



# British Politics Group NEWSLETTER+

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Donley Studlar

## Spring 2004, No 116

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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.

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**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.

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## ACTIVITIES

### **The 2004 APSA Annual Meeting, Chicago, September 1-5, 2004**

**A) Reception** - There will be a reception for BPG members and their guests by the Chicago Consulate on Thursday night of that week. Details to follow.

### **B) BPG Panels at the 2004 APSA Annual Meeting (Notice that these are listed in time-sequence.)**

#### **No BPG panels on Thursday)**

#### **Friday, September 3, 10:15 a.m., Panel 2**

*Changes in the Constitution, Policy, and Policymaking Under Blair*

Chair: Terrence Casey, Rose-Hulman Institute

Presenters: Andrew Gamble, University of Sheffield, “New Directions in the British Welfare State”

Alistair Q. Howard, Temple University, “Economic Governance under New Labour: Negotiated Rule-Making, A New Corporatism, or Consultation Fatigue?”

Jerold Waltman, Baylor University, “Dualist Democracy and Constitutional Change in the UK: Measuring the Blair Reform”

Richard Mamian, University of Southern Maine, “From the Margin to the Mainstream: The Interest Group “Liberty’s” Role in the Human Rights Act 1988”

Discussants: Terrence Casey, Rose-Hulman Institute & James I. Walsh, University of North Carolina at Charlotte

#### **Saturday, September 4, 8:00 a.m., Panel 3**

*Britain and the European Union: Policy Implications*

Chair: Nikolaos Zahariadis, University of Alabama, Birmingham

Presenters: Joel D. Wolfe, University of Cincinnati, “European Integration and the Neoliberal State: Utility Regulation in Britain and the E.U.”

Gregory Charles Baldi, Georgetown University, “Europeanizing Antitrust: British Competition Policy Reform and Member State Convergence”

Kelly L. Kollman, Carleton College, “Re-Socializing Firms? Using the EU and Other International Forums to Disseminate Environmental Management Norms”

Luis F. Lobo-Fernandez, University of Minho, “The Rise of Sub-National Authority and the Emergence of Paradiplomacy in the EU”

Discussants: Janet M. Liable, Lehigh University & Nikolaos Zahariadis, University of Alabama, Birmingham

#### **Saturday, September 4, 2:00 p.m. Panel 1**

*The Year in Review* (and BPG Business Meeting)

Chair: BPG President Susan Scarrow, University of Houston

Presenters: Wyn Grant, University of Warwick

Anthony S. King, University of Essex

#### **Sunday, September 5, 8:00 a.m. Panel 4**

*Devolutions and Regionalisation in the UK: Territorial Politics*

Chair: William B. Hazleton, Miami University, Ohio

Presenters: Guy Lodge, University College, London, “Killing the Nats Dead: Scotland, Devolution, and Nationalism”

Richard Wyn Jones and Roger Scully, University of Wales Aberystwyth

“Devolution, Nationalism and Legitimacy: The Case of Wales”

Peter John, Birbeck College, “Governing the Mega-Region: Governance and Networks Across London and the South East of England”

Charlie Jeffrey and Daniel Wincott, University of Birmingham, “Policy Divergence and the (In)stability of the Devolution Settlement”

Discussants: Sydney Van Atta, SUNY-Oswego & William B. Hazleton, Miami University, Ohio

**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 USA  
Tel. 304-293-3811; Fax 304-293-8644  
Email: [dstudlar@wvu.edu](mailto:dstudlar@wvu.edu)

**Nominees for the BPG Executive Committee-**

Here are the nominees for the coming two-year term on the Executive Committee. Five (5) will be elected from this list. The BPG bylaws provide that the election is held at the Annual Business Meeting. It has been the custom to conduct a postal vote, pursuant to the appropriate parliamentary procedures at the Meeting.

**Candidates for BPG Executive Committee, 2004-2006:**

Karen Beckwith, College of Wooster  
Samuel H. Beer, Harvard University  
Vernon Bogdanor, Brasenose College, Oxford University  
Sarah Childs, University of Bristol  
Gary Freeman, University of Texas-Austin  
Ian McAllister, Australian National University  
Dorothy McBride, Florida Atlantic University  
Bonnie Meguid, University of Rochester  
Anthony Messina, Notre Dame University  
Graham Wilson, University of Wisconsin

**ANNOUNCEMENTS**

**Seeking Assistance:**

**A) While you are up, could you take some journals off my hands?** From Bill Muller, Political Science, SUNY Fredonia. <[muller@fredonia.edu](mailto:muller@fredonia.edu)> (Soon to be deeply involved in Genealogy and following the Whooping Cranes.)

“I will be retiring in Jan. of 2005 and moving house (downsizing) which means that I will be giving up many things. I have a long run (20+ years) of POLITICAL STUDIES as well as some other journals that I would like to sell (hopefully) or give away (more likely)”

To which,

James Cornelius, U. of Illinois offered these comments:

One-three years ago I was sending on a lot of old journals, and can pass on these contacts of people who then (presumably now?) could want them. [Serialst@list.uvm.edu](mailto:Serialst@list.uvm.edu) [a clearing-house for serials librarians] [backserv@lists.swetsblackwell.com](mailto:backserv@lists.swetsblackwell.com) [who might re-sell?] [www.usbe.com](http://www.usbe.com) [U.S. Book Exchange] [anne.mansfield@nara.gov](mailto:anne.mansfield@nara.gov) (National Archives Library) [laogan@usa.net](mailto:laogan@usa.net) (Jerome Cavanaugh, who single-handedly provides English-language serials to Asian libraries, with warehouse help from U. of Minnesota)

Most tend to want older (pre-1960?) issues; and the existence of JSTOR may be cutting deeply into this secondhand use/market by now. But smaller or poorer colleges, as well as younger scholars, frequently do want old serials.

**B) Dates of appointment for Permanent Secretaries -**

I am trying to find the dates of appointment for departmental Permanent Secretaries. I know that Butler & Butler contain these data, but they note only the year of appointment, not the day or month. In Canada, these appointments are made via orders-in-council, all of which are recorded. Is the procedure the same in Britain such that I could track down the orders-in-council?

Christopher Kam, Assistant Professor, Dept. of Political Science, 316 Gambrell Hall, University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC 29208  
Tel: (803) 777-5440

Web: <http://www.cla.sc.edu/POLI/faculty/kam/index.html>

### **GHITA IONESCU TRAVEL SCHOLARSHIP for the study of comparative politics**

Government and Opposition proposes to award annually a travel scholarship to a recently successful doctoral candidate. We are now inviting applications.

The value of the scholarship will be up to two thousand pounds sterling.

*Government and Opposition* is a journal of comparative politics. Ghita Ionescu was not only its editor for many years, but was himself a distinguished scholar of comparative politics. We think this is a fitting way to honour Ghita's memory and to provide help for young scholars. The scholarship is intended for those who, having recently completed a doctorate, need to travel, for instance, to update their fieldwork or documentary sources.

#### The rules are as follows:

1. The application will consist of a 500-word (maximum) outline of a paper that the applicant proposes to write as a result of work done with the proceeds of the scholarship. It is a condition of the award of the scholarship that *Government and Opposition* has first refusal on this paper.

