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Fall, 2003, No 114

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Publication note: The British Politics Group Newsletter is published quarterly by the British Politics Group (BPG). Inquiries about the content of the *Newsletter* should be communicated to the Editor – address on the front cover. Dues are: One year - \$20 or £14; two years - \$35 or £25; three years - \$50 or £35; graduate student dues at ½ of these rates. **Lifetime membership:** \$500. or £350. Dues and inquiries about membership in the British Politics Group should be directed to the Executive Secretary – address on the front cover. In addition to the *Newsletter*, the BPG provides an annual annotated bibliography of books on British politics. The BPG offers the Samuel H. Beer Prize for the best dissertation at a North American university on a British politics subject, the Donald E. Stokes Dissertation Fellowship for dissertation research in the UK by a North American working on a British politics topic, and the James B. Christoph Prize for the Best Paper on British Politics by a graduate student at a professional conference. See further details in Activities section below. Inquiries about the Beer Prize, the Stokes Fellowship, and the Christoph Prize should be made to the Executive Secretary. Periodically, a membership directory is compiled and sent to members.

BPG Electronic Communications – A) Discussion List – Joel Wolfe has created a discussion list for the BPG. The instructions for its use were revised in August 1998 as follows: Send an email to listserv@listserv.uc.edu with this message: subscribe BPG-L, followed by your first name, middle initial and last name. Inquiries about the list serve?

Contact Joel at Joel.Wolfe@uc.edu **B) Web Site** – Joel has also constructed a home page for the BPG: <http://www.uc.edu/bpg>. We thank the University of Cincinnati for providing these internet services.

ACTIVITIES

Results of the elections for the BPG Executive Committee

Based on the return of ballots sent to members of the British Politics Group, the Executive Secretary reports the following were elected for the two-year term, 2003-2004.

David Baker, University of Warwick
Justin Fisher, Brunel University
Wyn Grant, University of Warwick
Terry Royed, University of Alabama
Tom Wolf, Indiana University Southeast
Joel Wolfe, University of Cincinnati

The James B. Christoph Prize for the Best Paper on British Politics by a Graduate Student - 2003 (Revised terms)

The fourth annual James B. Christoph Award for the Best Paper on British Politics presented by a graduate student will be awarded by the British Politics Group. The paper (or poster) must be presented at a conference during the calendar year 2003. All papers on British politics, whether solely on Britain or comparative, are eligible. The author/presenter must have been a registered graduate student (pre-awarding of Ph.D.) at any institution of higher education in North America at the time of presentation. The prize is \$200, and the decision will be made by a three-person committee of established scholars who are BPG members. Four copies of the paper should be submitted to the Executive Secretary of the British Politics Group at the address below by April 1, 2004 for consideration. The winner will be recognized at the 2004 Business Meeting of the BPG in Chicago. The prize is named in honor of the late James B. Christoph, a leading scholar and former President of the BPG.

Submissions to: Donley T. Studlar, Executive Secretary, British Politics Group, Department of Political Science, West Virginia University, P.O. Box 6317, Morgantown, WV 26506-6317, U.S.A. Phone: 304-293-3811, X5269, Fax: 304-293-8644, Email: dstudlar@wvu.edu

Beer Prize Nominations – The Samuel H. Beer Prize was created to honor Samuel Hutchison Beer, a distinguished American scholar of British politics, and to encourage the study of British politics in North American universities. We invite nominations for the 2002 Prize of £200 (\$300) for the best dissertation on British politics completed during the calendar years of 2001, 2002 or 2003. Either a supervising professor or a department's director of graduate studies may nominate a dissertation. No person may nominate more than one dissertation. At least one loose copy of the nominated dissertation, along with a brief letter of nomination, should be postmarked by March 1, 2004 to:

Donley T. Studlar, Executive Secretary
British Politics Group
Department of Political Science
West Virginia University
P.O. Box 6317
Morgantown, WV 26506-6317 USA
Tel. 304-293-3811; Fax 304-293-8644
Email: studlar@wvu.edu

The principal criterion for awarding the Prize is the dissertation's contribution to the understanding of British politics, regardless of whether the study is exclusively British or comparative research. It is expected that either the nominee or the nominator is a BPG member. All nominees must have received their Ph.D. from a department in the United States or Canada, regardless of whether they are North American citizens. The winner will be announced at the BPG's annual business meeting at the 2004 American Political Science Association annual convention. An unsuccessful candidate in one year must be re-nominated for consideration in a subsequent year.

Stokes Dissertation Fellowship Nominations – The Donald E. Stokes Dissertation Fellowship was created to honor Donald T. Stokes, a founding member of the British Politics Group, a member of its first Executive Committee, and co-author of the seminal book, *Political Change in Britain*. Its purpose is to enable a North American graduate student doing research on British politics for his or her dissertation to conduct research in the United

Kingdom. The award in the amount of \$500 or £300 (choice of recipient) is to be used for Ph.D. dissertation research on British politics, broadly defined, including historical and comparative work, as well as approaches more specifically focused on British politics.

Application must be postmarked no later than March 15, 2004. Applications should include a prospectus of no more than five double-spaced typewritten pages that outline the project and makes clear how the fellowship will aid the research, plus a C.V. of no more than three pages. A letter from the chair of the dissertation committee concerning the project is also required.

The research should be conducted in the United Kingdom sometime during June 2004 through 2005. The successful applicant is required to submit a brief report on the research funded by the fellowship by September 30, 2002, including the purposes for which expenses were incurred. An international committee of British politics scholars will judge applications. Applicants will be notified as soon as possible of the committee's decision.

Inquiries and all materials should be directed to:

Donley T. Studlar, Executive Secretary
British Politics Group
Department of Political Science
West Virginia University
P.O. Box 6317
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Tel. 304-293-3811; Fax 304-293-8644
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ANNOUNCEMENTS

Positions available – Two full-time Research Assistants – Applications are invited for these posts, whose duties include involvement in all stages of the Department of Health funded three-year research project on the Regulation of Adult Social Care in England. The persons appointed will have research experience, possess a good honours degree in a social science subject, and must be able to drive a car. Opportunities may exist to a MPhil/PhD on a related research topic. The posts will be at the

University of Portsmouth with a preferred starting date of 1 December 2003. The project finishes 30 September 2006. Contact Stephen Cope on 023-92842216 or Stephen.cope@port.ac.uk.

Speaker Available - Visiting British Professor at Westminster College for 2003-2004 Academic Year-

Dr. Rob Havers is the Fulbright/Robertson Visiting Professor of British History at Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri for the 2003-2004 academic year. Dr. Havers will spend the year teaching courses on British history and war and society. He will also provide outreach for the Winston Churchill Memorial and Library located on the Westminster campus. Westminster is the sight of Churchill's 1946 "Iron Curtain" speech.

Dr. Havers is on leave from the Department of War Studies at the Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst, where he is a senior lecturer. He earned a BA with first class honors in history and politics and a MA in later modern British history from the University of London. The former was taken at Queen Mary College and the latter at the London School of Economics and Political Science. His PhD is in history from Pembroke College at the University of Cambridge. His areas of expertise include military history (general), British defense and foreign policy, war and society, and international history.

Dr. Havers has published two books, *Reassessing the Japanese POW Experience: The Changi POW Camp, 1942-45* (2003) and *The Second World War: Europe 1939-1943* (2002). He has also published several scholarly articles and chapters in edited books primarily on prisoners of war and their experiences in the South Pacific theater in World War II. He is currently finishing an edited volume, with Mark Grove, *The Falklands Conflict: Twenty Years On* and a book entitled, *Cherbourg, 1944*, both are forthcoming.

Dr. Havers will be speaking at universities and colleges around the country during his stay and he is willing to speak on many of the aforementioned topics that he specializes in. He can be reached at the Department of History, Westminster College, Fulton, MO 65251-1299 (Office Phone: 573/592-5210 or email: haversr@jaynet.wcmo.edu

The Constitution Unit

A) Seminar Series on Constitutional Policy

The remaining lunchtime seminars will be under Chatham House rules and held between 1:00-2:00 p.m. monthly:

15 Jan 04—Vernon Bogdanor, "Our New Constitution."

19 Feb 04—Maurice Frankel, "Freedom of Information—Will it really work?"

18 Mar 04—Robert Blackburn, "Monarchy and the Personal Prerogatives."

22 Apr 04—Rodney Brazier, "How we do Constitutional Reform."

For details, contact james.ross@dca.gsi.gov.uk

B) The State of the Nations Annual Lecture 2004—

27 Jan 04—Speaker Peter Hain, MP. For details, contact Matthew Butt m.butt@luci.ac.uk

Conferences - Second International Conference on New Directions in the Humanities, Monash University Centre, Prato (near Florence), Tuscany, Italy, 20-23, 2004. Conference Theme: Future, Human. The deadline for the first round of papers is 31 Oct. 2003. Full details are available at <http://www.HumanitiesConference.com>. The conference seeks to develop an agenda for the humanities, including its role in such disciplines as Politics, Anthropology, History, Media Studies, Government, Sociology, and Literature. A variety of presentation formats are welcome and written papers may be submitted to the refereed *International Journal of the Humanities* (IJH). For those unable to attend the conference virtual registration is available, which provides access to the online edition of the conference proceedings. Virtual participants may also submit papers for the *IJH*.

