo examines law making in the area of environmental protection during Indonesia's Reformasi period. While always difficult, he concludes that the balance between sustainable environmental resource management and national economic security and local livelihood has been newly challenged in the post-Suharto years. In this context conflicts between different levels of government, weak law enforcement and insecurity of land tenure have threatened the extent to which all Indonesians are able to benefit from the country's rich endowments of natural resources.

At the start of her essay, Jane Parpart comments on the history of gender and development thinking and argues that 'the pattern of well-crafted gender policies producing disappointing results is not new' (p. 51). The same might be said of global development policy and planning more generally. As this valuable book demonstrates, the project of development is complex, contradictory and can be enacted in ways that do more local harm than good. With this in mind this collection of essays offers important insights for development practitioners as well as anyone with an academic interest in development studies, human security, international political economy or the international fortunes of the Pacific Ocean's island states.

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Augustine C. Ohanwe, *Post-Cold War Conflicts in Africa: Case Studies of Liberia and Somalia* (London: Adonis & Abbey Publishers Ltd, 2009), vii + 249 pp., $60.99, ISBN 9781906704438 (pbk)

Ohanwe's *Post-Cold War Conflicts in Africa: Case Studies of Liberia and Somalia* is a well-written examination of how the post-Cold War international system has forced Africa back into the role of the 'dark continent', and offers insightful contributions as to how best to address conflicts in the future. The book has three main aims: to focus on Africa in the post-Cold War era; the marginalisation of Africa by the United Nations; and, based on this indifference, it attempts to define Africa's position in the post-Cold War era and 'provide an alternative peacekeeping method and conflict resolution paradigm' (p. 14). The book provides detail of the crises in both Liberia and Somalia, to analyse 'how the post-Cold War conflicts in these two countries and their management differed from what they would have been during the Cold War era' (p. 9). Ohanwe argues that the loss of Cold War interest in Africa pushed it to the bottom of the international system, a paradigm through which the United Nations now views the continent.

Ohanwe concludes that the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and its monitoring group (ECOMOG) were effective at preventing internal conflict in Liberia, despite having no experience, no real partisan approach and no financial or logistical support. Somalia, on the other hand, was used for a 'simple military experiment' (p. 9) by the United Nations, spearheaded by the United States. Culturally insensitive United Nations forces and, disturbingly, reports of barbaric behaviour on the part of the Italian contingent and the Canadian Airborne Regiment within the Unified Task Force, exacerbated Somali fears of United States colonialism and the spread of the 'New World Order' (p. 186). The United Nations forces, unlike ECOWAS/ECOMOG, were well equipped, yet squandered their resources. Whereas the latter understood the internal situation, the former did not. Ohanwe argues that the creation of an African-organised force in Liberia allowed them to effectively disarm warring factions and hold legitimate multi-party elections. In contrast, the involvement of Western forces in Somalia exacerbated the situation – 'on the whole, the skirmishes going on in Somalia after the departure of the UN were lower in comparison with the conflict that engulfed Somalia during the UN/Somalia interventions' (p. 176).

Any criticism of the United Nations, says Ohanwe, should be taken as part of a 'constructive analysis' (p. 226) and contribution to a greater understanding of the situation. The book examines the concept of intervention and macro theories of conflict, and through different approaches to conflict resolution – preventative measures, peace restoration, peace enforcement – combined with the use of historical examples, illustrates that the post-Cold War period has been peppered with examples solely of peace enforcement. In so doing Ohanwe makes a bleak prediction about conflict management trends for the future. Ohanwe's book contrasts and analyses two very complicated situations, in two very different nations – a zero-sum approach that 'transformed Africa into a mere suffering grassland where two huge elephants engaged in a duel' (p. 13) and an era that changed the continent from a strategic playground to, once again, the 'dark continent'.