2. Applications should be accompanied by a short (1 page) CV and the name and contact details of the doctoral supervisor and examiners.

3. The closing date for applications is Tuesday 1 June 2004 (but awarded annually).

Eligible candidates must have had a successful doctoral viva, or been otherwise awarded the degree, within the twelve months preceding the closing date. Applications should be accompanied by a note from the applicant's university confirming this.

4. Applications are invited without regard to jurisdiction or nationality.

5. The selection jury will consist of the three editors of *Government and Opposition*. The jury will have wide discretion liberally to interpret the scope of 'comparative politics', but it will encompass explicitly comparative work and other research done in area studies.

6. The editors' decision will be announced by 1 September 2004.

7. Applications (four hard copies) should be sent to: Jessica Cuthbert-Smith, Editorial Assistant, Government and Opposition, PO Box 295, Tarporley, CW6 9WP, United Kingdom. We cannot accept e-mailed applications.

8. The editors' decision will be final.

For further information about *Government & Opposition*, including table of contents and subscription information, please visit [www.blackwellpublishing.com/gov-opp](http://www.blackwellpublishing.com/gov-opp)

### **Northeastern Political Science Association**

**Annual Meeting** - Dan Green at U. of Delaware requests that all of those wanting to participate in the BPG panels at the NEPSA in Boston in November 2004, send him their specific proposals soonest. The deadline is May 20.

Contact points below (email preferred):

Daniel Green  
Dept. of Political Science  
347 Smith Hall  
University of Delaware  
Newark, DE 19716  
dgreen@udel.edu  
fax: 302.831.4452

**Reception at the APSA** - The British Consulate will be holding a reception for BPG members and their guests during APSA in Chicago, either Thursday or Friday of the Conference. Details later.

#### **ALSO at the APSA –**

#### **Integrating the 'New' Italian Politics into Undergraduate Teaching and Comparative Research.**

An APSA Short Course sponsored by the Conference Group on Italian Politics and Society  
Look for SC 3 at <http://www.apsanet.org/mtgs/shortcoursedescriptions.pdf>

#### **Instructors:**

Prof. Jonathan Hopkin, Dept. of Government;  
London School of Economics

Prof. Carol Mershon; Dept. of Politics; University of Virginia

Prof. Rafaella Nanetti; Dept. of Urban Planning and Policy; University of Illinois Chicago

Prof. Martin Bull, Dept. of Political and Social Sciences, European University Institute

#### **Description:**

This short course is the place to learn about current developments in Italian politics, whether your interest stems from a concern to enrich your undergraduate teaching, add Italian case materials to your comparative research, prepare for your qualifying exams, or just know more about apparent anomalies. This course will acquaint you with a variety of ways of analyzing and explaining the upheavals in, and transformation of, Italian politics since the early 1990s. How did Italy wind up with a billionaire media magnate as Prime Minister twice? How prominent is neo-fascism? Or has neo-fascism been "tamed," and, if so, why? What is the status of organized crime? How has the state's role in the economy changed?

How do we understand Italy's place and evolving role in the EU? Course instructors will emphasize comparisons between Italy and other advanced industrial democracies, and will highlight how the aspects of Italian politics that students tend to view as surprising or puzzling can be used to drive home general themes and lessons in comparative politics. Course instructors will provide sample syllabi, reading lists, and information on useful web resources. This short course will be of interest to scholars and teachers of European politics and also to those scholars of comparative parties and party systems, political economy, comparative legislatures, corruption, and the media and politics.

**When:** Date & Time: Wed., Sept. 1, 2004, 1-5pm

**Contact:**

Prof. Carolyn Warner  
CONGRIPS Program Chair  
Department of Political Science  
Arizona State University  
Box 3902  
Tempe AZ 85287-3902  
cwarner@asu.edu  
480.965.5201  
fax 480.965.3929

**Registration & Fee:**

\$10 fee for faculty; \$5 for graduate students, payable to CONGRIPS. Please send payment to

Prof. Richard Katz  
Dept. of Political Science  
338 Mergenthaler Hall  
Johns Hopkins University  
Baltimore MD 21218

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## CONFERENCES:

**A) WORK IN BRITAIN IN THE 20th CENTURY - 14-16 July** *The 2004 summer conference organized by the Centre for Contemporary British History (formerly the Institute of Contemporary British History [ICBH]), Institute of Historical Research:*

**Place:** Senate House, University of London

**Speakers:** Willie Brown, Alun Howkins, Arthur McIvor, Mike Savage, Polly Toynbee & Pat Thane

The full programme and booking form are available on the CCBH website: <http://www.icbh.ac.uk>

[Sent by Dr Michael D. Kandiah, CCBH, Institute of Historical Research, University of London]

**B): 'Crosstown Traffic'** is an interdisciplinary conference that will consider the cross-fertilization between British and American cultures that underpins (and sometimes undermines) the 'special relationship' between Britain and the United States. It will offer a wide-ranging inquiry into the transatlantic traffic in cultural styles, attitudes and motifs since 1865.

The conference is co-sponsored by the North American Conference on British Studies, the Royal Historical Society, and the British Association for North American Studies.

It will take place at the University of Warwick from the 4th to the 6th of July 2004 — just before this year's Anglo-Americans Conference of Historians at the Institute of Historical Research.

For further details—including the draft programme and a registration form—please see the website of the Royal Historical Society: <http://www.rhs.ac.uk/crosstown.htm>

**C) Conference on Civic Education Research - Reno/Tahoe Nevada, Hilton Hotel, September 26-28, 2004**

Proposal Deadline: 6/15/2004

[www.civicedconf.org/research.html](http://www.civicedconf.org/research.html) <http://www.civicedconf.org/research.html>

Submit a Paper Proposal to:

<http://www.civicedconf.org/researchproposal.html>  
<http://www.civicedconf.org/researchproposal.html>

Offer to be a Chair/Discussant:

<http://www.civicedconf.org/researchchair.html> <http://www.civicedconf.org/researchchair.html>

Please Register to Attend:

<http://www.civicedconf.org/researchreg2004.pdf>

Register to win a trip to the conf:

<http://www.civicedconf.org/researchfree.html>

### ABOUT THE CONFERENCE:

This interdisciplinary conference will draw together researchers with a common interest in civic education. This research would include work on: service-learning, moral education, character education, democratic education, policy research, and studies of the citizens' civic capacity and skills.

It is inter-disciplinary and will draw faculty from around the United States as well as from around the world, including faculty from: Education, Political

Science, Sociology, Psychology, Anthropology, Criminology, Public Policy, and Evaluation, as well as Practitioners and policy makers interested in research and best practices.

The deadline to submit proposals is 6/15/04.

Richard G. Niemi will be delivering one of the plenary addresses at the conference. The Don Alonzo Watson Professor of Political Science at the University of Rochester, Niemi has published extensively in the field of civic education and political socialization as well as public opinion and voting. Current research includes projects on civic education ("Civic Knowledge of Elementary and Secondary School Students, 1933-1998," International Conference on Civic Education, 2003), and voting machines and ballot design ("Beyond the Butterfly: The Complexity of U.S. Ballots," Perspectives on Politics, June 2003). Recent books include Vital Statistics on American Politics, 2003-2004 (with Harold Stanley) (CQ Press, 2003), Comparing Democracies 2 (with Lawrence LeDuc and Pippa Norris) (Sage, 2002), Term Limits in the State Legislatures (with John Carey and Lynda Powell) (University of Michigan Press, 2000), and Civic Education: What Makes Students Learn? (with Jane Junn) (Yale University Press, 1998).