Call for Papers/abstracts/submissions – Third Annual Hawaii International Conference on Social Sciences, Wednesday, June 12 to Saturday, June 19 at the Sheraton Waikiki, Honolulu. All areas of social science are invited and cross-disciplinary submissions are welcome. Contributions are encouraged in the forms of: completed papers, abstracts, student papers, work-in-progress and reports on future or pending projects.

For additional information—social@hicsocial.org or <http://www.lhicsocial.org> or write to Hawaii International Conference on Social Sciences, P.O. Box 75023, Honolulu, HI, 96836, USA or fax: 808-947-2420

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FROM THE BPG-L

Europe and America 1989-2004: Political Economy, Economic Policies February 26-27, 2004 – Graduate Student Conference

The Organizing Committee of the 21st Annual Graduate Student Conference seeks papers addressing the theme of this conference. We seek submissions from all disciplines. Potential topics include, but are not limited to, politics, economics and institutions in Europe or individual European countries, EU and NATO enlargement, transatlantic relations, trade, and globalization. Papers on other approaches and topics are encouraged.

Submissions **must** adhere to the following guidelines for consideration:

- Papers must be written in English.
- Submission (only one will be considered per author) must be an original work that has not been previously published.
- Papers should be 20-35 pages in length, double-spaced with endnotes, and include a one-page abstract.
- Endnotes and bibliography must follow the Modern Language Association (MLA) guidelines documentation style (i.e. not the author-date system).
- Papers must be submitted **via email attachment** (not in the body of the mail) in Microsoft Word format – faxes will not be accepted.
- Please do not include any identifying information on any page other than the title page of the paper.

Eligibility: Authors must be enrolled in a degree-granting graduate or professional program.

Selection: Papers are selected on a competitive basis in an anonymous referee process. All decisions made by the Selection Committee regarding eligibility are final.

Travel & Accommodations: The Conference will pay for presenters' travel and accommodations during the Conference, pending sufficient funding. Please note only one author per paper will be accommodated in the case of co-authored submissions.

Submission Deadline: Papers **MUST BE RECEIVED** by December 15, 2003

Please send submissions and direct any inquiries to Ana Jelenkovic (abj2102@columbia.edu) The Institute for the Study of Europe, Columbia University, 420 West 118th St, Mail Code 3337, New York, NY 10027 Phone (212) 854-4618, facsimile (212) 854-8577 <http://www.columbia.edu/cu/sipa/REGIONAL/WE/iwe.html>

Call for Authors – Possible contributors to the *Encyclopedia of Politics: The Left and the Right* are invited to contact Laura Lawrie, Managing Editor, Encyclopedia of Politics, Golson Books, Ltd., 35 Wolf Road, Croton-on-Hudson, NY 10520; tel. 928-853-8258 or golsonbooks1@yahoo.com with a brief summary of one's professional background. This is a two-volume work for public libraries and undergraduate college libraries.

The work will be made up of some 500 entries, ranging from 400 to 5,000 words and signed by the contributor, delineated by liberal (left) and conservative (right) viewpoints both in the U.S. and internationally. Topics include the people, events, movements, philosophies, theories, and perspectives of political thought, from the late 1700a through today. A modest honorarium will be paid for each entry, \$25-\$135 depending on article length. Each contributor is expected to write 10 articles by April 15, 2004.

The general editor of the work is Dr. Rodney P. Carlisle, Professor Emeritus, Rutgers University.

Call for papers – A) The on-line undergraduate student journal, *Federalism-e*, is now accepting contributions for volume 4. Students are encouraged to contribute papers on the topics of federalism and multi-level governance in either official language. For more information, please visit the Call for Papers section at www.federalism-e.com or contact Terris Luter at federalism-e@cnfs.queensu.ca

B) *Public Integrity*, the premier journal of research on public sector ethics and integrity, will publish a symposium issue on – Ethics and Integrity in Government: European Perspectives. All submissions will be subject to a blind review. Book reviews, field reports and other formats are also welcome. Electronic submissions should be in Word or WordPerfect files. Prospective contributors should submit a one page description of their proposal to: Dr. Donald C. Menzel, Division of Public Administration, Northern Illinois University, DeKalb, Illinois, 60115 USA or dmenzel@niu.edu by 30 November 2003. Contributors are expected to submit fully completed papers on or before 31 March 2004.

Conferences – A) “Transatlantic Relations: What Next?” Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York, March 14-15, 2004. Sponsored by the EU as a Global Actor Interest Section of the European Studies Association (EUSA) with support from the EU Centers of Syracuse University and the University System of Georgia, this workshop is to examine issues from both sides of the Atlantic to understand what has changed, what remains the same and what might be done to improve transatlantic relations. Three panels are planned—the economic component, security and defense issues, and organizations and institutions. Participation by graduate students is encouraged. Travel funds may be available for those Europeans attending the Council for European Studies (Chicago, March 11-13) or the International Studies Association conference in Montreal (March 17-20)

Deadline for submitting proposals – 15 December 2003. Send abstract of up to 500 words to Krisan Evenson, Assistant Director of the Maxwell Center at Syracuse University (klevenso@syr.edu) Applicants will be notified by 15 January 2004. Participants will be invited to attend a workshop, “Atlanticism in Crisis,” organized by a joint group of European and American scholars, afternoon of March 15 through March 16.

B) North American Conference on Welsh Studies (NAASWCH), West Virginia University, Morgantown, West Virginia, July 15-16, 2004

The NAASWCH Program Committee seeks diverse perspectives on Wales, Welsh culture and language, as well as proposals focused on the Welsh in North America. Those wishing to present a paper suitable for a 20 minute oral presentation should submit an abstract (maximum of one page) by 20 December 2003 to Dr. Roderic Owen, Philosophy and Religion Department, Mary Baldwin College, Staunton, Virginia 24401, USA. Tel. – 540-887-7309; Fax – 540-887-7137 or rowen@mbc.edu

For those wishing to attend or have additional information, contact Dr. John S. Ellis, NAASWCH Secretary/Treasurer, Department of History, University of Michigan-Flint 48502-1950, USA or Tel – 810-762-3366; Fax 810-762-3367 or ellisja@umflint.edu.

ARTICLES

Errata – In our last issue, the article on the Welsh elections by Roger Scully and Richard Wyn Jones inadvertently listed a third author, “Adeilad Llandinam,.” There was, and is, no such author. We have cut the remuneration of our cracked copy editor by 20% for this error.

The 2003 Scottish Parliamentary Elections: May 1, 2003

*Sterling J. Harris
Indiana University Southeast*

On May 1, 2003, Scottish voters went to the polls to elect the second Holyrood Parliament. Braving torrential rains and defying expectations of a low turnout due to the weather, they produced not a few surprises. Many of these unexpected results were indicative of Holyrood’s composite electoral system – a combination of the first-past-the-post (constituency seats) and proportional representation (the regional list seats).

The manifestos published by the leading parties were mediocre at best, lacking originality and ultimately differing only in the details. Labour and the SNP both promised more police on the streets to deal with rising crime rates. Labour proposed 1500 more nurses and 600 more doctors while the SNP indicated a need to streamline the NHS and provide an 11% pay raise for nurses. The SNP differed from Labour mainly in its stance to abolish deferred tuition fees and, of course, deliver a referendum on independence. The LibDems merely reflected Labour promises though calling for even higher numbers of nurses, doctors, and police officers. The Conservative manifesto was equally lacking in originality though it strongly opposed congestion fees – a stance that would ultimately pay off in Edinburgh-Pentlands. The manifestos of the Greens and Socialists were, in the very least, a welcome diversion from the dull and repetitive promises of the mainstream parties. Ideological in nature and proposing radical policies, it is perhaps these stronger statements and left-leaning orientation of the Greens and SSP that led to their subsequent success in the 2003 elections. Scottish voters

seemed desperate for a party that actually had a strong and passionate statement to make as opposed to merely mimicking the policies of its opponents.

In the lead up to the Holyrood elections, most polls were indicating a significant drop in support for Labour, with one *Scotsman* poll suggesting that half of Labour voters from the 1999 election would desert the party. Due primarily to Labour's budgetary policy at Holyrood as well as its support for the war in Iraq – a highly unpopular stance in Scotland – Labour was expected to lose a significant portion of the vote.