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Alexsandar Pavkovic and Peter Radan (eds), *On The Way to Statehood: Secession and Globalisation* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2008), 188 pp., £55.00, ISBN 9780754673798 (hbk)

Books deriving from academic conferences often preference the interests of attendees rather than the subject matter discussed. But this edited collection by Alexsandar Pavkovic and Peter Radan is not one of these. Rather, it is a book that focuses very much on issues aired at a recent

conference on the theory and practice of secessionist conflict; it is an account that is comprehensive as well as finely structured. Peter Radan opens the book with theoretical comments on secession in the past 200 years and Tom Hilliard closes the volume with an analysis of 'secessio' in Ancient Rome. In the intervening chapters we are confronted with the agonies of Yugoslavia and its successor states as well as secessionist dramas in Somaliland, Chechnya, Aceh, East Timor, West Papua and Sri Lanka.

The interdisciplinary nature of this book is clear and we see perspectives on secession from political science, law and history. In Radan's opening contribution secession is defined as a potential shift in territory from one sovereign to another, and five versions of this phenomenon are stipulated: colonial, unilateral, devolutionary, consensual and dissolving. As well, the author raises three questions which in one way or another link the issues of secession and globalisation: How does globalisation stimulate secessionist conflict? Does the success of a secessionist movement depend on international recognition? What should the international community do about secession? These questions serve the purpose of theoretically disciplining the successive contributions.

There is emphasis on the role of external states and transnational institutions – the United States, the European Union and the African Union – in secessionist conflicts like Kosovo, Montenegro, Somaliland and Chechnya. We are reminded that the idea of intervention from abroad figures highly in the general theory of secession but it is not sufficient. One author, Lloyd Cox, reminds us that successful secessionist states may be weakened but the nation state is the principle means and 'memory' for contestation at the global level. Mikulus Fabry offers a useful account of how state recognition was transformed from a negative right into a positive right, examining the impact of Woodrow Wilson and the United Nations before analysing contemporary conflicts.

The normative issues surrounding secession elicit excellent contributions from Aris Gounaris and Constantinos Laoutides. The former asks whether secession is justified – his argument being that there is no moral obligation 'to support' secession. The issue of morality is also the focus of the chapter by Laoutides. He makes some interesting observations about the moral responsibility of communities supporting secessionist groups. A similar theme emerges in 'Secessionist Legitimacy', a chapter by Damien Kingsbury. His argument is that new states (and secessionist groups) should be civic rather than ethnic. Michael Mann's *The Dark Side of Democracy* hangs like a shadow over this aspect of the work and it is good to see it exposed in an intelligent fashion.

This book will suit upper-level students at the undergraduate level and postgraduate students interested in works on nationalism, ethnic conflict and the continuing relationship of both with globalisation. The chapters are comparative in scope and focused on theoretical issues raised early on. This book also provides a good model for any student wanting to write a thesis proposal. Define your terms, examine existing models, and put forward interesting and specific questions.

Reference

Mann, M. 2005. *The Dark Side to Democracy: Explaining Ethnic Cleansing.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

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Paul R. Viotti, *American Foreign Policy* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010), xvii + 254 pp., $27.95, ISBN 9780745642413 (pbk)

Paul Viotti's latest contribution to the study of the foreign policy of the United States occupies a distinct niche. While this volume is intended as an introduction to late twentieth and early

twenty-first century American foreign policy, it is pitched at a somewhat more advanced level. *American Foreign Policy* assumes a general familiarity with key developments and personalities that renders it most useful as a supplementary undergraduate-level textbook or as an introduction to the subject for more advanced non-specialists.

American Foreign Policy seeks to explain patterns in the American approach to managing relations with friendly states, partners, allies and adversaries through the study of the perspectives and expectations of policy elites. Viotti approaches this in terms of categories of decision-makers such as liberal internationalists and conservative internationalists, and develops his argument through an examination of whether the United States has sought to peacefully engage, contain or use force against other states. Following the Introduction, the volume is organised into three sections. The first discusses the policy options available to the US government and the historical development of American policy approaches. The second section examines some of the key factors underpinning American foreign policy. Viotti uses the third section to develop his explanatory model, which he stops short of calling a theory of US foreign policy (p. 2), and concludes by commenting on the foreign policy approach of the present Obama administration.

