



British Politics Group NEWSLETTER+

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Summer 2004, No 117

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Thomas P. Wolf, Newsletter Editor
School of Social Sciences
Indiana University Southeast
New Albany, IN 47150
fax: (812) 941-2591
tpwolf@ius.edu

Web Site:
www.uc.edu/bpg

Donley Studlar, Executive Secretary
West Virginia University
P.O. Box 6317
Morgantown, WV
26506-6317
dstudlar@wvu.edu

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

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

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. Reception – The Political Studies Association and the Editors of Political Studies, Political Studies Review, Politics, and The British Journal of Politics and International Relations invite BPG members to join them for a free drinks reception, Thursday, September 2nd, 7:00-8:30 p.m., Lake Michigan Room of the Hilton Chicago, APSA Annual Meeting 2004, Chicago, USA. www.psa.ac.uk

C) 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 – 2004 (revised terms)

The fourth annual James B. Christoph Award for the Best Paper on British Politics (or poster) must be presented at a conference during the calendar year 2004. 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 recog-

nized at the 2005 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

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

New Journal - The Women and Politics Research Section of the American Political Science Association announces a new journal, *Politics & Gender*, edited by Karen Beckwith, the College of Wooster, and Lisa Baldez, Dartmouth College. *Politics & Gender*, to be published by Cambridge University Press, is an intellectually rigorous, methodologically sophisticated, agenda-setting journal that publishes the highest quality scholarship on gender and politics and women and politics. It aims to represent the full range of questions, issues and approaches on gender and women across the major subfields of political science, including comparative politics, international relations, political theory, and U.S. politics. The Editors welcome studies that address fundamental questions in politics and political science from the perspective of gender difference, as well as those that interrogate and challenge standard analytical categories and conventional methodologies. Each issue features book reviews and a "Debates" section in which scholars from different fields within political science comment on contentious political and methodological issues. *Politics & Gender* is a quarterly journal, published by Cambridge University Press. The Editors can be reached at politicsandgender@cambridge.org. Additional information is available at the Cambridge University Press website at us.cambridge.org and at the Women and Politics Research Section website at www.apsanet.org/~wpol/

OTHER CONFERENCES

Conference: Political Studies Association - 15th Annual Conference on Elections, Public Opinion and Parties (EPOP) September 10-12, 2004, Department of Politics and International Relations, University of Oxford (Organized by Geoffrey Evans and Christopher Wlezien)

Friday, 10 September:

13.20-13.50 – Welcome and Introduction

Speaker: Sir Colin Lucas, Vice Chancellor, University of Oxford.

14.40-15.30 - SESSION I:

A. Heterogeneity in Voting Behavior

Chair: Patrick Dunleavy, London School of Economics
Robert Anderson, McMaster University & Geoffrey Evans, University of Oxford
Media Effects and Political Preferences: Disentangling the Causality
John Bartle, University of Essex, *Not All Voters Are the Same*

Sarah Butt, University of Oxford, *How Do Voters Evaluate Political Parties? Differences between Incumbent and Opposition Parties*

B. EU Parties and Public Opinion

Chair: Lauren McLaren, University of Nottingham
Pat Lyons, Trinity College Dublin and Charles University, *Popular Support for Accession into the European Union in the Czech Republic*
Robert Rohrschneider, Indiana University & Stephen Whitefield, University of Oxford
Explaining Party Positions About Integration in East Central Europe
Richard Whitaker, University of Leicester, *Public Opinion and Institutional Change in the European Union*

C. Devolution, Part 1

Chair: Roger Scully, University of Wales Aberystwyth
John Curtice, University of Strathclyde, *Devolved Elections: Success or Failure?*

Alistair McMillan & Iain McLean, University of Oxford, *The Decline of Unionism?*

Russell Deacon, University of Wales Cardiff, *The Welsh Liberal Democrats and the Richards Commission: The Consequences for Wales' Fourth Party*

15.30-16.00 – Tea and Coffee

16.00-17.30 - SESSION II

A. Roundtable on Elections and Polling

Chair: Roger Jowell, City University London
Panel: John Curtice, University of Strathclyde; Peter Kellner, YouGov; Nick Moon, NOP; Nick Sparrow, ICM Research; George Terhanian, HI Interactive

B. Women, Parties and Parliament

Chair, Meg Russell, University College London
Rosie Campbell, Birkbeck College, Pippa Norris, Harvard University, & Jon Lovenduski, Birkbeck College, *Gender and Political Participation in Britain*
Sarah Childs, University of Bristol & Julie Withey, London Metropolitan University *Reducing the VAT on Sanitary Products: A Simple Case of Feminist Cause and Feminist Effects*
Lisa Harrison, University of the West of England *Gender Balancing: A Case Study of the Liberal Democrats*

C. Devolution, Part 2

Chair: Charlie Jeffery, University of Birmingham
Anthony Heath, James Tilley & Sonia Exley, University of Oxford *The Decline of Britishness*
Alison Park, National Centre for Social Research & Paula Surridge, University of Bristol *Adjust the Settlement?*
Roger Scully & Richard Wyn Jones, University of Wales Aberystwyth *Politics and National Identity*

17.30 – 18.30 - SESSION III

A. The BES 2005-2006

Chair: Clive Payne, University of Oxford
Panel: Harold Clark, University of Texas Dallas; David Sanders, University of Essex; Marianne Stewart, University of Texas Dallas; Paul Whiteley, University of Essex