Though earlier in the campaign, the SNP was expected to capitalize on deserters from Labour, polls during the last few weeks before the election began to indicate that a fifth of the voters had changed their voting intentions. The Greens and LibDems were expected to become the major beneficiaries of this shift away from Labour though this seemed to affect the regional list rather than constituency vote. Furthermore, the Scottish Socialist Party was doing better than expected in the polls, averaging no less than 10% of the regional list vote. This potential for a significant opposition from the left of Labour seems to be founded in New Labour's gradual movement to the right as well as its role in the Iraq war effort. These shifts to the smaller Scottish parties provide one explanation for why the SNP was not doing as well as it expected in the polls, given the retreat from Labour. Though this was clearly not the first election in which SNP set its hopes higher than the political reality of Scottish politics.

When the votes were finally tallied, the results were interesting and somewhat unexpected. The retreat from Labour was not nearly as massive as the polls had suggested though the support for the Socialists and Greens was significant. The SNP's performance was lackluster while the Tories, maintaining the number of MSPs elected in 1999, nevertheless were effective in targeting specific seats.

The Conservatives, electing eighteen MSPs again, nevertheless gained a crucial symbolic victory with David McLetchie's capture of Edinburgh-Pentlands.

Lost by the Tories in the 1997 Westminster Elections, Pentlands had become a high-profile target for the Conservative Party. Labour's Ian Gray, though his record as MSP since 1999 seemed solid, suffered from the fallout over congestion charges in Edinburgh. It was this issue that many analysts believe led to the capture of this key constituency seat by the Tories.

There was clearly a retreat from Labour although not as startling as the pre-elections polls had suggested. Labour gained only 50 seats, as compared to its 56 MSPs from 1999, with most of its success in constituency elections (46 seats). However, the loss of MSPs resulted from Labour's defeat in six constituency elections. Labour's regional list vote returned four MSPs to Holyrood again.

The SNP was unable to capitalize on both the retreat from Labour as well as strong antiwar feelings among Scottish voters. It has been suggested that this was due to the fact that, by May 1st, the war in Iraq seemed to be a victory for Britain and America and a great deal of the tension surrounding the issue had subsided. However, the success of the smaller, left-leaning parties with far more adamant anti-war positions than the SNP disputes this conclusion. More importantly, however, SNP leader John Swinney seemed to lack the confidence of the voters though his popularity was given a boost by the SNP's anti-war stance. In an MRUK survey, 70% of those surveyed said that, as a party leader, Swinney would have no impact on their voting intentions. Swinney was second to the bottom in the survey with the widely unpopular Conservative leader David McLetchie at 73%. The SNP's high hopes were dashed when the party actually returned fewer seats than in 1999. Compared to 35 seats in the first Holyrood election, the SNP had dropped to 27. However, Swinney was quick to respond to this, claiming that the SNP's focus on contesting Labour in targeted constituency seats, though not as successful as they had hoped, nevertheless showed signs of the party developing its capability to challenge Labour in first-past-the-post elections. In any case, the SNP failed to capture several key seats, including Glasgow Govan

and Dundee West. Furthermore, its inability to gain its previous levels in the regional lists resulted in the loss of many MSPs elected in 1999 on the proportional representation system, including leading figures such as Mike Russell. There was an undercurrent of dissatisfaction with Swinney among party activists before and after the elections, with many privately indicating that they much preferred Alex Salmond. Clearly, Salmond had inspired more confidence among Scottish voters and was far more popular and charismatic than Swinney. It would appear that, due to the results of the 2003 elections, a great deal of the SNP's failures resulted from both Swinney's leadership and the SNP's unrealistic expectations of being able to beat Labour in constituency seats, despite Labour's loss of support over the war in Iraq.

The LibDems maintained their 17 MSPs with 13 constituency and four regional seats returned. Though expected to benefit from the Labour fallout, the LibDems were only able to maintain their previous position as a secondary party. It seemed clear well before the election, as SNP protests regarding pre-election negotiations revealed, that the Labour-LibDem coalition would most likely continue. Significantly, Labour's loss of six constituency seats strengthened the position of LibDem leader Jim Wallace within the coalition. However, though Wallace maintained a strong majority in the Orkneys, the Tories and the SSP made significant inroads into Wallace's home constituency.

Perhaps the most fascinating aspect of the Holyrood elections, however, was the rise in voting for the Greens and Scottish Socialist Party as well as the election of the anti-hospital closure candidate Jean Turner in Strathkelvin and Bearsden. Though unable to gain any constituency seats, the Greens and SSP were able to capture seven and six regional list seats, respectively. With only one MSP returned from each party in 1999, this was a dramatic increase in the position of smaller, distinctly left-wing parties within the Scottish Parliament. These results indicate the development of the Greens and SSP from marginal parties to increasingly important actors at Holyrood. Furthermore, the retreat from

Labour, due to the war and Gordon Brown's budgetary policy, was effectively exploited by the smaller and ideological parties rather than the SNP or LibDems. It is interesting to note, as well, that the widely popular Tommy Sheridan of the SSP was rated highest in surveys among Scottish voters regarding their confidence in party leaders. When compared to the unpopular Tory leader McLetchie and the rather dull and uninspiring figure of the SNP's John Swinney, the passionate and charismatic Sheridan seems to have moved many voters dissatisfied with mainstream mediocrity.

Dennis Canavan was, as expected, comfortably returned as the Independent candidate for Falkirk. In addition, retired GP Jean Turner who stood for election on the single issue platform of opposing the closure of Stobhill Hospital, was able to capture the constituency seat in Strathkelvin and Bearsden.

Of the 129 members of the Scottish Parliament elected on May 1, 2003, Labour maintained its position as the largest party yet, as can be expected from the elements of proportional representation within the electoral system, did not achieve an overall majority. Labour again formed a coalition with the LibDems, as it had following the 1999 elections. The SNP, despite its high hopes of exploiting Labour's weakness, emerged as the primary opposition party yet again and formed its Shadow Executive. The real winners in May were the left-wing ideological parties, the Greens and Tommy Sheridan's Scottish Socialist Party, who were able to effectively challenge the record of New Labour and thus increase their bargaining position within the Scottish Parliament. As the SNP has become more of a mainstream party and its policies increasingly resembling Labour as it challenges the ruling party in constituency races, it would seem that it has lost its identity as an outsider. Meanwhile, the more ideologically motivated Greens and Scottish Socialists seem to benefit more from dissatisfaction with the mainstream political establishment and have emerged from their marginal position within the Scottish Parliament.

ABSTRACTS

From publications –

Steven Philip Kramer, “The Blair Moment,” *The Wilson Quarterly*, XVII, no. 4 (Autumn 2003), 72-86.

Although Britain did not suffer the casualties that many predicted, Kramer contends that by supporting the war with Iraq, Tony Blair has lost, or at least delayed, “his mission of transforming modern Britain and reorienting its place in the world” and “making it not only an integral part of Europe but one of its leaders.” Kramer outlines the main themes of the British position in the international community in the modern era before briefly describing Blair’s efforts to create a new Britain, in part by reforming its constitutional framework, e.g., devolution.

Despite economic prosperity, Gordon Brown and Blair failed to improve key public services: transportation and health. Blair’s piecemeal approach to constitutional change is noted, as well as foregoing the opportunity to create a federal system “that would have made Britain far more compatible with the rest of the European Union.”

There is at least one obvious factual error in the piece—Labour was not returned to a second term in **2002** (p. 76). Readers may wish to read a longer piece by Kramer in the July/August 2003 issue of *Foreign Affairs*. “Britain’s Blair after Iraq.”

John Lukacs, “A Final Chapter on Churchill,” *Chronicle of Higher Education* (October 24, 2003), B7-B10.

This is a brief account of Lukacs’ admiration for Churchill’s leadership, primarily as the author of books about the great prime minister, but beginning with the confidence that the 16 year-old Lukacs had in Churchill, when Hitler entered Paris in 1940. Lukacs recounts how he came to write three books about Churchill and to have a street in Budapest named for Churchill, marked by a statue of the namesake. Lukacs also comments on cases where false documents were used to distort Churchill’s WWII role.

(Folded in with the Lukacs piece is a one-page (B9) commentary by the editors of the *Chronicle*, “The Flourishing Churchill Industry: An Update,” listing new entries in the Churchill bibliography and suggesting why the flow of works continues, despite the hundreds of works already published.) *T.P. Wolf*

Peter Stothard, “Tony Blair goes to War,” *Smithsonian* (October 2003), 50-53 & 55-59.