This volume has particular strengths and weaknesses. Students of American foreign policy will be disappointed in terms of its analytical depth. While examining relevant aspects of US foreign policy over the course of the period in question provides a basis for Viotti's argument for the importance of elite interests and how these play out in the American policy process, this comes at the cost of the detail in which key developments in foreign policy can be examined. This is due in large part to the scope of the project and the author's commendable effort to consider the impact of key perspectives and the historical circumstances that gave rise to them. The result, however, is a study which is somewhat shallow and which fails to adequately address conflicting arguments. It would be interesting to see a revised edition incorporating a significantly expanded analytical section. The volume's lack of analytical depth does not present a problem in terms of its use as an undergraduate textbook, but the author's assumptions of the knowledge level of readers presents an obstacle where non-American students are concerned.

The strength of this study is the extent to which it is grounded in the domestic American political environment. As a result of Viotti's extensive examination of the US policy process and the development of key American perspectives this is a far more nuanced account of US foreign policy than introductory studies generally provide. The discussion of American exceptionalism in Chapter 4, which even notes the contribution of the colonial experience of the United States, is particularly valuable. As a result, this study is statist without being unduly state-centric. Viotti effectively illustrates the importance of elite perspectives in the foreign policy of the US and the complexity of the process by which its foreign policy is developed and implemented. The volume's extensive endnotes and useful bibliography enhance its utility as a textbook.

Bearing in mind the limitations outlined above, this is a valuable study that can be highly recommended.

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Political Theory and Methodology
Stephen Bell and Andrew Hindmoor, *Rethinking Governance: The Centrality of the State in Modern Society* (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2009), xv + 234 pp., $57.95, ISBN 9780521712835 (pbk)

Stephen Bell and Andrew Hindmoor have produced an exemplary scholarly study, which is meticulous, spirited and lucid. So armed, the authors see off various shibboleths about the contemporary state – views that many widely known scholars have propagated. One measure of the

impressive armoury that underpins their counter-attack is their bibliography. This covers 27 pages and includes over 600 references. This extraordinary range, crossing countries, theories and perspectives, empirical works and a variety of specialist literatures, provides their basic ammunition.

In company with a switch to a 'society-centred' conception of government, the positions they contest all assert a significant weakening of the state. The protagonists come from a variety of academic perspectives. One influential (mainly UK-based) group, led by Rod Rhodes, involved public administration scholars. Some noted US academics (for example Lester Salomon and Donald Kettl) joined this chorus. Both groups argued that networks and contracts are the characteristic mode of modern governance and that the more diffused power, which is associated with such structures, has led to 'governance without government', or hollowed-out or decentred government. Some public choice theorists reached analogous conclusions. Yet others attribute similar effects to globalisation, a position that the global financial crisis has not dispelled. Bell and Hindmoor are not the first to resist these varied but alluring sirens. But so far as I am aware no one else has undertaken the task so systematically, with such comprehensive evidence, or such engaging bravura.

The book is organised in nine chapters. The first three develop its conceptual tissue. The authors introduce the concept of metagovernance to describe the state's continuing centrality. A second construction, described as a 'state-centric relational account', unpacks its dynamics, comprising on one side state steering capabilities and, on the other, its engagement with relevant social actors. They then turn to the general conditions for achieving such outcomes. Through an array of examples, the authors examine in detail the varied ways in which the intersection with society can be engineered: hierarchy, persuasion, markets, community engagement and associations.

