growth and anti-democratic effects, paradoxically, are supported by citizens' enjoyment of democratic freedoms. Since democratic mechanisms facilitate the transformation of national identity into nationalism, it is proposed that democracy is best served by abandoning the doctrine of national self-determination and by regarding a shared sense of national identity as a legitimate but *limited* form of life. Considerable attention is paid to the contemporary trends working against the principle of national self-determination and in favour of a "post-national Europe".
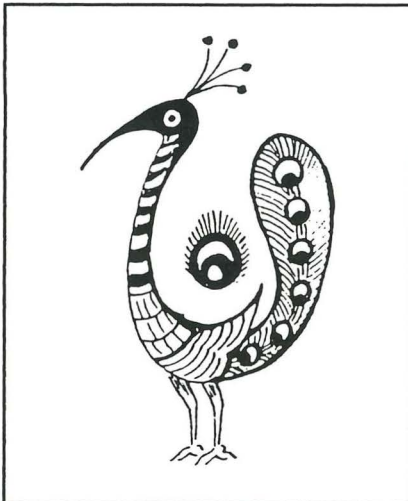
Power-Sharing Islam?

Edited by Azzam Tamimi

Liberty *for the muslim world* Publications, London 1993.
ISBN: 0-9521672-0-4
£9.95

Can an Islamic majority share power? Are democracy and Islam reconcilable? Is the western view of Islam-as-fundamentalism misleading? These are just some of the areas which this book explores in its effort to present a comprehensive treatment of issues related to Islam's stand on power-sharing, pluralism and democracy, together with firsthand insiders'

accounts of practical power-sharing experiences. Divided into five sections, the papers includes both western and Islamic perspectives, and examines some cases of success and failure of 20th-century attempts to implement democracy in the Islamic world.

Power-Sharing Islam? is a collection of edited and revised papers presented at a one-day International Symposium at the University of Westminster on 20 February 1993. The Symposium was organised jointly by CSD, and by Liberty, a London-based international organisation concerned with the defence of human rights and civil liberties and the promotion of democracy in the Muslim World.

THE DISSOLUTION OF COMMUNIST POWER: The Case of Hungary

Ágnes Horváth and Árpad Szakolczai

Routledge, London 1992
ISBN: 0-415-06709-X

The speed and apparent ease with which the communist systems of most of Eastern-Central Europe collapsed raise pertinent questions concerning the stability of the structures that held them in place. The authors explain the demise of communist power through a detailed account and in-depth analysis of the internal apparatus of the communist regime in Hungary shortly before these historic changes took place. Their findings are based on original empirical material in the shape of a survey carried out in 1988 in the district level communist party committees of Budapest. Their study, which employs Foucauldian methods, provides insight into the social relationships of the old system and the connected problems of the post-communist epoch, whilst

providing evidence of the subtle influence still retained by communist method in a country attempting to forge a new course.

Árpad Szakolczai was CSD's first British Council Visiting Research Associate in 1990-1991.

Re-examining Democracy: essays in honor of Seymour Martin Lipset

Edited by Gary Marks and Larry Diamond

Sage Publications
London 1992
Reviewed by Chris Sparks

Re-examining Democracy is a collection of essays focusing on the key themes developed in the work of Seymour Martin Lipset, best known for his *Political Man*. Lipset's noted contribution to political theory is his twofold development of the methodology of political science and of pluralist conceptions of democracy. Throughout his work Lipset has advanced the methodologies of a 'hard' social science based on quantitative methods, which he employed in the service of a Weberian conception of political activity characterised by conflict. Like Weber, Lipset notes that civil society is characterised by potential and actual conflict arising from cleavages in the socioeconomic order. Through empirical methods and analytical theory, he has formulated an idea of governmental activity within a democracy which acts to resolves differences, thus precluding or nullifying conflict.

The essays in this book are both methodologically and thematically linked by their development of Lipset's scientific methodology and pluralist perception of democracy. They are organised into three parts corresponding to the three main areas of Lipset's work: the theoretical construction of models of competitive democracy; the role

of economic modernisation in the development of 'democratic' nation-states; and the American political system. The authors, like Lipset himself, associate democratic liberties with competitive liberalism and define democracy as a system for the mediation of conflicting interests. As with Lipset's own work, what is offered as objective is, to some degree, what is desired. This tendency does not render the essays redundant, but it tends to limit the scope and depth of their inquiry. The result is a collection of highly focused examinations of the workings of political and economic competition perceived as *the* dynamic of democracy.