This is adapted from Stothard’s book *Tony Blair and the Test of History*. Stothard, the editor of the *Times Literary Supplement* was given permission to accompany Tony Blair for a month, which turned out to be the days that led up to and included the first days of the invasion of Iraq by coalition forces. This account is full of quotations by the prime minister. That includes the assertion, “What amazes me is how many people are happy for Saddam to stay.” (p. 51) (What amazes this abstracter is that the prime minister would have such a view; the opponents of the invasion also despise Saddam, but do not find that to be sufficient grounds for overthrowing him by force.)

What Stothard provides is a behind-the-scenes view of the prime minister’s political life. There are no surprises. He notes that the prime minister’s staff does not attempt to explain his position on Iraq but merely that he is not to change it. The photographs with the article include one of Blair, informally attired, standing in the kitchen of Number Ten (?) with the television image of Bush looking down on him. *T.P. Wolf*

John Cassidy, “Letter from London: The David Kelly Affair,” *The New Yorker* (8 December 03), 90-102 & 104-111,

Cassidy recounts how David Kelly became the focus of the controversy about whether the Blair government mislead the public in asserting the threat that Iraq presented prior to the invasion of that nation. The piece gives details that are not readily available to many Americans. There are parallels with the Bush administration’s public rationale for its use of military force, although Cassidy does not assert that. *T.P. Wolf*

From conferences –

James Mitchell, University of Strathclyde, “Bringing the Sub-State In: Institutionalism and the emerging party system in Scotland,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 27-30, 2003, Philadelphia

This paper begins with a review of types of party systems that may arise in multi-level regimes. Following that, Mitchell summarizes the main events and strategies that parties have adopted both in the first term of the Scottish Parliament and in the 2003 campaign. Election results and survey data, e.g., the declining public view that the Scottish Parliament has influence on governmental action in Scotland. He finds that Ted Lowi’s policy types (Some formulations standup even after nearly 40 years.) are useful in understanding Scottish politics and its second-order elections. *T.P. Wolf*, *Indiana University Southeast*

BOOK REVIEWS

Simon Bulmer, et al., *British Devolution and European Policy-Making: Transforming Britain into Multi-Level Governance*, (Houndsmill, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), xxv & 222 pp., Index, Bibliography; Cl. \$68.00; Ian Lang, *Blue Remembered Years: A Political Memoir*, (London: Politico's Publishing, 2002), viii & 328 pp., Index; Cl. £20; David Powell, *Nationhood & Identity: The British State Since 1800*, (London: I.B. Tauris, 2002), xiii & 314 pp., Index, Bibliography; Cl. £45.00, Pb. £15.95

David Powell has written a thorough and exhaustive book on the role of the Celtic fringe in British political history after 1801. Although the book's title is focused on national identity among the peripheral nations of Britain, Powell spends more time explaining the nuances and particulars of history and politics in Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. He does an excellent job chronicling the ways in which these nations bring their grievances and agendas to the British House of Commons and the ways in which they attempt to solve them both via democratic institutional channels and through unconventional political means, such as violence. Powell discusses the sociological and economic implications of nationalism for British peoples. He also develops a solid chronology of events especially centering on the battles over home rule for Ireland (and to a lesser extent Scotland) in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. He explains how the Irish issue defined the uncertainty of the late Edwardian era. He also describes the growth of cultural and political nationalism in Wales and Scotland with creation of national parties in the 1920s in both regions. With the Irish home rulers gone from the House of Commons, the logic of the two party system from the 1920s to the 1960s mutes nationalistic fervor somewhat. The wars bring unity, but nationalist activities still continue. Powell makes a good point about the awkward, hardly ever acknowledged, aspect of English (as opposed to British) national identity as well. What is an Englishperson? Is there heritage and identity tied to some rural ideal or something linked to industrialization, Empire, and London? His commentary on

identity in general, which is brief, but useful, is important since issues of national identity are rampant in Britain today with the decentralization of the political system, and the English coming to grips with England as a distinct part of the union.

British Devolution and European Policy-Making is a small, yet densely packed book on the policy-making of European Union (EU) issues in the devolved legislatures in Scotland and Wales. Simon Bulmer, et al. do a solid job of explaining the background and legislative and bureaucratic processes that brought devolution about in Edinburgh and Cardiff. They also focus on the minute details of how these two devolved governments relate to business issues, agriculture, and other matters facing the United Kingdom (UK), Brussels, Scotland, and Wales. This book would be good for those studying EU policy-making and its relationship to sub-national governance in the UK. It also will help operationalize theories of multi-level governance that, as the book demonstrates, are incredibly complex and bureaucratic. Nonetheless, it is a book that provides a wealth of information on EU issues and how processes inside UK and devolved government unfold competencies and jurisdiction over issues that, as can be guessed, are oftentimes fuzzy and blurred. What's more some of the examples make for good teaching (anecdotal) material, such as the 1999 calf processing scheme in Wales that appeared to make the devolved Welsh Labour administration look good, but it ran afoul of EU regulations and the episode nearly got the Welsh first secretary at the time, Alun Michael, sacked on a vote of no confidence. The genetically modified (GM) food debate in Wales in 2000 was another issue that had major political overtones in the devolved assembly as well. This book is written from a public policy perspective, but graduate students doing research on the EU or devolution in Britain will find it useful and very accessible. On the other hand, it is a bit too complicated for most undergraduates, but could be used for upper-division undergraduates as a resource for papers on devolution. It is probably too specialized to be used as a course text at the undergraduate level. But, for graduate level work on the EU in general or the EU and the UK it would work fairly well since the

scope and size are not too all encompassing. Overall, it is a solid work that will help inform research and more specialized study in EU and devolved Scottish and Welsh issues.

Ian Lang's memoir, *Blue Remembered Years*, is a pensive and refreshingly honest biography of his time in the Scottish and UK Conservative parties, as governmental minister with several portfolios, and his views on past issues and controversies. Most importantly, he weighs in on devolution as applied in Scotland. Lang was born in Glasgow, lived at Turnberry (as a child), near the fabled golf course on the North Channel in Ayrshire, and came from a seafaring family.

He describes his rise to prominence as eventual secretary of state for Scotland under Margaret Thatcher in the early 1990s in a straightforward way with much candor. The area that may interest students of British politics that he spends much time on is devolution. As a Scot and a Tory, his "one nation" staunchness yields fairly predictable statements such as, "The casual partisan manner in which [Tony Blair's] government has imposed a series of unrelated but fundamental changes to the British constitution underlines the need for new arrangements in this field to guard against the further erosion of our constitutional base. Constitutional change, once enacted, is hard to reverse." (p. 192) Yet, like his colleague John Redmond, see his book—*The Death of Britain?* (1999), he does make some compelling assertions about the muddled nature of devolution in Scotland and Wales and how it may eventually unravel the UK. The book has some good picture plates and is a good read for those interested in Thatcherism. Much of his recollections are anecdotal, so as a supplementary text in a course it may not be synthetic enough. He is a good writer, yet this is not a Churchillian-type biographical revision qua magnum opus (like Churchill's *History of the Second World War*). Still, Lang is a likeable, intelligent leader who is self-reflective and evinces a quintessentially historical Tory figure in terms of character (un-dogmatic, yet principled) that characterized pre-Thatcherite politics in Britain.

These three books are very different in many ways (one a history, one a practical policy analysis, and one a biography), but each has the common strain of

devolution and its concomitant pros and cons. These books show us that devolution in Scotland and Wales is a fluid, integral part of UK politics after 1999 in Blairite Britain. What's more, the UK's constitution is increasingly becoming more difficult to conceptualize given the regions' relationship with the EU and increased multi-level governance that is occurring in Britain. The question of whether the UK will become a federal state, like the US, or eventually evolve into a kind of confederation remains to be seen. Will the UK become an amorphous region of regions in a larger EU state? The answers remain. However, these three books will help students understand the context in which political change is occurring in Britain today. *Kurt W. Jefferson, Westminster College*

Peter Lynch, *SNP: The History of the Scottish National Party* (Cardiff: Welsh Academic Press, distr. in US by International Specialized Book Service, 2002), vi & 267 pp., Bibliography, Index, Cl. \$55.00.

Since the establishment of a devolved Scottish Parliament, there has been a significant increase in literature regarding Scottish politics with particular attention to Nationalism and the role of the Scottish National Party. Lynch's SNP continues this trend with a comprehensive and detailed analysis of the origins and development of the Scottish National Party.

Initially, Lynch establishes the model by which he assesses the relative success of the SNP within each individual chronological case. By analyzing the organizational strength, ideological cohesiveness, and electoral success of the SNP at various points in the party's history, Lynch draws convincing conclusions regarding the party's overall political impact. The model Lynch describes explores this impact through its electoral, office, and policy success. Ultimately, Lynch compellingly argues that the SNP's policy success has been its largest impact on Scottish politics, specifically with regard to agenda-setting due to its threat (real or perceived) to the mainstream British political parties as well as by creating distinctly Scottish politics. He further asserts that the SNP, through its challenge to the British political establishment, brought about the

creation of the devolved Scottish Parliament. This notion is debatable and has been challenged by several British political analysts, especially Ian Hutchison. Nevertheless, Lynch's model provides a credible argument for the SNP's overall success at agenda-setting and creating a distinctive Scottish political dialogue.