Take hierarchy. At least three developments underwrite its continued potency: new technologies, new perceived sources of market failure, and enhanced concerns about risk and social disorder. The study continues to explore the many modes of persuasion, often in conjunction with other incentives, contemporary states deploy to tackle an array of new issues – obesity, drug abuse and HIV, for example. There are of course failed experiments, which the authors also cite. But through the use of arms-length and semi-independent agencies, imaginative communications, etc., there are also successes. Markets and contracts are similarly examined. Privatisation, deregulation, contracting out, the creation of new markets via new regulatory regimes, and quasi-markets (as in the British National Health Service) have all been introduced. Via hierarchy, these are more illustrations of metagovernance at work.

Similarly, governance through community engagement has flourished. The varied forms of participation are enumerated, including the use of consensus conferences and other deliberative approaches, with Denmark as a particular example. Australia's Landcare program illustrates another model. They then turn to governance through associations which involves corporatism, or its newer manifestation, 'negotiated governance' and private-interest government.

If there is to be one reservation about this study it is suggested, perhaps ironically, not by its words but by its introductory imagery. Jeffrey Smart's arresting but ambiguous metaphor 'The Observer' graces the cover. In commenting on this painting, the critic John McDonald observes:

> [This picture] clearly represents one-way discussion. This impression is reinforced by the large green loudspeaker to the man's right. It is an uncomfortable, slightly menacing image, perhaps made subliminally more disturbing by the fact that the loudspeaker is not exactly round but elliptical. It would be almost too tempting to read this work as a portrait of Orwell's Big Brother; it may or may not be coincidental that it was completed in 1984. (McDonald 1990, 33)

Although Bell and Hindmoor recognise that democratic legitimacy and support are essential aspects of their story, they do not engage with literatures on political parties and party systems, preferring to concentrate on the formal machinery of the state. In light of the literatures that they are contesting, this approach is totally reasonable. However, in evaluating the contemporary state comprehensively it is surely hard to exclude this infrastructure. After all, it constitutes the

principal link between a government and its publics. It is a primary source of immediate legitimacy.

Party systems are under challenge. The literature reminds us of the mutations that have occurred – from mass to cartel patterns. In the cartel reading, the major parties have eschewed programmatic differences. They now sing from broadly the same song sheet. They have also dismantled the organisational infrastructure that formerly connected them to their supporters and helped them reach out to the undecided. Real conferences, interest aggregation, agenda setting and mass memberships have all been jettisoned. Party identification has weakened, and party brands have lost their cuing power. But the major parties still function in more or less adversarial contexts. Hence populism, opportunism, manufactured difference and worse trump the real needs of policy debate. The consequence is a profoundly debased political conversation. Moreover, as electorates express their disaffection by creating minority governments, the opportunities for powerful interests to thwart unwanted measures are amplified.

But none of this counters the value and merit of this study – its focus and concerns lie elsewhere. This excellent work deserves wide attention and influence. In future debates concerning the formal apparatus of the state, it should be the basic reference.

Reference

McDonald. J. 1990. *Jeffrey Smart: Paintings of the '70s and '80s*. Roseville: Craftsman House.

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Robert Garner, Peter Ferdinand and Stephanie Lawson, *Introduction to Politics* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), xxvii + 527 pp., $47.95, ISBN 9780199231331 (pbk)

Writing an introductory textbook on politics is quite an undertaking and difficult to do. What should be included and what is outside the bounds of politics and the political? This undertaking by Garner, Ferdinand and Lawson stands out for many reasons. Firstly, there is the breadth of coverage. The book is divided into three parts with each author overseeing a section. The first section by Garner is titled Concepts and Ideologies and includes chapters on Politics and the State; Political Power, Authority and the State; Democracy and Political Obligation; Freedom and Justice; Traditional Ideologies and Challenges to Traditional Ideologies. The part by Ferdinand on Comparative Politics includes chapters on Institutions and States; Law, Constitutions, and Federalism; Legislatures and Legislators; Bureaucracies, Policy Studies, and Governance; Votes, Elections and Parties; Civil Society, Interest Groups and the Media and Political Culture. The final part by Lawson is on International Relations and covers Sovereignty, the State, and International Order; Traditional Theories of International Relations; Alternative Theories of International Relations; Security and Insecurity; Diplomacy and Foreign Policy; International Organisations and International Political Economy.