The first section of the book is centred upon an analysis of political competition. Among the central pieces is that of Amitai Etzioni, who argues that pluralism must be bound by a firm and common set of shared values. In presenting an ideal community whose homogeneity is founded on its shared respect for difference, Etzioni's argument brings to the fore the paradox at the heart of pluralism - citizens who do not accept the ethics of pluralism are tolerated only as far as they have less power than the pluralist majority. The lack of power of these dissenting citizens in the face of toleration means they must act in accordance with pluralist norms and values. Etzioni does not highlight this paradox. By implication he simply concludes that not all those participating in a pluralist competitive democracy are willing participants.

Section two is concerned with the relationship of economic development to processes of democratisation. In different ways the essays all seek to reassert Lipset's rather battered modernisation theory. The theory basically argues that there is a correlative relationship between economic modernisation and democratisation, and that there is a "causal tendency" (p.95) at work from the former to the latter. Using as an example the democratic movement in eastern Europe, Larry Diamond argues that once a base level of GNP is reached a nation-state will democratise. Such is the

determinant effect of economic development that "where democracy does not exist, it leads (sooner or later) to the eventually (if not initially) *successful* establishment of democracy" (p.125). Marx's presentation of the inevitability of socialism is exchanged for the implicit faith in a world convergence of competitive liberalism. Yet, curiously, an economic determinism reminiscent of Marxism at its least perceptive is preserved.

The third and final section of the book is by far the most successful. As the authors apply themselves to the difficulties of their own socioeconomic environment, the reliance on quantified abstraction is replaced with analysis of the political meanings of events and actors. Noteworthy among these pieces is William Schneider's analysis of the decline in the established American political and economic elites. Read after the 1992 US election victory of the Democratic Party, the piece reveals many aspects of the plural psychology behind the strong voter support for Perot and Clinton.

Considered as a whole, the book does not match the aspirations of its title. The rigidity of the idea of competitive democracy and the conceptual weakness of the methodology applied in its service will disappoint those used to a perception of democracy as a political experience that gains its strength from the fluidity of its implications and the plurality of its conceptualisations.

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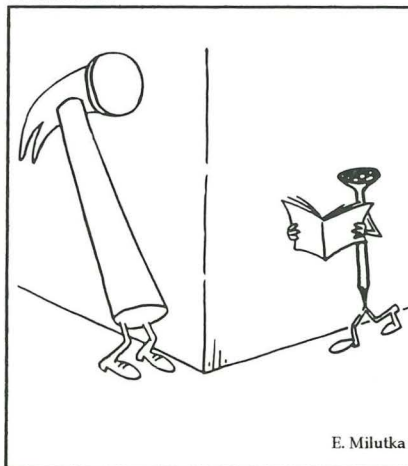
E. Milutka

A Citizen Extraordinary

by John Keane

Political theory in Britain today is so trapped in university bureaucracy that it is imperative to explore new ways of writing imaginatively for the public about contemporary politics. Biography, among the most popular and 'flexible' literary forms, is an obvious candidate, but my choice to experiment with a political biography of the famous English publicist Tom Paine (1737-1809) is also motivated by the unusual contemporary relevance of Paine himself.

Paine was a citizen extraordinary. Much of his life in England, America, and France was devoted to defending republican democracy - to fighting for the rights of citizens against warring states and arbitrary government, social injustice and bigotry. These *leitmotifs* obviously bind our world to Paine, but that they do so is also due to the power of his quill. Not only the message but also the plain modernist style of his *Common Sense, Rights of Man,* and *The Age of Reason* made them the three most controversial and widely read political tracts of the eighteenth century. Two centuries later these books still resonate because Paine helped to effect a revolution in political language. He supposed that in politics words count, that words are deeds, that liberty is connected with prose, and that those unfriendly to citizens' liberty normally wrap their power in pompous or portmanteau phrases, or what he called 'Bastilles of the word'.

Paine's dislike of pompous language dovetailed with his wider concern to take the axe to hierophants of every description. In fashionable jargon, which would surely have made him wince, Paine was an early modernist with late modernist or, some would insist, 'post-modernist' tendencies. He dared to doubt Grand Ideals because he was sure that they unleashed hypocrisy and deception, powerlessness and violence, upon