Following his introduction that establishes the model by which he will assess the SNP's success, Lynch's work is chronologically organized by commonly accepted time periods in the history of Scottish Nationalism – mostly marked by significant shifts in the SNP's electoral success or organizational and financial strength as well as changes in the overall British political climate. Lynch concludes the book with a look at the SNP's prospects for the future, specifically in regard to the devolved parliament, as well as the likelihood of achieving their fundamental aim – independence for Scotland.

Lynch understands that the SNP cannot be viewed outside the experience of the entire Scottish Nationalist movement. He provides extensive details regarding the SNP's origins in the left-leaning National Party of Scotland and the conservative Scotland Party as well as exploring the roots of Nationalism within the Scottish Home Rule Association. Furthermore, he looks at rivals within the Nationalist movement from MacCormick's National Covenant Campaign to the extremist fringe represented by Hugh MacDiarmid in the early years and Siol Nan Gaidheal in the 1980s. Unfortunately, Lynch's history begins with the 1920s and does not assess crucial aspects of the Scottish Nationalist movement that occurred during the late 19th Century and early 20th Century. For example, the complete retreat of Scottish Nationalism that occurred during the First World War would have been an important comparison to the SNP's survival during the Second World War (regardless of its electoral failures). Though such an extensive history is perhaps outside of Lynch's intended subject matter, it is important at least to acknowledge critical aspects of the Nationalist movement that led to the creation of the SNP and the gradual abandonment of the cross-party Home Rule movement.

Lynch addresses the use of the promise of Home Rule or Devolution by mainstream political

parties as a response to the challenge of Nationalism. However, his discussion of this tactic is limited to the 1960s and later. On the contrary, this is an established tactic in Scottish politics and is evident in the Liberal Party's support for Home Rule in the 1920s, the Labour Party's promise of postwar self-government in 1945, and the Conservative flirtation with devolution as a response to the "centralized socialist" Labour government in the 1950s. These are important aspects of Scottish Nationalism and, if analyzed in relation to the "pro-devolution" party's electoral success during these periods, might shed more light on the nationalist character of Scottish politics. A vote for the SNP has not necessarily been a sign of support for independence while a vote for a mainstream party may not have been an indicator of a lack of public enthusiasm for some degree of self-government. Lynch's argument regarding the Nationalist challenge as having a great deal of political impact in agenda-setting and pressure for devolution would have been strengthened significantly if he had addressed these earlier promises of self-government.

Unfortunately, Lynch's work also lacks a solid class analysis of the phenomenon of Nationalism in Scotland. For example, when the NPS merged with the SP to form the more moderate SNP, it lost support from urban working class voters around Glasgow. Understanding the class dynamic of Nationalism in Scotland is crucial and, unfortunately, very little literature exists on the topic. Beyond discussion of the SNP's difficulty in attracting votes from Labour's urban industrial working-class base, Lynch continues in the tradition of discussing Nationalism divorced from class politics – a problematic approach in any study of British politics.

Ultimately, Lynch's rigorous scholarship and exhaustive analysis result in conclusions that are compelling. His linkage of the relative success of the SNP to organizational strength and financial stability within the party, as well as ideological cohesion, is a credible conclusion. Furthermore, his assessment of the SNP's political impact is strongly supported by his empirical evidence, aside from the debatable conclusion that it led to the creation of the Scottish Parliament. Despite such challenges, Lynch's work provides a comprehensive history and convincing

analysis of the SNP, from its origins and formation in 1934 to the first round of Scottish Parliamentary elections in 1999, that has been decidedly lacking in the overall body of literature on Scottish politics and Nationalism. *Sterling J. Harris, Indiana University Southeast*

Richard Rodger, *The Transformation of Edinburgh: Land, Property and Trust in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge University Press, 2001), 540 pp., \$80.00.

Encountering Edinburgh, the visitor is at once intrigued by the architecture and geography of the city, and – very likely – baffled by the complexities of negotiating a (literally) multi-layered metropolis. Even in the past decade, the face of the city has been altered significantly: the building of the new Scottish Parliament building, hotels, housing, and a host of other public and private concerns erased the traces of an earlier built environment in Holyrood; the recent fire in the Cowgate also demonstrates that, even without the intended intervention of human beings, the cityscape continues to change.

Richard Rodger states that his study of Edinburgh is directed toward understanding the legal and institutional structures in which urban development occurred. But what might appear a modest project immediately branches into numerous fields related to urban governance: the role of private capital in public policy; the relationship between religious and secular authorities and the role of each in shaping a cityscape; the politics of gender and property; class relations and the provision of housing; and, ultimately, the intervention of the state in the sphere of private property. The cast of characters implicated in this history includes landowners, lawyers, religious leaders, board members and directors of trusts, philanthropists, educators, property developers, bankers, judges, and entrepreneurs. Yet the power of Rodger's project stems from his ability to point to the intersections of the interests and aspirations of these social groups, intersections where capital began to flow and the very face of the city began to be transformed.

Covering a period from the mid-17th century to just before the First World War, Rodger's history will appeal to readers with interests not only in the

past centuries of social and economic development in Edinburgh, but in current debates about the relationship between public and private involvement in urban governance, and the politics of land reform. He begins by exploring the power of trusts and institutions as landowners: whether religious, educational, or personal, trusts emerged by the late 1600s as dominant players in local land markets, using their endowments to shape the nature of development in the city. Rodger then turns to specific considerations of the building industry. Although he emphasizes the economic clout of individual developers and their companies, he also focuses on the social impact of their decisions – from decisions to create housing designed for mixed social classes to their influence on shaping open space, access to markets, and the aesthetics of building design. This volume derives much of its strength from in-depth studies of specific housing developments and developers, and Rodger uses these as means to explore the participation of ordinary Edinburgh citizens in property markets. Working and middle class homeowners and tenants play a key role in driving the development of the city, responding to the incentives of the changing local economy and bringing their own aspirations to bear on developers' decisions.

The most startling motif in the book frames nearly every chapter: at the same time that other European states were dismantling feudal obligations, Scotland was building them up. Readers unfamiliar with Scottish legal history will be surprised to learn that the legal development of feudal relations in Scotland reached its apogee in the nineteenth century, not during the medieval era. In Rodger's argument, feudalism, and specifically feu-duties (annual payments) became the motor for urban development and residential property growth in Edinburgh. Trusts and individual developers not only sub-feud (i.e. created vassals) in order to generate annuities, they participated in a variety of financial institutions generated by the feudal system. Feu-duties became a desirable form of security, as they were the first charge on an estate at death or bankruptcy; feus also became a security upon which banks and individuals would lend.

Furthermore, feu-duties generated new financial instruments, which themselves contributed to capi-

talizing property development. Individuals could sell future rights to feu-duties, known as heritable securities, and receive a lump-sum payment. This market offered individual property developers a means of generating sufficient capital to finance new projects, which – of course – could later be sold and sub-feud. Yet whereas many modern readers might assume that feudalism would concentrate wealth in power solely in the hands of the ultimate feudal superiors, Rodger's argument – and the most powerful and intriguing finding of the book – is that Victorian feudalism empowered large and small, trust, corporate and individual landowners, by allowing them to raise capital, while creating incentives to release property for development. I should also note that Rodger provides one of the clearest explanations of Scottish property relations and feuing that I have encountered, and this book will go a long way toward clarifying feudal relations for those who have long wondered about (and perhaps been subject to) the legal dimensions of the subject.

For all its remarkable achievement as a record of the birth (and continuous re-birth) of a city, *The Transformation of Edinburgh* misfires slightly as a theoretical project about institutional development and urban social change. Rodger has produced a work of astonishing technical detail and impressive scope. Yet at numerous points in the volume, theoretical concerns and historiographical debates are introduced in chapters, only to get lost or abandoned as the narrative gathers speed. Theoretical arguments at times do not offer hypotheses that are rigorously tested with the empirical material. For example, a chapter devoted to the Edinburgh Cooperative Building Company (ECBC) introduces the problem of whether such cooperatives should be understood as early incubators of class consciousness among their working-class members. Yet although Rodger documents the new social and economic roles that opened to ECBC members (including those of shareholder, member of boards of directors, homeowner, and ultimately, participant in urban governance), the question of class consciousness is never directly addressed. The intriguing question of how ECBC members perceived their own social and political roles eludes us, as does an elaboration of the impact of cooperatives on working class power in the city.