The text has many features that make it an ideal text for both students and lecturers. Students will benefit from the numerous features which include a reader's guide, case study boxes, key points, cross-references, key questions, further reading, web links and a glossary of terms. As well, there is an online resource centre that accompanies the text, providing students and lecturers with teaching and learning resources. Features of the online resource centre include expanded case studies from the text, an additional case study on the role of the internet in political life, a series of interactive flashcards that contain key terms and concepts and test understandings of the terminology from the text, information on 20 key thinkers and their contributions to political science, multiple-choice questions that test and strengthen what has been learned, political

scenario exercises that feature role-playing activities, and web links. For lecturers, there are chapter summaries that provide key points to assist in lecture and tutorial preparation, discussion questions to stimulate further debates and PowerPoint slides arranged by chapter.

Unlike many textbooks that introduce politics, this one has an introductory chapter (by Garner) that examines the nature of politics and the political. Key questions include whether politics is an inevitable feature of all human societies, and the nature and boundaries of the political. A valuable discussion emerges in terms of the boundaries of the political (State, Society, and the International Community), asking whether politics should be defined narrowly in the context of the state or more broadly to encompass other social institutions. Another key consideration in terms of the boundaries of the political is whether politics is equivalent to consensus or conflict, or concerned with the subject matter rather than the location of politics. There is further discussion about the different forms of political analysis – empirical, normative and semantic – and the difference these make to understanding politics and the political. Finally, the book raises the question of whether politics can be a science to rival other subjects in the natural sciences. The authors provide a conclusion that brings together the main arguments of the text. In summary, they argue that the study of political philosophy, political institutions and international relations is connected and that politics cannot be separated from the study of social sciences. Moreover, they argue that the study of politics should be understood as a genuinely international and comparative enterprise that does not automatically assume the pre-eminence of the sovereign state, or a privileged position for either Europe or the USA (p. 475).

Overall, *Introduction to Politics* is a comprehensive, well-organised and well-written introduction to key aspects of politics. It also includes an excellent section that captures the increasing importance of international relations to students and lecturers of politics, and is commendably supported through the online resource centre that complements this text. *Introduction to Politics* would be a valuable addition to any introductory politics course at universities in Australia and internationally.

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P. Eric Louw, *The Media and the Political Process* (London: Sage, 2010), 2nd edn, vi + 232, £22.99, ISBN 9781848604476 (pbk)

The new edition of this excellent text updates some material but retains the argument and structure of the original 2005 edition. Louw takes a critical constructivist approach to the relationship between politics and the media, inspired by but not limited to the Frankfurt School. This methodology is set out clearly in the early chapters, although the potted history of liberal democracy naturally leaves many gaps and unanswered questions. Promisingly, Louw sets up a model of the political process that links policy making to elite and mass political processes. Yet, this relationship between media strategy and policy making is underexplored until the final chapters on foreign policy and terrorism. Frustratingly, the policy-making process remains, in the author's words, 'located back-stage' (p. 33).

The heart of the book, and the feature that marks it out from so many works in this area, is a detailed analysis of the relationship between political leaders, their media managers, journalists and the public. This includes a critique of the liberal ideal of the media's role, and a range of cases describing the political PR of mostly American and British political leaders. This emphasis on the construction of political celebrity comes at the expense of other elements of the media/politics nexus, such as political economy or media effects, although these are at times utilised in the argument.

No slave to technological fashion is Louw. You will not find him on Facebook or track him on Twitter. He dismisses much of the internet as 'self-distraction author-centric' media with a

negligible audience (p. 44). From one perspective, this is refreshing. We are still waiting, after all, for that election campaign where new media really makes its breakthrough. Younger readers, though, may find this approach a little disorienting, since new media is not new to them. The index does not seem to have been updated for this edition, and so understates the amount of new media material in the book. Louw portrays the internet as just another medium for political PR to tame the democratic public. One of the new sections for this edition is an analysis of Barack Obama's 2008 presidential campaign. He points out that a skilful political spin team can organise campaigns 'in such a way that the people being mobilized do not feel that they are being organized, steered or "used"' (p. 101).