A separate Practitioners' Conference on Civic Education will be offered in New Orleans, from January 13-15, 2005. For more information see [www.civicedconf.org/practice.html](http://www.civicedconf.org/practice.html) <<http://www.civicedconf.org/practice.html>>. For both conferences, the registration fee includes two lunches and two breakfasts as well as breaks. The registration fees are discounted for people who stay in the conference hotel.

#### REGISTER TO WIN A TRIP TO ATTEND THE CONFERENCE:

We will have a drawing to select one person to who will win a trip to attend the conference. The winner will receive: Complementary Conference Registration; Free hotel room during the conference at the headquarters hotel (three nights maximum); a \$250 gift certificate from a travel agency for air travel. This does not cover the cost of any other aspects of attending the conference, nor does it cover any meals other than those included in the conference registration. The gift certificate will be provided to the winner and it can be used for any travel that the agent can provide.

#### TRAVEL INFORMATION:

Reno is one of the top ten travel destinations in the United States. Reno is more than black jack, slot machines, shows and concerts in a very affordable setting. The Reno/Tahoe area is a beautiful meeting of mountains, dessert and water - Lake Tahoe in the Sierra Nevada. There is skiing, hiking, kayaking, hot air ballooning and the outdoors. There is something for everyone.

The Reno Hilton is one of the ten largest hotels in the country and offers the largest hotel rooms in the city of Reno. From fine dining and top-name entertainers to dazzling stage spectaculars, the Reno Hilton offers it all under one roof. They have a 100,000 foot casino, ten restaurants, a Fun Quest Family Fun Center with Laser Tag and games, a nicely appointed Health Club and full service Spa. They even have a Go Kart track, a 50-lane bowling center, and, of course, a wedding chapel. All that for only \$85 a night! Call 1-775-789-2000 for reservations. And the conference registration fees are discounted by \$50 if you stay in the conference hotel!

For more information on the conference, including hotel information, travel information, registration information, presentation formats and to submit a proposal on-line, please go to the website: [www.civicedconf.org/research.html](http://www.civicedconf.org/research.html) <<http://www.civicedconf.org/research.html>>

#### CONTACT INFORMATION:

This conference is sponsored by the Centre for Policy and Practice, an independent, nonpartisan organization that supports research and its application to real world questions. Staff at the Centre have experience organizing research conferences as well as practitioner oriented conferences with anywhere from 300 to 3,000 attendees. This work is interdisciplinary in nature.

Centre for Policy and Practice  
Conference on Civic Education Research  
<<http://www.civicedconf.org/research.html>>  
900 E. Seventh St., #202  
Bloomington, IN 47405  
Email: [info@civicedconf.org](mailto:info@civicedconf.org)  
<<mailto:info@civicedconf.org>>

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## SHORT NOTES

### Classics Two –

#### From Kevin Theakston:

I read with interest the note about “classics for British Politics courses” in the latest BPG newsletter (# 115). I organised a symposium on the topic “volumes of influence” last year, picking out some classic books and/or authors on the subject of British government and public administration. The papers were published in a special issue of the journal *Public Policy and Administration*, volume 18, number 4, winter 2003. The contents were:

“The Influence of Hecllo and Wildavsky’s *The Private Government of Public Money*”, Richard Parry;

“Richard Crossman: *The Diaries of a Cabinet Minister*”; Kevin Theakston;

“Peter Self’s *Legacy: Economic Hegemony and the Public Domain*”, Chris Painter;

“*Echoes of Administrative History: Three Cadences*”, Peter Barberis; “*Leadership, Politics and Accountability: G W Jones’ Contribution to Local Government*”, Kester Isaac-Henry.

For copies of the journal, contact:

Robert Pyper, Centre for Public Policy & Management, Caledonian Business School, Glasgow Caledonian University, Glasgow, G4 0BA, UK.

**Christopher Hill: A Minor Player in Cold War Drama** [*Sam Beer shared the following comments with the editor, who presumed that other members of our group would appreciate reading them. With Sam’s permission, they are reprinted here.*]

While leafing through the Newsletter for Winter 2003, I ran across the bit about Hill on p.8. He was one of my closest friends from our days at Balliol (1934/1935) to my last seeing him at lunch in Oxford 1989 or thereabouts. My very best friend, Tristan Jones, son of the famous Dr. Tom Jones, deputy secretary of the Cabinet under LG, etc., etc., was my roommate 1934/5 and had been openly a member of the Communist Party since his school days at Stowe. Party membership was not uncommon at that time. Denis Healey was a member for about 6 months. Christopher joined the Party while in All Souls around 1936. I understood it was some member of that

Common Room who brought him over, but Isaiah Berlin told me quite fiercely that there was no one in All Souls who would or could have done that. Anyhow my real point is that Hill’s membership in the CP was well known in the late 1930s. I remember writing him a strong letter reproaching him for being a member at the time of the infamous Moscow Trials. What was that date? Between 1936 and 1939. He didn’t reply and later told me that was when he should have quit the party.

After the war broke out he was drafted and in time became a major in the Army, as he once told me hilariously. Then he was put into Intelligence under his old Balliol tutor, Humphrey Sumner. Sumner was an authority on Russia and Hill had command of the language having spent a year or so of his All Souls time doing research in Moscow. Also had a terrible ear infection and operation there. I can’t believe his membership in the CP wasn’t well known when he went into Intelligence. In 1953-4 I had a research year at Balliol when we, that is, my late wife and I and my children, saw a good deal of him. I recall asking him whether he was still on the locomotive of history and he replied “Yes, more than ever.” He didn’t leave the Party until Hungary. 1956? As Tristan had predicted, only then did his scholarship prove worthy of his talents. Before that his books were pure Marxist boilerplate.

Had he lied about his membership? The infamous Burgess did. I had a big argument with him in a Moscow pub in 1934, when we found ourselves bundled together with a travel group for a visit to the Soviet Union. Burgess then was openly a member and attacked me for refusing to join. Did Hill do any spying? Quite possibly. When you joined the CP you submitted to a fierce discipline. As for sources on Hill, see the Festschrift done for him when he retired. I did the section on his Balliol years in which I mention the letter at the time of the Moscow Trials. There must also be some reference to his Party membership by the other contributors. The volume was edited by Keith Thomas. I don’t have my copy at hand here in DC. I had never heard of Anthony Glee or Peter Smollett. I’m puzzled by all this misinformation.

