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# POLITICAL STUDIES REVIEW

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# POLITICAL STUDIES REVIEW

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Editorial: Introducing *Political Studies Review*

## ARTICLES

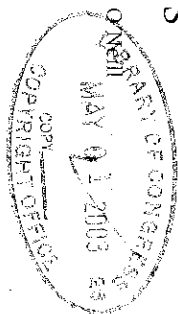
Justice and Culture: Rawls, Sen, Nussbaum and  
Cécile Fabre and David Miller  
A Second Republic for Italy?  
Mark Donovan

Joined-Up Government: a Survey  
Christopher Pollitt  
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## CURRENT BOOKS

### POLITICAL THEORY 52

Jürgen Habermas [translated by Barbara  
Fulmer], *On the Pragmatics of Social  
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Allan McGill, *Karl Marx: the burden of  
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Martin Beck Marusik, *Jürgen Habermas: a  
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Jonathan Wright and Henning Tewes,  
*Liberalism, Anti-Semitism, and Democracy*  
Nicholas H. Smith, *Charles Taylor:  
meaning, morals and modernity*  
Michael Lessnoff, *Ernest Gellner and  
Modernity*  
Georgios Varouxakis, *Victorian Political  
Thought on France and the French*  
Neal Wood, *Reflections on Political Theory*  
Nicholas Deakin, *In Search of Civil Society*  
Sudipta Kaviraj and Sunil Khilnani (eds.),  
*Civil Society: history and possibilities*  
Nancy L. Rosenblum and Robert C. Post  
(eds.), *Civil Society and Government*  
Michael Freedon (ed.), *Reassessing Political  
Ideologies*



Philip Pettit, *A Theory of Freedom*  
Slavoj Žižek, *Did Somebody Say  
Totalitarianism?*

Yoram Barzel, *A Theory of the State*  
Roland Axmann (ed.), *Balancing  
Democracy*

Matthew Festenstein and  
Simon Thompson, *Richard Rorty: critical  
dialogues*

John Medaris, *Joseph Schumpeter's Two  
Theories of Democracy*  
George Crowder, *Liberalism and Value  
Pluralism*

Anna Elisabetta Galeotti, *Tolerance as  
Recognition*  
John Rawls [edited by Erin Kelly], *Just  
as Fairness: a restatement*

Joan Vincent, *The Anthropology of  
Politics*  
Jürgen Habermas [edited by Eduardo  
Mendieta], *Religion and Rationality*  
Alan Finlayson and Jeremy Valentine  
(eds.), *Politics and Post-Structuralism*  
Siniša Malešević and Iain MacKenzie  
(eds.), *Ideology After Poststructuralism*

solutions imposed from outside, can also be explained in terms of the second cycle of violence. Both the CUC and the pan-Maya movement developed as a response to the violence, and both ended up playing a key role in the peace process of the 1990s.

On a critical note, one could take issue with May's analysis of the concept of violence. Chapter two ('Political Violence: What is It?') fails to capture the complexity of this concept, and a brief mention of Hannah Arendt's 1970 study of violence is clearly insufficient. There is more to violence than the direct, physical harm inflicted on people, as Johan Galtung's conception of structural violence or Ted Honderich's idea of democratic violence remind us. May tells us that what defines the violence as political is that the perpetrators or the targets represent explicitly political interests' (p. 19), a definition that is tautological. Yet it would be unfair to judge May's book solely according to the standards of conceptual analysis. May has written an important book on Guatemala's recent history, and social scientists will have much to learn from reading her work.

The origins of Guatemala's political violence can be traced back to the land reforms initiated by Arévalo and Arbenz during Guatemala's national revolution of 1944–1954, the only window of democracy (and hope) in a century of military dictatorships. Cindy Forster's *The Time of Freedom* is an original and well-documented book dealing with this crucial period in Guatemala's history. Forster sets out to question the received view on this ten-year period, which sees Arévalo and Arbenz as the principal archi-

tecs of the land reform. Forster suggests that we should not think of the land reform as the brainchild of enlightened urban politicians (the top-down approach); instead, the grass-root participation of politically active campesinos was a determining factor, and thus ought to be re-evaluated (the bottom-up approach).

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of Forster's work is her attempt to reconstruct an oral history of that period. Forster focuses on the two politically active plantation zones, the coffee belt in the piedmont of San Marco and the United Fruit Company's banana grove in Tiquisate. Her interviews with people involved in local leadership, union rank and file, and unaffiliated rural wage workers and campesino proprietors are particularly valuable, as that generation will not be with us for much longer. Yet, as one would expect from a good historian, Forster supports her findings with material drawn from criminal court documents and Labor Ministry records.

The picture we get is one of campesino initiative. The oral histories show that sustained organizing in the countryside prepared the ground for reforms that are usually credited to national politicians. Furthermore, Forster tells us that campesinos 'radicalized' the revolution in the countryside. This last point is particularly interesting, especially in light of May's book on the ideology and political structure of campesino organizations. It would appear that, between 1944 and 1954, the remote possibility of a peaceful, democratic land reform had a similar impact on campesino organizations to that which political violence had in the years between 1954 and 1985.

### FEDERALISM, DEMOCRATIZATION, AND THE RULE OF LAW IN RUSSIA

by Jeffrey Kahn

Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. 326,  
£45.00, ISBN 0 19 924699 8

Reviewer: VALERIE BUNCE  
(Cornell University)

The purpose of this ambitious book is to combine three areas of research – constitutional/legal studies, theories of federalism, and comparative studies of democratization – in order to analyse the transition from the 'faïser' federalism of the Soviet Union to the contested federalism of the Russian Federation. The author makes a number of important arguments. First, because of authoritarian rule, the Soviet Union was federal in name only during the communist era.

Second, all federal systems share: (1) divided government; (2) a written constitution; and (3) explicitly formulated exclusive and concurrent jurisdictions. To function effectively, however, major political players must support a common

understanding of the federalist project. Third, Russian federalism has been undermined by such factors as the absence of a common law tradition in Russia, the personnel and institutional legacies of the Soviet period and, most recently, the costs of ad hoc, non-transparent and bilateral bargaining in the centre and the regions. Fourth, one cost of the Russian federalist 'façade' has been authoritarian tendencies in many of Russia's regions. Finally, Putin's reforms are unlikely to strengthen either the federalist or the democratic project in Russia.

This book has a number of strengths – marrying law with comparative politics, comparing federalism in the contrasting contexts of an authoritarian and a newly-democratic country, and providing unusually rich regional case studies. My only complaint – and it is minor – is that the author might have gone further in evaluating how the federalism of the Soviet past – especially its spatial legacies – was 'strong' enough to undermine both Russian democracy and federalism.

### Other Areas

New books received

African Development Bank (2002) *African Development Report 2002: rural development for poverty reduction in Africa*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 267, £15.99, ISBN 0 19 925384 6

John Duke Anthony (2002) *The United Arab Emirates: dynamics of state formation*. Abu Dhabi: Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, 132, ISBN 9948 00 242 3

Craig L. Arceneaux (2001) *Bounded Missions: military regimes and democratisation in the Southern Cone and Brazil*. University Park PA: Penn State University Press, 276, \$35.00, ISBN 0 271 02103 9

Lisa Baldez (2002) *Why Women Protest: women's movements in Chile*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 252, £15.95, ISBN 0 521 01006 3

Fernando Henrique Cardoso [edited and introduced by Mauricio A. Font] (2001) *Charting a New Course: the politics of globalization and social transformation*. Lanham MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 342, ISBN 0 7425 0893 5