The author is, though, a slave to academic jargon: 'mediaization', 'televisualization', 'PR-ization' and 'hype-ocracy' are not words that I will add to my vocabulary in a hurry. And although he concedes he is making a 'deliberatively provocative' argument against the liberal model of the media, Louw is prone to generalisations that undermine the force of his critique. His observation that journalists 'only focus their scepticism on others, never on themselves' (p. 5) is an example.

Identifying continuity in an era of rapid change in political communication, Louw's constructivist approach is an indispensable one for media scholars and journalists currently immersed in debates about the effects of new communications technologies on liberal structures of power and accountability.

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Chad Rector, *Federations: The Political Dynamics of Cooperation* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009), xiii + 208 pp., US$24.95, ISBN 97808014752245 (pbk)

Emilian Kavalski and Magdalena Zolkos (eds), *Defunct Federalisms: Critical Perspectives on Federal Failure* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2008), xi + 106 pp., £55.00, ISBN 9780754649847 (hbk)

'The twentieth century will open the age of federations or else humanity will undergo another purgatory of a thousand years'. This prediction in 1863 by the French philosopher Proudhon proved a little simplistic, as Kavalski and Zolkos point out towards the end of their rich edited collection – but together, *Defunct Federalisms* and Chad Rector's monograph *Federations* provide useful historically informed reappraisals of some of the fundamental reasons why federal forms of government remain such critical foci for study.

Why do self-governing polities join in federations? Why, along with notable successes, have some notable attempts to inculcate federalism as a basis for governance also failed? Addressing the first question, Rector focuses on federation rather than federalism – the decision of states to join in a political framework which creates a new, common government. Reviewing federal history in Australasia, Argentina, Germany, East Africa and the Caribbean, Rector debunks the familiar assumption that states have usually had a binary choice at the time of federation negotiations, between federation or remaining totally independent.

Instead, Rector describes the reality – just as federations have long been understood as 'political' or 'mechanical contrivances' – the choices facing states have in reality been about not whether, but what type of cooperation to pursue. Moreover, he looks back through the familiar rhetoric that federations work because they recognise and institutionalise the equality of polities in a new framework, to the reality that federations are often marriages of very unequal partners with very different interests. As he well demonstrates, Australia was a case in point. Using modern perspectives from international relations, he seeks to understand why such unequal partners tend to choose the constitutionally cumbersome structures of federation as an alternative to other more flexible forms of cooperation.

The answer is a good one – that weaker states use the high (if not prohibitive) 'exit costs' of leaving a federation to extract a basis for ongoing cooperation (or support) from stronger states, by way of a more permanent arrangement than stronger states would otherwise choose. As a result, Rector better explains federation as a process of 'contrived symmetry': a structure which does not bind equals, but renders sustainable what are otherwise fundamentally asymmetrical relationships.

There are drawbacks to the book. As a theory in search of evidence, it finds its evidence but neglects much of the contrary or collateral evidence which would explain the full complexity of the federation processes described. For example, somewhat counter to its own precepts, the book describes Australia's pre-federal 'states' (note that they are not described as 'colonies') as if they were already totally constitutionally independent. Not once does it mention the implications of their co-existence within the larger political framework of the British Empire. Far less does it recognise any of the long, still unresolved history of territorial subdivision and change, which factored centrally in relationships between Australia's colonial polities. All the analysis used to advance the theory is economic or quasi-economic – none of the other political and cultural factors at play are recognised. This becomes particularly stark in the discussion of New Zealand's decision not to participate in an Australasian federation – not once does this analysis mention issues of racial policy. In short, use this book for its excellent diagnostic ideas, but do not rely on it for accurate or intelligent history of the full (or necessarily even the most important) dynamics of federation in these countries.