## FROM THE BPG-L LISTSERVE

**Positions available:** American School of International Service One-year temporary non-tenure track positions at the level of Instructor or Assistant Professor for AY2004-2005 (subject to final budgetary authorization) with possibility of renewal available for a second year AY2005-2006, based on budgetary authorization and satisfactory performance Responsibilities: Undergraduate and graduate teaching; participation in School's curriculum and program development; student advising; and University service. Competitive salary commensurate with qualifications and experience. Review of candidates will begin immediately. The University is an affirmative action/equal opportunity employer committed to a diverse faculty, staff, and student body. Minority and women candidates are strongly encouraged to apply. Send CV, 3 letters of reference, and teaching evaluations to: Search Committee (insert field or fields from above list), 2004-2005 Temporary Positions, School of International Service, American University, Washington, DC 20016-8071.

**For Downing Street Info** – Joel Wolfe suggests this website: <http://www.downingsays.org>;

**Bibliography on Political Parties in Britain** – [Alan Ward inquired about readings for a course on this topic that he will soon be teaching. Paul Webb replied with his syllabus. At the editor's request Paul consented to printing the bibliography in the BPGN. It is in classifications as listed in the syllabus.]

### **An Overview of Party Systems in the UK**

#### General:

- P. Webb *The Modern British Party System* (Sage, 2000), Ch.1
- P. Webb & J. Fisher 'Britain: Dominance or Moderate Pluralism?' in D. Broughton & M. Donovan *Changing Party Systems in Western Europe* (Pinter, 1999).
- R. Garner & R. Kelly *British Political Parties Today* (Manchester Uni. Press, 1998), Ch.'s 1, 2, & 8.
- P. Norris *Electoral Change Since 1945* (Blackwell, 1996), part one.
- M. Maor *Political Parties and Party Systems: Comparative Approaches and the British Experience* (Routledge 1997), Ch.1.
- J. Fisher *British Political Parties* (Prentice Hall, 1996), Ch.'s 1, 6.
- P. Norris *Britain Votes 2001* (Oxford University Press, 2001), Ch.'s 1, 10, 11 & 12.

#### Devolved and local party systems:

- B. Taylor & K. Thomson *Scotland and Wales: Nations Again?* (University of Wales Press, 1999).
- L. Bennie, J. Brand & J. Mitchell *How Scotland Votes* (Manchester University Press, 1997).
- G. Evans & M. Duffy 'Beyond the sectarian divide: the social bases and political consequences of Nationalist & Unionist party competition in Northern Ireland' *British Journal of Political Science*, (1997), pp. 47-81.
- B. O'Leary & G. Evans 'Northern Ireland: La fin de siècle, the twilight of the second protestant ascendancy and Sinn Fein's second coming' in P.Norris & NT Gavin (eds) *Britain Votes 1997* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 164-72.
- C. Rallings & M. Thrasher *Local Elections in Britain* (Routledge, 1997)

#### Historical background of party system development:

- AP Ball *British Political Parties: The Emergence of a Modern Party System* (Macmillan, 1993).
- Ivor Bulmer-Thomas *The Growth of the British Party System* (John Baker Publishing, 1965).
- G. Cox *The Efficient Secret: The Cabinet and the Development of Political Parties in Victorian England* (Cambridge University Press, 1987).

### **Socio-Political Cleavage Structures and Electoral Competition:**

#### General readings on impact of social structure:

- P. Webb *The Modern British Party System* (Sage, 2000), Ch.2
- G. Evans & P. Norris *Critical Elections: British Parties & Voters in Long-Term Perspective* (Sage, 1999), part 2.
- M. Maor *Political Parties and Party Systems: Comparative Approaches and the British Experience* (Routledge 1997), Ch.2.
- P. Norris *Electoral Change Since 1945* Blackwell, 1996) Ch.'s 2,4,5,6.
- M. Franklin 'Britain' in M. Franklin, T. Mackie & H. Valen (eds) *Electoral Change: Responses to Evolving Social and Attitudinal Structures in Western Countries* (Cambridge University Press, 1992).
- R. Rose & I. McAllister *Voters Begin to Choose* (Sage, 1986).
- B. Sarlvik & I. Crewe (1983) *Decade of Dealignment* (Cambridge University Press).

Class dealignment:

- D. Denver & G Hands *Issues and Controversies in British Electoral Behaviour* (Harvester Wheatsheaf 1992), Part two. NB: This is a reader, which presents abridged versions of the following 4 readings:
- A. Heath, R. Jowell & J. Curtice *How Britain Votes* (Pergamon, 1985), Ch.'s 2,3
- I. Crewe 'On the death and resurrection of class voting: some comments on How Britain Votes' *Political Studies*, 34 (1986), pp.620-38.
- A. Heath, R. Jowell & J. Curtice 'Trendless fluctuation: a reply to Crewe' *Political Studies*, 35 (1987), pp.256-77.
- P. Dunleavy 'Class dealignment in Britain revisited' *West European Politics*, 10 (1987), pp.400-19.
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## ABSTRACTS

**Richard Coniff, "The Battle of the Beeb," *The Smithsonian* (April 2004), 74-83.**

Precipitated by the events surrounding the Hutton Report, this a brief history of the BBC, pitched to an American audience. It begins with the Reith legacy, followed by changes in programming generated by competition from commercial broadcasting, and ends with current questions about the future of the BBC.

A page-and-a-half insert (pp.82-83) by Max Alexander "And Now for Something Completely Different" comments on Monty Python, which Alexander characterizes as having 'silly sketches.' How one could assert that is beyond this reader's ken! After all, they dealt with such topics as "The Meaning of Life."

Seriously, this article is an useful introduction to the BBC that one could assign American students, who are unlikely to be acquainted with this jewel of British culture. *T.P. Wolf*

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## BOOK REVIEWS

**Nikolaos Zahariadis, *Ambiguity and Choice in Public Policy: Political Decision Making in Modern Democracies*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2003. x + 198 pp. Paperback: \$26. 95/ £19.50. ISBN 0-87840-135-0.**

Neo-institutionalism, already becoming the most prominent school in contemporary political science, gains new currency from this work. Taking up the bounded rationality approach to organization theory expressed in the 1995 work of John Kingdon on multiple streams model of agenda setting and the 1972 garbage can model of choice in uncertain situations by Cohen, March and Olsen, Nikolaos Zahariadis efficiently extends their approach to cover all phases of agenda-setting and decision-making in parliamentary democracies. Carefully developing his theory, using case studies to explore its utility, and applying comparative methods in a well-written and clearly presented exposition, this book is a forceful presentation of an ambitious project of generalizing the multiple streams approach into a tool for explaining public policy.

The main theme is that decisions result from the interaction of problems, policy solutions, and politics, depending on the manipulation of policy entrepreneurs and windows of opportunity. In conditions of ambiguity, policy is not the result of planning; rather, policy results from the way entrepreneurs exploit opportune situations to meld together streams of problems, solutions, and politics. Ambiguity, "a state of having many ways of thinking about the same circumstances or phenomena," occurs in "organized anarchies," characterized by fluid participation, problematic preferences, and unclear technology. Utility calculations matter little in ambiguity, making timing critical. Like the garbage can model, Zahariadis assumes three guidelines: that systematic processing is parallel (whereas individual processing is serial), that policymakers are under time constraints, and that the three streams are independent with each having a life of its own. And like Kingdon who applied this model to agenda-setting of the US federal government, he identifies three autonomous and interactive streams - problems, policies, and politics - which can be joined or coupled if the opportunity arises. Now Zahariadis takes the model a step further, applying it to parliamentary democracies and to all stages of domestic and foreign policymaking. Policy attention depends on the structure of opportunities, policy search on the

structure of policy communities, and policy selection by the strategies and skills of policy entrepreneurs, who couple, fragment, and mobilize the streams. The result is an institutionalist model that acknowledges structures, agents, ideas, and contingencies, marking itself off from rational choice and constructivist approaches.