At other points, however, Rodger's theoretical insights do transform our understandings of the city. His chapter, "Adornment, ego and myth," offers a tantalizing interpretation of the Edinburgh cityscape as emblematic of power relations. Rodger articulates a view of the built environment of Edinburgh as an enduring statement of the power of monarch, capitalist and kirk, an environment that equally serves as a 'prison' for its inhabitants, shaping – and frequently inhibiting – further development. Outsiders are unlikely to gaze again upon panoramic photographs of the Old Town in the same way, as Rodgers advises, "Power and social order are explicit messages conveyed through the form as well as by the function of buildings. . . still the iconography of the postcard recycles the former systems of power" (459).

The volume concludes on a note that will frustrate some observers of Scottish politics. Rodger argues that greater participation in property rights and benefits was ironically accomplished by Scottish feudalism and its "unique blend of absolutist and liberal property principles" (507). However, it is difficult to stretch the conclusions that Rodger draws about the impact of feudalism on Edinburgh to territory beyond the city, rendering his verdict on feudalism somewhat unsatisfying. Edinburgh stands out as the Athenian oasis of successful 'feudal liberalism' in a Scotland that was otherwise a desert of feudal absolutism, with disastrous economic and social consequences. One cannot escape the sense that the same feudalism that helped promote development in Edinburgh did so at the painful, long-term expense of much of the rest of the country.

Nonetheless, the achievement of Rodger's book cannot be overstated. *The Transformation of Edinburgh* will long serve as the benchmark for – and cornerstone of – future studies of the economic and social history of urban Scotland. No one who views the distinctive skyline of Edinburgh will easily forget Richard Rodger's conclusion that "the built environment is part of a visual ideology, a cultural system in stone and an expression of social and political values." *Janet Laible, Lehigh University*

Ann Lyon, *Constitutional History of the United Kingdom* (London: Cavendish, distr. in US by ISBS, Portland, Ore. 2003), xxxv & 476 pp., Bibliography, Index, Pb. \$38.00.

This book is a thorough, respectful history of constitutional developments in the United Kingdom from ancient times through the recent changes under the European Union and the New Labor government of Tony Blair. The author, a lecturer in law at the University of Wales, Swansea, says in the Acknowledgments, “any text on the history of the British constitution must be to a considerable extent a history of the British monarchy, central as the monarchy is to our constitutional system.” She then dedicates the book to the Queen.

Vague as “constitutional law” is in the United Kingdom, what results is discussion of the origins and development of the law and conventions of governance. Only the final 100 pages discuss developments during the past century. Only for the past two centuries does the author switch from a strictly chronological approach to a discussion of particular topics. Women’s suffrage gets two pages, reform of the House of Lords in the 20th Century nine, and the abdication of Edward VIII ten. Curiously, the role of the monarch in the appointment of the Prime Minister in February, 1974, is not mentioned.

There is a map of pre-Norman Britain, 16 pages of charts tracing the lineage of the monarchs of England and Scotland, a brief bibliography, and an inadequate index. For recent times the text relies heavily on Vernon Bogdanor’s *The Monarchy and the Constitution* (1995) although not always agreeing with his views. Since the book is mainly intended as an undergraduate text for UK students, there is also a website, with a few updates and, at the time of this review, only minimal linkages. Overall, this is a decent reference on constitutional history, with a strong bias toward the involvement of the monarch in such matters, especially in earlier times. *Donley T. Studlar, West Virginia University*

Roy Gregory & Phillip Giddings, *The Ombudsman, the Citizen and Parliament: A History of the Office of the Parliamentary Commissioner for Administration and Health Service Commissioners* (London: Politico’s, dist. in US by International Specialized Book Services 2002), xi & 708 pp., Bibliography, Index, Cl. £40.00; \$75.00.

For those who recall the excitement generated by the adoption of the Scandinavian institution of the ombudsman by several non-Scandinavian governmental entities, many will be inclined to greet this book with the advertising phrase, “You’ve come a long way, baby!”

This hefty tome is divided into two sections, one pertaining to the Office of the Parliamentary Commissioner for Administration, the second for the Health Service Commissioner. The first section is further organized in four parts: Introduction (concept and context), Origins (Rejection, ‘Difficulties peculiar to England,’ Transplanting and transforming, and ‘A striking English scheme’), the Commissioners (a chapter of 22 to 65 pp. on each of the seven Commissioners), and Looking back (Perspectives). The section is followed by five appendices (brief biographies of the Parliamentary Commissioners for Administration, names and terms of the Chairman of the Select Committee on the Parliamentary Commissioner for Administration & the Chairmen of the Select Committee on Public Administration, Devolution, Statistics, The Parliamentary Commission Act 1967).

Section two has nine parts: Preface, the Origins of the HSC, seven chapters on each of the HS Commissioners, and The Health Service Ombudsman: Assessment and Future Prospects.

The book is an excellent overview, but with much detail, of the functioning of the Ombudsman office in Great Britain. It is the starting point for understanding that institution and for teaching about or future investigation of it. *T.P. Wolf, Indiana University Southeast*

Robert Stevens, *The English Judges: Their Role in the Changing Constitution*, (Oxford & Portland, OR: Hart [distributed in US by International Specialized Book Services, Inc.], 2002), xiv & 169 pp., Bibliography, Index, Cl. \$45.00, £22.50; Michael Kerr, *As Far As I Remember*, (Oxford & Portland, OR: Hart [distributed in US by International Specialized Book Services, Inc.], 2002), xii & 356pp., Cl. \$45.00, £22.50.

Robert Stevens has been a highly regarded legal scholar for many years. In this somewhat brief but masterful book, he provides an historical overview of the judges' role in constitutional matters, a careful, sensitive, and balanced analysis of the situation under New Labour, and some reflections on future developments.

The first two chapters concentrate on the aftermath of the Act of Settlement and the period of judicial retreat from roughly 1900 to 1960. These are well done, and would benefit any undergraduate. One point he makes that is often ignored is that throughout the nineteenth century the process of judicial appointments was much more politically partisan than is ordinarily thought. It was not inevitable, therefore, that the English judiciary would become encased in an apolitical cocoon for much of the twentieth century. Chapters then follow dealing with the awakening of the 1960s, the Thatcher years, and some of the inherent conflicts between judicial power and parliamentary sovereignty. On the whole, these are well crafted, and further enriched by occasional informed glances at the American experience.

For most political scientists the most interesting chapters are the last three. Two of them deal with the spate of constitutional reform springing from New Labour. The first of these, focusing on the first incarnation of New Labour, notes the importance of both Government initiatives and the changing attitudes of the judges themselves. Special attention is devoted to the Human Rights Act and the Pinochet case. In a chapter entitled "The Second Coming," which is necessarily incomplete, he picks up the debates over the appropriateness of the tri-partite role of the Lord Chancellor and the issue of judicial selection. I found the discussion of the public scuffles between Lord Irvine, Tony Blair's then Lord Chancellor, and Lord Steyn and David Blunkett to be especially enlightening. Lord Steyn publicly attacked Irvine's stance on the necessity of retaining the Lord Chacellorship's dual role as Law

Lord and cabinet member, a position that the Lord Chancellor took rather personally it seems. Steyn's argument seems prescient, given recent events. For his part, Blunkett, when he replaced Jack Straw as Home Secretary, took a rather dim view of judicial activism generally, and particularly as it related to national security matters.

The final chapter discusses all the usual reasons for the increase in judicial power but adds one, filling a void. The judges are becoming more important, at least in part, because the traditional bases of power in Britain—local government, the civil service, the older universities, the Church, and the armed forces—are becoming less so. (The unions?) Only industry, the Monetary Policy Committee of the Bank of England, and the press now stand, he believes, as autonomous power centers.

One intriguing prediction he makes regards statutory wording. Legislation in Britain has usually had a high degree of coherence to it, the result of unified Government. The more fragmented American process, in contrast, tends to produce ambiguous statutes. If coalition government, resulting possibly from the introduction of PR, were to become the order of the day, though, or if the House of Lords were to assume real authority, then the necessities of politics would likely lead to vaguer legislation. If so, an enlarged role for the courts would ensue.

The core of the chapter centers on the two central issues that, given recent constitutional changes, must be addressed: the degree of separation of powers and the maintenance of judicial independence. He proposes that a real Supreme Court, with its own building, be established and that all judges be nominated by an elected official and then be subjected "to examination by a democratic body." (p. 144) Appointments, he fully acknowledges, would take on the more politicized coloration that they have in the United States, not an altogether bad thing, he believes. It is vital for all to recognize, he stresses, that "What is already clear is that it is becoming slowly more accurate to describe Britain as a constitutional democracy rather than a parliamentary democracy." (p. 148). The judiciary, consequently, must be structured accordingly.

In short, this is a book that is intelligent in design and execution, and is of use to novice and expert alike.