By contrast, *Defunct Federalisms* shows greater theoretical discipline and produces more critical insights, but similarly explores the real value of federal political systems for a rapidly changing and volatile world. Kavalski and Zolkos have assembled political scientists and historians who between them explore 11 failed attempts to construct, impose or promote federal arrangements in the twentieth century – chiefly during the processes of African, Asian and Middle Eastern decolonisation after the Second World War, and more recently since the collapse of the Soviet bloc.

The editors make clear that it is not federalism per se that should be considered as having failed, across this rich tapestry of examples. In some cases, such as the Chinese example analysed by Steven Phillips, the federal experiment (1911–49) was systematically killed off and the concept of federalism actively demonised as part of the rise of Maoist communism. From most chapters, however, what emerges is a picture of political leaders and change agents trying to use federalist principles to solve problems for which those principles have simply proved inapposite. For example, Jan Ruzicka and Kamila Stullerova point to the failure of Czechoslovak federalism as a warning against attempting arrangements which presume federalism to supply a second-best or compromise option, for objectives such as provision of external security or to manage or suppress domestic opponents or political minorities. Instead, they suggest, federalism will work where its values and purposes are more thoroughly explored and articulated from first principles, and where it is negotiated as a formula for securing political freedom, justice, democratic accountability, economic and ideational competitiveness, and cultural richness.

Both books provide explicit lessons for those thinking about the use of federalist principles to solve ongoing issues of political reconstruction – from the continuing constitutionalisation of Europe, to postwar and post-invasion compacts in countries like Afghanistan and Iraq. Chad Rector usefully summarises a lesson arising from the growing modern literature of federalism of which both these books form part: 'States that ended civil wars with power-sharing arrangements such as federalism were more likely to restart those civil wars later than states that did not ... Power-sharing agreements may give political leaders incentives to mobilise citizens along ethnic or territorial lines ... ' (p. 171).

Nevertheless, as both books explain, better understandings of why states join federations, and why some fail, can help identify some of the real as opposed to reputed values of federal constitutional arrangements. *Defunct Federalisms* highlights and questions some of the fundamental precepts on which much Australian teaching about federalism is based. The book is not concerned with trying to analyse 'territorial federalism', or the process used in 'classic'

federations such as the USA, Canada, Switzerland and Australia, where a single national community uses federalism as a framework for dividing, diffusing and/or centralising power. Indeed, the classic federations are deemed irrelevant to the book's main focus – 'multinational federalism' as a means of accommodating the desire of separate national minorities for self-government.

From this analysis, however, comes support for a new literature which better addresses how federal principles really interact with processes of political change – including further questioning of the validity of territoriality as a 'foundational myth' of federalism. Much as Rector's book challenges the stereotype that states approach and therefore become institutionalised in federations as equals. The volume assembled by Kavalski and Zolkos calls for 'a de-territorialised re-theorization of federalism' in an increasingly 'fragmegrative' world, so that the potential and actual use of federal principles can contribute more effectively to legal pluralism and the reshaping of modern states in which governments tend increasingly to be only some of many federative actors. As a political philosophy based on managing fragmentation by recognising and valuing it, rather than simply trying to prevent or overcome it, federalism has increased salience for an age 'pockmarked by the twin-prospect of increased federalisation and escalating global chaos' (p. 168). Australian scholars have much to learn from, and contribute to, this increasingly critical literature on federalism's real triggers, values, dynamics and limitations.

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Book Reviews

Nick Economou [a] , John Williams [b] , Amy Nethery [c] , Priyambudi
Sulistiyanto [d] , Paul Wright [e] , Nicole George [f] , Hannah Climas [g]
, Diarmuid Maguire [h] , J.D. Kenneth Boutin [i] , Ian Marsh [j] , Mary
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