In five subsequent chapters, Zahariadis turns to showing the utility of his theoretical development of the multiple streams approach. A study comparing privatization of telecoms in the UK and France applies a most similar systems strategy, confirming the frame and developing the notion of the coupling of streams. Why the British privatized British Telecom whereas the French only partially privatized France Telecom can be explained by the coupling of policy solutions, problems, and politics. While all three joined together - the policy community's preferences, the public finance needs, and the politics of a neoliberal governing party - to make privatization feasible in Britain, this did not happen in France. France modernized their telecoms and only became a state-owned enterprise ten years after BT, processes slowing the industry's interest in privatization and derailing trends in the problem and political streams favoring privatization, with the political opposition from French trade unions proving more significant than union resistance in Britain.

Looking at the way the policy stream adopted privatization in Britain and Germany, the message of the second comparative case study is that institutions matter along with the history of the development of policies. The less integrated UK network filtered and balanced solutions, evidencing a slow and incremental progress. The more integrated Germany policy community shows a pathway toward policy convergence after policy options become critical, as evidenced in the shift from a 1980s flirtation with neoliberalism to the imperative to sell-off inefficient East Germany firms after reunification.

The case of the privatization of British Rail shows clearly the effect of timing and political context, coming only after the 1992 Conservative election victory with its mandate for further privatization and a new DOT minister enthused about finding grist for the privatization mill. This interesting chapter illustrates how opportunities in the politics stream favor ideologically driven outcomes, whereas opportunities in the problem stream can lead to proper solutions. Appreciating the contingent character of politics is possible from the multiple streams approach, suggest-

ing that skilled policy entrepreneurs can be successful at manipulating factors producing a coupling of streams and that the predominance of a problem or a politics stream shapes when the policy is interest or idea driven.

In a long discussion of Greek policy toward the FYROM, Zahariadis shows the utility of his approach in a new arena, foreign policy, and in a more complex and contingent concern, the recognition of the FYROM under the name of Macedonia. After carefully theorizing his hypotheses, the case demonstrates the importance of entrepreneurialism in achieving outcomes. It shows that policy solutions that deviate significantly from the status quo are more likely to be successful when presented as a loss, that central policy makers are more likely to couple streams if they use a salami strategy, and that the main leader can gain effectiveness by invoking “higher-order” political symbols. The Greek foreign policy case illustrates that the coupling of streams depends on the way policy entrepreneurs frame issues, divide policies, and use symbols to connect policies, problems, and politics.

To give a quantitative test to the multiple streams framework, Zahariadis develops a Monte Carlo computer simulation, a way of estimating a variable and gauging hypotheses for a population. After reviewing Cohen, March, and Olsen’s garbage can model of organizational decision-making and then rejecting criticism of it, the chapter proceeds to build a four element multiple streams computer simulation, centering on solution, policy entrepreneur, politics, and national mood. Assuming a parliamentary system allows for holding the systemic constraints constant and focusing on the stream dynamics and factors affecting coupling by targeting problem load, entrepreneurial skill, coupling mode, and decision style. The simulation results show that problem load affects information dissipation as does decision style, with entrepreneurial skill having a positive effect on information efficiency. Overall, the simulation confirms the utility of the multiple streams approach, revealing structural regularities and nuances in their applicability. The final chapter recapitulates key themes used in developing his multiple streams approach, explaining that entrepreneurs make the policy process into a “meaning-generating” activity and that serendipity and ambiguity are central to politics.

In this book, Zahariadis shows himself to be a skilled theoretician and student of politics, explicating

theoretical advances and case materials clearly and convincingly. Students of British politics will benefit from his accounts of privatization and his use of policy analysis to explain developments. The multiple streams approach, while not receiving the attention of either public choice or the historical neo-institutionalisms, clearly belongs in the same institutionalist family. It differs in that the multiple streams approach bestrides the formal abstractions and concision of rational choice and the contextual richness and complexity of historical institutionalists. It also differs in more readily acknowledging interaction, contingency and entrepreneurial agents. As evident in this book, the multiple streams approach offers significant insight into the complexities of policy making. *Joel D. Wolfe, University of Cincinnati*

**Robert Leach, *Political Ideology in Britain* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), xii & 255pp., Index, Cl. \$69.95**

In view of talk of the decline of ideology in British politics, since the end of the cold war and the advent of “New Labour”, this book is welcome contribution to that debate. The author’s objective is to provide a “hands on” approach to the study of ideologies in British politics. Leach argues that since ideologies are “action” as well as “idea” oriented, they are best understood within the context of practical politics. Besides examining the mainstream ideologies of liberalism, conservatism, and socialism, Leach looks at ideologies concerned with identity, allegiance, gender, and the environment – Nationalism, Fascism, Multiculturalism, Feminism, and Green ideology.

The thesis of the book is that ideology (interpretations of existing social arrangements, visions of the future, and strategies for realizing those visions) has always existed, and currently does exist, in British politics. Just “as traditional conservatism was as ideological’ as the Thatcherism which succeeded it, so new Labour is as ideological as old Labour” (pp.18-19). Moreover, the moderation and consensus, which has characterized British politics only means that extremist parties have not been successful. Whether it has meant the “post-1945 consensus”, Thatcherism, or New Labour and the Third Way, ideological debate has been important – the main divide being the respective roles of the state and markets, the individual and the collective.

The ideologies of Liberalism, Conservatism, and Socialism/Labourism are examined in chapters two through four. (Thatcherism and New Labour are

dealt with in separate chapters.) In keeping with the objective of the book, besides looking at the philosophical roots of these ideologies, attention is given to attempts to implement those ideologies. Thus, linkages are made between Classical and Reform Liberalism to the administrations of Asquith and Lloyd George, the Burkean origins of Conservatism to Tory governments of Baldwin through Macmillan, and the Fabian/Trade Union origins of the Labour Party to the governments of MacDonald, Attlee and Wilson.

Chapters five through eight deal with other ideologies: Nationalism, Fascism (including Racism and Multiculturalism), Feminism, and Green ideology. Again, as well as looking at the philosophic bases, Leach links philosophy to action: how Scottish and Welsh nationalism, immigration, racial issues, and the variants of feminism, have affected political developments. The different aspects of Green ideology are examined, and the author points out the practical difficulties in developing a coherent Green strategy.

Chapters nine and ten cover, respectively, post-1975 Conservatism and New Labour. Leach argues that while the Thatcher governments changed the British political and economic landscape, inherent tensions between free market neo-liberals and authoritarian neo-conservatives, often resulted in elements of compromise and pragmatism. He also argues that part of the Thatcher legacy was a divided and bewildered Tory party.