It is hard to provide a fair review of Michael Kerr's book. It was originally written so that his children could have a record of his life. It was first privately

printed, then, with some modifications and updating, published as a book soon after his death. Kerr was born in Germany in 1921 to a noted drama critic and a much younger wife. The family—Kerr, parents, and a younger sister—fled the Nazis, living in Switzerland and France before coming to London. He served in the RAF during the war, after being interred as an enemy alien, went to Cambridge afterward and became a barrister. He developed a highly successful practice in shipping law, became a judge, headed the Law Commission, and served on the Court of Appeal. The book has 72 chapters, and it is not until number 49 that we come to his law practice and number 65 before the judiciary enters the picture. Even then, chapters on personal matters continue.

The early chapters, I suppose, would be of some interest to social historians of the period. We are provided a window onto how the “poor” of the European elite of this era lived and thought. Constant descriptions of money troubles and “poverty” fill many of the pages, but then we get statements such as how “unthinkable” it would have been to have sent him or his sister to a state school. Plus, poverty for these people included staying in hotels and going on holidays. Although relatives and various other benefactors provided support, at no point did anyone in the family consider actually getting a regular job. Moreover, sprinkled throughout is a good bit of repelling braggadocio about his athletic abilities and womanizing.

Few would be surprised by the jockeying for position and intrigue among barristers that is depicted here. As for his time on the bench, except for a few notes on Lords Denning and Donaldson and a discussion of the workload of the Court of Appeal, there is little of much interest. It is all travel, speeches, and lunches. Further, if Kerr ever thought about justice, the public interest, or the judiciary’s role in the changing constitution, it is not recorded here.

In short, if the route to the bench and the isolation of the judges are as Kerr paints them, the books do touch a common theme. *As Far As I Remember* helps make Stevens’ case for a more broadly based judiciary appointed by more transparent means. *Jerold Waltman*, *Baylor University*

Robin W. Winks & R.J.Q. Adams, *Europe: Crisis and Conflict* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University, 2003), xiv & 306 pp., Index, Bibliography, Pb. £19.95, Cl. £45.00

The subject of this book falls outside the usual purview of this newsletter, but the death of the senior author, earlier this year makes this review an opportunity to comment on the career of Robin Winks. He was a scholar of many hats. In addition to his main works on modern English history, he also wrote an excellent guide for the non-Brits who planned to spend time in the UK, and edited a marvelous collection, *The Historian as Detective: Essays on Evidence* (Harper Collins, 1969), which was this reviewer’s first encounter with Winks. Espionage was another subject upon which Winks wrote extensively. In an era in which academic specialties have become increasingly narrow, Robin Winks defied the trend.

Beyond the crisp writing that one expects from Winks and Adams, distinctive features of the book are plates with pertinent verbatim excerpts (“Written History”) and elementary historiography exercises (“Doing History,” “A Closer Look”). Pertinent maps and photographs also enrich the text. *T.P. Wolf*, *Indiana University Southeast*

Patrick Seyd & Paul Whiteley, *New Labour’s Grassroots: The Transformation of Labour Party Membership* (Houndmills & New York: Palgrave, 2002), xxii & 206 pp., Bibliography, Index, Cl. \$65.00

This is one of two recent books by these authors that examine party activism in Britain. The other, *High Intensity Participation: The Dynamics of Party Activism in Britain*, will be reviewed in the next BPGN.

Grassroots begins by noting a baker’s dozen changes in Labour since the 1907s, e.g., the decline of trade union influence in the party, a vastly more open process for selecting a party leader, and the infrequent use of the term ‘comrade.’ Seyd and Whiteley posit five principal reasons for the changes: four straight general election losses (1979-1992), changes in the socio-economic structure of Britain that were disadvantages to the traditional Labour

Party, the growing 'culture of contentment,' globalization, and the collapse of the Soviet Union. They note the conceptual difficulties in distinguishing between Labour and New Labour, but nevertheless, delineate the changes the evolution of change within the party in its policy positions and decision-making processes as it evolved under Kinnock, Smith, and Blair. As the authors note the party now addresses fewer issues at its annual conference, this reviewer is reminded of how the presidential nominating conventions in the US are less involved with issues since fundamental changes were wrought in the early 1970s. It appears that the annual conference has been similarly emasculated, becoming as bland as its American counterpart.

In explaining the decline in activism within the party, Seyd and Whiteley refer to the general incentives model (pp. 90 ff.) and note that the declining level of activism does not augur well for the future of democracy in Britain.

Chapter 5 examines the issue of whether efforts by party workers affects voter turnout. They do and that can be demonstrated if one has the pertinent data as Seyd and Whiteley. The key finding is that this effort must come from the constituency level, not from the national office.

The book is replete with tables and figures (over 60 in total) that mainly address the (old) Labour activists and the New Labour ones, drawing upon surveys conducted in 1990, 1997, and 1999. The authors conclude that party members remained attached to the main themes of social democracy, but also wanted to win elections, that activists realized that the party needed to revise its policy positions but those required only slight changes in order to appeal to voters; the level of party activism is declining, which is disturbing. Four models of party organization are explored. The plebiscitary one is found to be most likely. It, along with the policy forums that New Labour has adopted, may enable party activists to contribute effectively to the issue stance of the party. The book is an excellent analysis of the organizational issues facing New Labour. *T.P. Wolf, Indiana University Southeast*

Iain Dale, ed., *The Politico's Book of the Dead* (London: Politico's, 2003), viii & 342 pp., Cl. £14.99; Paul Routledge, *The Bumper Book of British Lefties* (London: Politico's, 2003), x & 246 pp., Cl. £12.99; Duncan Black & Iain Dale, eds., *Prime Minister Portillo and Other Things That Never Happened: A Collection of Political Counterfactuals* (London: Politico's, 2003), ix & 372 pp., Cl. £16.99.

In these three volumes, Politico's pursues its practice of offering tangential views of political life, and not without humor, in some instances.

Prime Minister Portillo... has 21 chapters,, all of which deal with hypothetical scenarios pertaining to British political matters except for Simon Burns' "What if Lee Harvey Oswald had missed?" and Helen Szamuely's "What if Lenin's 'sealed' train had not reached Petrograd in 1917?" Since this reviewer has enough on his plate in comprehending actual events this collection is not high on his menu,, but these topics are likely to stimulate discussion: What if Halifax had become PM in 1940 or the Liberal Party had been united at the end of WWI or Gaitskell, instead or Bevan had died in 1960 or Benn had beaten Healey in 1981 or Thatcher was forced to resign over Westland or John Smith had lived.

The Book of the Dead has 110 obituaries, some written at the time of the deceased's departure, others commissioned for this book. Organized chronologically and beginning with the first Black MP, Dadabhai Naoroji (d. 1917), of the Liberal Party and concluding with Sir Gerald Vaughan (d. 29 Jul 03), The collection, with the exception of Harold Macmillan, the collection is largely that of second-tier political figures, e.g., Tony Crosland, Dingle Foot, Manny Shinwell, 'Screaming' Lord Sutch, Alan Clark, Reg Prentice, and George Younger. As one who is at the age that he checks the obituary page every day, this reviewer finds these overviews of the lives of the famous to be fascinating and often heart-warming.

If one enjoys a bit of humor, especially at the expense of socialists or persons close to that political strain, one will get a chuckle from Routledge's *British Lefties*, which offers commentary about 204 'lefties,' arranged alphabetically from Diane Abbott to Konni Zilliacus. Each receives a page or so of commentary, almost all negative, but some humorous, nonetheless. Recommended only for those of the left-with-a-strong-streak-of-tolerance, but anyone of the right will lap this up. *T.P. Wolf, Indiana University Southeast* .

Peter Riddell, *Hug Them Close: Blair, Clinton, Bush and the 'Special Relationship'* (London: Politico's, 2003), xiii & 317 pp., Index, Pb., £9.99

Riddell, who with the passing of Hugo Young, ranks as Britain's top political journalist, has produced an impressive book, one bulging with quotable passages. Drawing upon published sources, attributable and non-attributable interviews, *Hug Them Close* explains why Tony Blair supported George Bush's pre-emptive attack on Saddam Hussein's Iraq. The fundamental issue is the 'special relationship,' a posture that all British prime ministers have adopted, with the exception of Ted Heath, since Winston Churchill. That theme does not explain fully why Blair supported Bush on Iraq, but Riddell's account is one that followers of contemporary British politics will benefit from reading. *T.P. Wolf, Indiana University Southeast*

Philip Norton, ed., *Parliaments and Citizens in Western Democracies* (London: & Portland, Ore.: Frank Cass, 2003), xiii & 198 pp., Index, Pb. \$24.50.