In chapter ten the author examines New Labour. He maintains that its birth was a response to a changed political and economic environment as a result of eighteen years of Tory governments and the end of the cold war, rather than as a betrayal of socialism by Tony Blair. New Labour and the much-vaunted Third Way, he argues, can be seen as drawing on elements of the three traditional ideologies of liberalism, conservatism, and socialism. As with Thatcherism, there have been compromises; but as he argues at the beginning of the book, this does not make New Labour less of an ideology.

In the concluding chapter Leach looks at five possible scenarios for the future of British politics: continuation of two party dominance; possible realignment on the left; separatist nationalism or absorption in Europe leading to the end of British politics "as we know it" ( p.230); one or more radical alternatives, such as green ideology becoming dominant; and, finally, the collapse of liberal democracy because of growing alienation and apathy.

This book is an excellent and timely survey of party ideology in Britain. For undergraduates wanting a description and analysis of the theory and practice of traditional and modern political ideology in Britain it is a valuable source. *Keith Sinclair, Laurentian University, Sudbury, Ontario*

**Keith Kyle, *Suez: Britain's End of Empire in the Middle East* (London & New York: I.B. Taurus, distr. in US by Palgrave, 2003), xvi & 684 pp., Bibliography, Index, Maps, Pb. \$27.50**

For one that remembers the Suez Crisis, he or she must question whether another study is warranted. This reviewer always begins to examine a new book of this topic by looking to see if Leon Epstein's *British Politics in the Suez Crisis* is listed in the bibliography. It is in this book. Epstein's volume continues to be the most impressive of the numerous (ten-plus pages in Kyle's bibliography) analyses of the Suez fiasco. My second task is to see if Herman Finer's *Dulles Over Suez* is in the bibliography. It is. This reviewer was working as a graduate – not research – assistant for Professor Finer while he was completing that volume, which was certainly not the most notable product of Finer's illustrious career. So Kyle has included the best and what many would term the least distinguished prior research on his topic.

This book is derived from a 1976 four-part series broadcast on BBC's Tonight program, as well as a 1986 BBC2 one-hour special, "Secrets of Suez." If Kenneth Love's *Suez: The Twice Fought War* was the magnum opus on this topic, Kyle's work is now, having drawn upon material that was unavailable for earlier studies of this bedeviling event. This is a good read, but not one easily digested in an evening *T.P. Wolf, Indiana University Southeast*

**T.G. Otte, ed., *The Makers of British Foreign Policy: From Pitt to Thatcher* (Houndmills & New York, 2002), viii & 296 pp., index, Cl. \$78.00**

Any student of British foreign policy will benefit from reading the selections in this anthology. When picking up the book, the first question that one asks is, "Why these men and not others who were 'makers of British foreign policy?'" The editor addresses this question on p.vi, but instead of answering it, he justifies the omissions on the grounds that his introductory essay, which reviews foreign policy from the Protestant Succession to Maastricht, serves to fill in gaps. Otte notes that Winston Churchill is not in-

cluded, but fails to point out that could be defended on the basis of the huge number of books about Churchill. What is not addressed is the omission of Ted Heath, whose foreign policies, e.g., ignoring the 'special relationship' and full-hearted approval of British involvement with Europe, make him distinctive among the foreign policy makers since WWII.

What many would consider the "greats," such as Pitt, the Elder, Castlereigh, and Palmerston have their chapters, but it is the twentieth century personages, starting with Lord Salisbury, that are most likely to attract members of the British Politics Group. Keith Nelson disagrees with the standard academic assessments of Sir Edward Grey's policies. Whether one concurs or not, his chapter provokes one to mull further this WWI diplomat's tenure.

Richard S. Grayson's "Austen Chamberlain" is instructive for setting the structural changes that occurred in the Foreign Office by the mid-1920s. This information is crucial to understanding that although the perspectives of the "War to End All Wars" persisted to some extent, but were also restricted by sunk costs as the ministry became more efficient and more egalitarian (more grammar school recruits). A. Chamberlain embodied deeply held views about Western Europe: favoring French culture but aware of France's political and military flaws, while rejecting German culture but conscious of Germany's potential to impose its will on neighboring nations.

While this longest serving foreign secretary of the interwar years had firm views about Europe, he was less knowledgeable about the rest of the world and more flexible toward its issues. That was the case for East Asia and Grayson offers examples. There are echoes of recent events in the Middle East: "With regard to Mosul in northern Iraq, he (A. Chamberlain) was one of several ministers involved in maintaining the province as part of Iraq..." (p.154) "Despite evidence from the commission (Inter-Allied Military Commission of Control of the League of Nations) of German failure to disarm fully, Chamberlain believed that 'for reasons of sound policy we desire to get rid of the control even though the Germans have not done what they agreed to do.'" Can we be confident that Number Ten and the Oval Office familiarized themselves with such historical antecedents prior to March 2003? Maybe Number Ten?

Greg Kennedy offers the provocative title, "'Rat in Power': Neville Chamberlain and the Creation of British Foreign Policy, 1931-39." This chapter initially concentrates on the character traits of its subject: his

dogmatism, ignorance of American politics, under estimation of American political leadership, unquenchable desire to first be prime minister and second to pursue his foreign policy vision without reference to facts or advice that contradicted that policy vision. Even as Chancellor, he sought to out-manuever and over-rule the Foreign Office. Kennedy presents a persuasive explication of those character traits that eventually culminated in appeasement, although that policy receives minimum space in this chapter.

In "Ernest Bevin: Reluctant Cold Warrior," Sean Greenwood explores the almost tormented struggle that Bevin shared with many others in the U.K. and the U.S. in devising a format to deal with the Soviets at the end of WWII. The correctness of his understanding of Stalin's intentions, e.g., in Korea and the Middle East, have been confirmed by Soviet archives. Although Bevin resisted, by early 1951, his minister of state recorded that Bevin argued that for Britain not to support the U.S. on "would be letting the Americans down." (p. 213). Tony Blair apparently operates from the same textbook.

The "Anthony Eden" entry is by David Dutton, whose book length treatment of Eden was favorably reviewed by Leon Epstein in this publication in 1998 (Spring, 1998 No. 92, pp. 19-21.).

Based on his near two decades of experience, including frequent consultations during the Attlee years, one might contend that Eden had the best résumé to handle foreign affairs of any prime minister of the twentieth century, but his tenure in office ended because of his failure in that policy area.

Dutton briefly demonstrates that contrary to widely held opinion, it was not appeasement but other matters, such as N. Chamberlain's reluctance to seek closer ties with the U.S., that led to Eden's resignation as foreign secretary. The piece also explores contrasting aspects of Eden's leadership: he was criticized for not having a long range view of Britain's future international role, but there were elements of consistency in his policies, at the same time he was a stickler for detail; he was an internationalist but at times became impatient with the League of Nations; at the same time; he was noted for his charm but could be intemperate toward those who worked for him. There is little detail about Suez; as Dutton notes that matter has been well explored in other publications, e.g., the Keith Kyle tome reviewed elsewhere in this issue.

The chapter on Macmillan by Nigel J. Ashton summarizes 'Supermac's' foreign policy stance and

how it changed with events. The manner in which Eisenhower and Kennedy reneged on American commitments to Macmillan foretells the one-sidedness of the 'special relationship' between Bush and Blair. As the French say "The more things change, the more they are the same."

Mrs. Thatcher's diplomatic efforts are examined in the final chapter, which holds an excellent general summary of the fundamental issues presented by an entity such as the EU. Paul Sharp offers an impressive analysis of the evolution of her positions in foreign affairs. As did her American counterpart, Ronald Reagan, Thatcher initially put overseas matters on hold. The Falklands War changed that and her policies, especially on the EEC were contentious to the end of her days at Number Ten.

Otte and his colleagues have produced useful introductions to their various subjects. The source notes offer a more detailed avenue for those readers seeking additional material on these notable men and woman. *T.P. Wolf, Indiana University Southeast*

**Roy Jenkins, *Churchill: A Biography* (New York: Farrar, Strauss & Giroux, 2001), xxi & 1002 pp., Index, Bibliography, Cl. \$37.50/\$0.00, Pb. \$18.00; John Keegan, *Winston Churchill* (New York & London: Penguin, Penguin Lives Series, 2002), vii & 196 pp., Bibliography, Cl. \$19.95; John Lukacs, *Five Days in London: Mau1940* (New Haven: Yale University, 1990, pb. ed., 2001), xvii & 236 pp., Index, Pb. \$11.95/£7.99.**

Churchill's life continues to attract the attention of scholars and others. As recently as mid-October, 2003, America's PBS-TV broadcast a fresh three-hour documentary on Britain's WWII prime minister. The books listed above add further to the veritable library of works about him.

As this issue was in preparation, word came that one of the most respected and eloquent biographers of Churchill, William Manchester, died 1 June. His first two volumes on Churchill in "The Last Lion" series were published several years ago. This reviewer learned in 2001 (coincidentally from Lukacs) of Manchester's incapacity that ended in his death. The third and final volume of "The Last Lion" will not be completed.

Of recent publications, the main competitor to Keegan's work is Ian S. Wood's *Churchill*, which was reviewed in this publication in #102 (Fall 2000). Each is about 200 pages and is a sound brief treatment of Churchill. Keegan, the distinguished military

historian, has written an excellent introduction to Churchill, one with much more insight than one might expect in a short volume. In the first chapter, Keegan recounts his own early impression of Churchill and observes key facets of the great prime minister's life and character. One might presume that Keegan would stress Churchill's military views and experience. He covers those matters deftly, giving central details but in proportion to Churchill's other interests. The reader is informed of the future prime minister's progressive domestic stance early in his political career, an ideological posture that his subsequent critics would ignore. Keegan reminds us that Churchill's basic philosophy was steadfast but his advocacy on specific issues would be influenced by his responsibilities of the moment. Despite his training and service with the army, as a freshly elected MP, he argued that Britain should not seek to match the Kaiser's expanding number of troops but strengthen the Royal Navy. This is a book without footnotes; one that would serve as a good introduction to the great man's career and that should stimulate one's appetite prior to devouring a major biography such as that of Lord Jenkins.

Beyond the obvious lengths of their biographies, there are noteworthy differences in their treatments of the subject. As one example, the impact of family: Jenkins gives the impression that Churchill's success, at least in his young adult years was considerably due to his family connections. Keegan, though, is firm in noting that many other men of Churchill's generation had similar, if not more favorable family advantages, but never reached the heights that Churchill did. On the one hand, Keegan deems the Churchill family a necessary, but insufficient factor in his career. On the other hand, perhaps Jenkins' socialist background may attribute too much to family connections.

Jenkins' book reflects the experiences of nonfiction author and politician that he shared with Churchill. Jenkins persistently offers the backgrounds of the numerous persons that he mentions, notably the political connections, bringing an understanding of the nuances of political life that few others could offer. This biography compares well with the one-volume treatment that Martin Gilbert drew from his multi-volume authorized biography, but Jenkins' prose makes his work the superior one. Moreover, Jenkins benefited from the flow of publications about Churchill that have appeared in the decade since Gilbert's book was published.

Where the Keegan and Jenkins tomes extend over Churchill's life, the Lukacs book examines less than a week in his political career, but an important week. Churchill fans will be familiar with the author's earlier book *The Duel: The Eighty-Day Struggle Between Churchill and Hitler*, which has been reissued in paperback by Yale University Press. That book brackets the time period of Five Days in London or May 24-28.

Given the title one might expect *Five Days* to consist of a string of "he said, they said" and "today this happened" comments. It does not. The opening chapter, "The Hinge of Fate" is a brief, appropriate introduction to the core of the book without enormous detail but enough to bring up to speed anyone not already familiar with the events and figures that were prominent in the early days of WWII in Europe. Essential context, giving the apparent state of mind of Hitler, Churchill and others, as well as that of the British people, continues throughout the book. For the public's state of mind, Lukacs refers to Mass Observation reports, the newspapers of the day – including editorials (leaders) and front page articles – and films at the London cinema.

*Five Days* is more heavily documented than *The Duel*, which may be a distraction for some readers but derives from the use of comments in biographies, diaries and other sources to establish the views at the time of many that were closely involved with the events of the time. His repeated references to Andrew Roberts' biography of Lord Halifax, *The Holy Fox* (1991 and after *The Duel* was published) indicate the substantial respect he has for that work. A central theme of the book is the differing assessments by Halifax and Churchill as to what the U.K. should do with the fall of France imminent. Should they sue for the best peace agreement that Hitler would offer? Or fight on? We know the choice but that was not so obvious 74 years ago, especially for a prime minister about whom many of his colleagues doubted his wisdom and he had yet to win the hearts of the British public.

Lukacs may be an Anglophile, but not an uncritical one. For example, he suggests that the failure to move expeditiously onto a wartime footing might be due, in part, to "the habitual slowness of British minds..." (p. 20). He also readily comments on where he finds predictions by Churchill, Halifax, Chamberlain, and others to be unsound.

The crowning event of the 'Five Days' was the evacuation of British and French forces at Dunkirk.

Churchill had expected no more than 50,000 would be rescued, but over 338,000 were, a third of them Frenchmen. To a reader of this reviewer's generation this may recall the scene in the film 'Mrs. Miniver' in which her husband (Walter Pidgeon) departed in his launch to participate in the rescue. The thousand of small boats made a splendid week for the British when everything else was glum.

The book is not without touches of humor. It was not only troops who were fleeing France. An excerpt, perhaps apocryphal, from George Orwell's diary records the attempt of an aristocratic woman, who pushed herself to the front of the queue where the ship's steward rebuffed her. She asked, "Do you know who I am?" He replied, "I don't care who you are, you bloody bitch. You can take your place in the queue." (fn., p. 171)

In the final chapter, Lukacs mulls the significance of the 'five days' along with what followed immediately and ultimately. He also comments on the Churchill revisionists, and disagrees with the core tenets of John Charmley et. al. The book reveals many details, but no major conclusions, that enrich one's understanding of this critical few days in the history of the 20th century.

No doubt, the next trove of Churchill books are on their way. *T.P. Wolf, Indiana University Southeast*

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## POT POURRI XXXIX

**Too tall after all?** It was recently announced that the maximum height for members of MI5 would be 5' 11". Yet all of those actors that portrayed 007, James Bond, were over 6' tall. Not to worry. Bond was a member of MI6.