This anthology has pieces on parliamentary-constituent links in Germany, Italy, Belgium, Ireland, Portugal, and the EU, but this review comments only on those pertaining to the UK, i.e., material written by Lord Norton of Louth. The book is Volume 3 in the series *Parliaments in Contemporary Western Europe*.

In his "Introduction," Norton raises the various ways in which legislatures as 'representative' bodies have been conceived, and poses six hypotheses about citizen-representative relations. These are guides to the content of the substantive chapters of the book. The diverse range of constituent-legislator relation is indicated in Table 1.1, which shows that the number of constituents per legislator in 15 European nations runs from less than 7,000 per legislator to more than 120,000 per legislator (p. 15). For individual members the range would be even greater since these are averages for each nation.

In "The United Kingdom: Building the Link between Constituent and MP," Norton briefly traces the evolution of constituent-parliamentarian ties from the early 14th century, marked by the end of the benefactor-candidate for the Tory Party after 1945. As the welfare state expanded its purview increasingly into the lives of citizens, the MP assumed the role of 'powerful friend' that would intercede with the bureaucracy on behalf of constituents. From both anecdotal and trend data, Norton demonstrates how the demands on MPs from constituents have grown and continue to grow. Time spent in surgeries, performing as 'local dignitary,' and responding to mail, telephone, and email inquiries have all increased many times from their levels in the immediate post-WWII decades (Of course there was no email then.)

Perhaps understandably, MPs, who have little impact on public policy, may find work on behalf of constituents to be rewarding. Yet, as Norton notes, given the limited resources (staff, especially) many concentrate more on local issues than those of the nation. Didn't some fellow named Edmund Burke have a distinct perspective on that topic?

This is an excellent set of essays, on a topic that is crucial to representative government. *T.P. Wolf, Indiana University Southeast*

POT POURRI XXIV

In the Dominions

A) What we do for ‘grass’ Recently, Canadian military police seized nearly a 1,000 marijuana plants cultivated by squatters on an active 17 square mile firing range in Quebec. Apparently, the prospect of being hit by live rounds was not sufficiently inhibiting to the agricultural entrepreneurs.

B) Enabling? –

1) In April, community activists and volunteers in Vancouver, B.C. established a “safe injection site” for addicts, who could bring their cocaine, crystal meth, or heroin to prepare and inject it with clean equipment while free from police harassment. Police have been reluctant to close the site.

2) In August, Edmonton, Alberta officials ordered the non-alcoholic bar Keep It Simple to enforce the city’s non-smoking law for businesses. The bar, a popular gathering spot for recovering alcoholics, who often use smoking as a substitute when they cease drinking, sought an exemption to the non-smoking regulation. (In September, Keep It Simple applied for a liquor license, but said alcohol would not be served.)

C) No Superheroes – Nine child-care centers in Melbourne, Australia have prohibited all stories about crime-fighters and superheroes on the assumption that exposure to that material might encourage aggressive behavior.

Well, take that – and eat it all! – In Scunthorpe recently, an 18-year-old student, who suffers from the rare vasovagal syncope syndrome, was ordered to stuff himself with junk food in order to increase his salt intake.

Apparently someone is aware of American parents’ behavior at Little League games! At one school in Birmingham, England, parents are prohibited from attending the school’s annual sports day so that children that did not win races or games will not feel so bad.

An Irish perspective – An Irishman moved to the USA and finally attended his first baseball game. The first batter approached the batter’s box, took a few swings and hit a double. The crowd rose to their feet yelling “Run. Run.”

The next batter hits a single and the Irishman listened as again the crowd shouted “Run. Run.”

Soon the Irishman was joining in as batters hit the ball. Finally a batter came to the plate and after four pitches off the plate, the umpire told the batter to take first base. As he strolled toward that bag, the Irishman rose to yell, “R-r-run ye bastard, run!”

A friendly fan, sitting next to the Irishman, explained, “He doesn’t run, he has four balls.”

To which, the Irishman screamed “Walk with pride, my lad!”

Yet another Irish view – An Irish government minister encouraged churches to investigate whether burning incense during services violated a law banning secondary smoke.

And of course, the wily Scots – Five Englishmen boarded a train just behind five Scots, who, as a group had purchased only one ticket. Just before the conductor came through, all the Scots piled into the toilet stall at the back of the car. As the conductor passed the stall, he knocked and called, “Tickets, please.” One of the Scots slid a ticket under the door. It was punched, pushed back under the door, and when it was safe all the Scots came out and took their seats.

The Englishmen were tremendously impressed by the Scots’ ingenuity. On the trip back, the five Englishmen purchased only one ticket. They noticed that, oddly, the Scots had not purchased any tickets. Anyway, just before the conductor came through, all five Scots piled into one of the toilet stalls, the Englishmen into another. Then one of the Scots leaned out, knocked on the Englishmen’s stall and asked, “Tickets, please.” When the ticket slid out under the door, he picked it up and quickly closed the Scots’ stall door.

Queen's Elingsh – Aoccdrnig to rscheearch at an Elingsh uinervtisy, it deosn't mtttaer in what order the ltteers in a word are, the olny iprmoatnt thing is that frist and lsat ltteer is at the rghit pclae. The rset can be a total mses and you can still raed it wouthit porbelm. This is bcuseae we do not rade ervey lteeter by it slef but the word as wlohe.

Coining a word – “We now have the worst of both worlds – not just inflation on the one side or stagnation on the other, but both of them together. We have a sort of ‘stagflation’ situation.” (Iain Macleod, speaking to the House of Commons 17 Nov 65, as cited in Nigel Rees, *A Dictionary of Twentieth Century Quotations* [London: Fontana/Collins, 1987], p. 290.)

The Invisible Man? - John Maynard Keynes - on being asked what happened when David Lloyd George was by himself in a room – “When he’s alone in a room, there’s nobody there.” (As recalled by Baroness Asquith, BBC-TV 30 April 67, Rees, op. cit., p. 256.)

SuperMac on the political world – [All from *ibid.*, pp. 291-292]

1) The Foreign Secretary's life – “Forever posed between a cliché and an indiscretion.”

(Quoted in *Newsweek* 30 April 56)

2) On the Profumo affair – “I was determined that no British Government should be brought down by the action of two tarts.” (13 July 63)

3) On religion and politics – “If people want a sense of purpose, they should get it from their archbishop. They should certainly not get it from their politicians.” (Quoted in Henry Fairlie, *The Life of Politics*.)

Blair makes the Big Time – The November 23, 2003 broadcast of the cartoon family, *The Simpsons*, involved son Bart and family making a trip to the UK, where they were greeted by a cartoon-figure of the prime minister. Tony Blair’s voice was used as he offered suggestions for their sojourn in England.’

One more tale from north of Hadrian’s Wall – Is it apocrypha or true? – His name was Fleming and he was a poor Scottish farmer. One day, he heard a cry for help coming from a nearby bog. He dropped his tools and ran to the bog. There, mired to his waist in black muck, was a terrified boy, screaming and struggling to free himself. Farmer Fleming saved the lad from what could have been a slow and terrifying death.

The next day, a fancy carriage pulled up to the Scotsman’s modest dwelling. An elegantly dressed nobleman stepped out and introduced himself as the father of the boy Fleming had saved. “I want to repay you,” said the nobleman,. “You saved my son’s life.” “No, I can’t accept payment for what I did,” the Scottish farmer replied, waving off the offer. At that moment, the farmer’s son came to the door of the family hovel. “Is that your son,” the nobleman asked. “Yes,” replied the farmer, proudly. I will make you a deal. Let me provide him of education my son will enjoy. If the lad is anything like his father, he’ll no doubt grow to be a man we both will be proud of.”

And that he did. Farmer Fleming’s son attended the best schools and in time graduated from St. Mary’s Hospital Medical School in London. He would become known throughout the world as Sir Alexander Fleming, the discoverer of penicillin.

Years afterward, the same nobleman’s son who was saved from the bog was stricken with pneumonia. What saved his life? Penicillin. Who was the nobleman? Lord Randolph Churchill. The son’s name? Sir Winston Churchill. In a different context, it has been said that ‘what goes around, comes around.’

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MEMBERSHIP NEWS

Errata and apology–

In the last issue, the editor incorrectly identified Rod Rhodes as “Ray” Rhodes in both this section and the first item in the Pot Pourri section. The editor offers his abject apologies. It has been suggested to the editor that he is too familiar with American professional football where a Ray Rhodes has been a coach with several teams. The editor stands by his claims of being senile and incompetent.

Kudos –

On the eve of President Bush’s visit to Britain, **Tony King**, was interviewed for National Public Radio, He noted that the president’s visit raised the issue of the Iraq war in the minds of many Brits – a war which most opposed.

Niklaos Zachariadis has received the 2003 President’s Award for Teaching Excellence at the University of Alabama at Birmingham.

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