**Swinging Maggie, or is nothing sacred?** The former Prime Minister has prepared a three disc compilation entitled "Margaret Thatcher: The Greatest Speeches," which includes the Iron Lady's appearance in a sketch set to acid house music.

**Playing the game** – "Poor man, he always plays the game and never wins it." (Winston Churchill commenting on Austen Chamberlain, as cited in Richard S. Grayson, "Austen Chamberlain," p. 150 in the Otte book reviewed in this issue.)

**Pardon your punctuation!** - As those BPGers in the 'know' are aware there is an Apostrophe Protection Society in the UK. The head (only member?) of which travels about London and other sites to discover misuse of that elevated punctuation mark. Upon finding such abuse of the 'raised comma,' he writes a polite letter to the proprietor or assumed official-in-charge of the mis-punctuated lettering in which he tactfully refers to the punctuation flaw. 'All Souls' is one of his favorites.

**The 'Special Relationship'** – Blair/Bush Version - A) The *Washington Post's* T.R. Reid noted in his interview with Tony Blair before Blair had met the newly elected George W. Bush, he asked Blair how he expected to get along with the new president. The prime minister promptly responded he would get along well with 'Dubya,' adding, "It's my job to do so." B) When Bush and Blair first meet, a reporter asked the president what he and the prime had in common, the president replied, "We both use Colgate Toothpaste." (*Both observations by T.R. Reid on National Public Radio's "The Connection" broadcast of 9 June 04*)

**Wimpy knew it all along!** – Recently, it was revealed that the editor's generation had been misled about the health qualities of spinach. It has been discovered that in the 1920s, a copying error resulted in an incorrect amount of the ingredient in spinach that supposedly made one "strong." The actual amount was 3.4 units, but the amount was recorded as 34 units. So those of us that ate all that spinach and never achieved the "muskules" that adorned Popeye's arms now know why. Moreover, those, such as the editor, who "ate his spinach," but always preferred Wimpy-burgers can consider themselves redeemed.

**Socialist (female?) modesty!** – Beatrice Webb, "If I ever felt inclined to be timid... I would say to Myself, 'You're the cleverest member of one of the cleverest families in the cleverest class of the cleverest nation in the world – why should you be frightened?'" [Autumn Stephens, ed., *Loose Cannons: Devastating Dish from the World's Wildest Women* (New York: MJF Books, 1998), p. 7,].

## **Around the Commonwealth and former Empire:**

**1) It's the law, maybe** – In December, Australian television Channel 7 reported that schools around the nation, at the behest of the Australian Performing Rights Association, were discouraging parents from making keepsake videos of their children's performances in Christmas programs. Presumably such recordings might violate copyright law.

**2) More troublesome than Janet Jackson? Or should George Carlin expand his list of "words"?** – In January, the complaint of a Calgary, Alberta radio listener was rejected by the Canadian Broadcast Standards Council in ruling that a song by the cappella group Da Vinci's Notebook was not necessarily obscene. The song, "Enormous Penis," included these lyrics, "I've got the cure for all my blues/I look at my enormous penis/ And my troubles start ameltin' away," and "I gotta sing and I gotta dance/ When I glance at my penis." (*Of course, one could also see this to be a case of narcissism gone amok. The editor.*)

**3) How's that for a manifesto!** – In Halifax, a candidate for Parliament is standing on a pledge to permit marriage in various forms: same sex, group, and human-android.

**4) Baa Baa Baa or Beware of adopting and adapting cultural practices!** - Recently the New Zealand community of Te Kuiti sought to emulate the famous run of the bulls in Pamplona, Spain by running 2,000 sheep through the town of 5,000. To the dismay of the event-organizers, the sheep chased no one, but broke up into groups and wandered off in different directions.

**5) You thought you knew the WTO!** – Visitors to Singapore are now receiving a list of 500 approved public toilets in that former British colony. The World Toilet Organization or WTO has utilized a five-point scale to rank these facilities.

**6) Oops!** – Ireland has issued a stamp commemorating the expansion of the EU. Sharp eyes will notice that Cyprus appears to be in the shape of Crete, as well as mis-located in the Mediterranean. Of course, it was only the Greek portion of Cyprus that is EU-bound.

## **As the EU goes, so goes the?**

**1) The REAL reason for the expansion of the EU!** – Escalating funeral prices in the Federal Republic of Germany has created a thriving business for sending one's loved ones remains to Poland, Slovakia, and the Czech Republic. This practice has attained the title of "corpse tourism."

**2) You're trading what? Or will this become EU policy?** – Farmers in Nordrhein-Westfalen have created the world's first stock market by which liquid manure (And presumably other such products) can efficiently be sold and purchased by farmers and others that have use for such materials.

**3) The Scottish influence in Sweden?** – Sweden's Parliamentary Ombudsman recently uncovered a 1986 environmental court decision in Jaemtland province that denied a resort developer a permit on these grounds: A Loch Ness-like monster, who is rumored to have been often sighted since 1635 might be endangered by the development. In English, part of the court's decision read, "[I]t is prohibited to kill, hurt or catch animals of the Storsjoe monster species" or to "take away or hurt the monster's eggs, roe or den."

## **MEMBERSHIP NEWS**

### **Kudos-**

An Associated Press report in early April that reviewed research on voter turnout, cited **Mark N. Franklin** on the topic.

**Tony King**, during the May 4 broadcast of the National Public Radio's "All things considered" commented on the alleged photos of British troops abusing Iraqi prisoners and its effect on public opinion in Britain and abroad.

**Kurt Jefferson** was a source of a *Chronicle of Higher Education* (May 14) article about the controversy raised at Westminster College upon Vice President Cheney's partisan speech there, which persuaded the college president to invite John Kerry to speak. The college is the site of Winston Churchill's renowned "iron curtain" speech.

### **Retirements -**

A gala gathering of Political Science-connected people celebrated the official retirement of longtime BPG member and contributor Professor **Richard S. Flickinger** of Wittenberg University on April 24. After 36 years at Wittenberg, and 38 as a faculty member overall, Professor Flickinger retired at the end of Spring Semester, 2004. For the past three years he has been on "phased retirement," teaching one semester per year. In addition to his current and previously retired colleagues at Wittenberg, former colleagues and research associates from Minnesota, Indiana, and West Virginia attended. Prepared and extemporaneous presentations, including an original ballad, were devoted to various aspects of Professor Flickinger's career, which included one year as Acting Provost at Wittenberg. While most attention was given to his conscientious teaching and mentoring of colleagues, including written tributes from former students, his scholarly work on British consumer policy, comparative voting turnout, and comparative political communications was also featured. For the BPG, Professor Flickinger has served as Chair of the Samuel H. Beer Dissertation Prize Committee and participated in many panels as both paper giver and discussant. His successor at Wittenberg is James Allan, also a BPG member.

Former BPG President and Executive Council Member **Patrick Seyd** has retired from teaching at the University of Sheffield after a long career. Professor Seyd established himself as one of the foremost analysts of British political parties through a long series of books and articles, largely co-authored with his former Sheffield colleague Paul Whiteley, now at the University of Essex. Professor Seyd participated on many BPG panels over his many active years in the organization, including as part of the featured "Year in Review" panel several times.

**New Members –**

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