The Report of the Committee on Standards in Public Life

Chair: Mark Philp, University of Oxford
Panel: Hazel Genn, University College London; Anthony Heath, University of Oxford; Patten Smith, British Market Research Bureau

Saturday, 11 September

08:00-9:30 – Breakfast

09.00-10.30 - SESSION IV

A. Forecasting the 2005 General Election

Chair: David Butler, University of Oxford
Panel: Pippa Norris, Harvard University; Colin Rallings, University of Plymouth; David Sanders, University of Essex

B. Electoral Systems

Chair: Iain McLean, University of Oxford
Adrian Blau, University of Oxford *Shock Elections and the British Electoral System*
Shaun Bowler, University of California Riverside & David Farrell, University of Manchester, *So Which Electoral System is the Best? Let's Ask the Anoraks*
Richard Johnson, University of British Columbia, *The Electoral System and the Party System in Canada Revisited*

C. Campaign Effects

Chair: Michael Thrasher, University of Plymouth
Eva Anduiza-Peara, Universidad Autonoma de Barcelona, *Campaign Effects in the 2002 Spanish General Election*
Heinz Brandenburg, Norwegian University of Science and Technology, *Communicating Issue Salience: A Comparative Study into Campaign Effects on Media Agenda Formation*
Jennifer van Heerde, University College London, *Barriers to Participation, Voter Sophistication and Candidate Spending Choices in the US Senate Elections, 1990-1994*

11.00-12.00 - SESSION V

A. Round Table Retrospective on Forty Years of BES

Chair: Mark Franklin, Trinity College, Hartford and University of Amsterdam
Panel: David Butler, University of Oxford; David Robertson, University of Oxford; Anthony Heath, University of Essex; Cees van der Eijk, University of Nottingham

B. The Extreme Right, Part 1

Chair, Giovanni Capocchia, University of Oxford
Wouter van der Brug, University of Amsterdam & Tony Mugham, Ohio State University, *Testing the Charisma Hypothesis to Explain Support for Anti-Immigrant Parties*
Elisabeth Ivarsflaten, University of Oxford, *Policy Failures, Prejudice or Persuasion: Why Do Restrictive Immigration and Asylum Policies Appeal to So Many Western European Voters?*
Lauren McLaren, University of Nottingham, *Others From Within, Others From Without: Attitudes Towards EU and Non-EU Immigrants*

12.30-14.00 – Lunch

13.15-14.00 – EPOPAGM

14.00-15.30 - SESSION VI

A. The 2004 US Elections

Chair: Christopher Wlezien, University of Oxford
Panel: Nigel Bowles, University of Oxford; James Campbell, SUNY Buffalo; Gary Hart, Former US Senator; Gary Jacobson, University of California San Diego; Richard Johnston, University of British Columbia

B. The Extreme Right, Part 2

Chair: Cees van der Eijk, University of Oxford
Catherine Fieschi & Paul Heywood, University of Nottingham, *Trust, Cynicism and Populist Anti-Politics*
Roger Mortimore, *MORI, The Far Right in Britain*
Rens Vliegthart, Free University Amsterdam & Hajo Boomgaarden, University of Amsterdam, *Explaining the Rise of the Extreme Right and Populist Parties: The Case of the Netherlands*

C. Party Strategy

Chair: David Farrell, University of Manchester
Panel: Greg Cooke, The Labour Party; Lord Rennard, The Liberal Democrat Party; TBA, The Conservative Party

15.30-16.00 – Tea and Coffee

16.00-17.45 -SESSION VII

A. European Referenda

Chair: Michael Marsh, Trinity College Dublin
John Garry, Queens University Belfast, *Vote Switching in EU Referendums: Evidence from a Dublin Panel Study*
Sara Binzer Hobolt, University of Cambridge, *When Europe Matters: The Impact of Salience on Voting Behavior in EU Referendums*
Larry LeDuc, University of Toronto, *What Can Comparative Research Tell Us About Future European Referendums*

B. Local Elections

Chair: Paul Whiteley, University of Essex
David Cutts, University of Bristol, *Continuous Campaigning and Electoral Outcomes: The Liberal Democrats in Bath*
Patrick Dunleavy, London School of Economics, Helen Margetts, University College London, & Simon Bastow, University College London, *The 2004 GLA Mayor and Assembly Elections and the European Elections in London*
Peter John, University of Manchester & Oliver James, University of Exeter, *Monitoring Performance and Electoral Choice: Giving Power to the Principals*
Colin Rallings, & Michael Thrasher, University of Plymouth, *Voters Don't Need Political Scientists to Tell Them That Not All Second Order Elections Are the Same*

C. Methodological Issues in Survey Research

Chair: Harold Clarke, University of Texas Dallas
Rob Johns, University of Essex, *One Size Doesn't Fit All: Selecting Response Scales for BES Attitude Items*
Ron Johnston, Rebecca Sarker, Kelvyn Jones, Anne Bolster, Simon Burgess, & Carol Propper, University of Bristol, *Egocentric Voting and Changes in Party Choice: Great Britain, 1992-2001*
Luke Keele, University of Oxford, *Difficult Choices: An Evaluation of Heterogeneous Choice Models*
James Tilley, University of Oxford & Patrick Sturgis, University of Surrey, *Is There A Median Voter? The Stability of Political Knowledge in Britain*

18.30-19.15 – Reception in honour of David Butler, Nuffield College

Speaker: Tony Atkinson, Warden, Nuffield College

19.15 – Dinner, Nuffield College

Speaker, John Curtice, University of Strathclyde

Sunday 12 September

09.00-10.30 – Session VIII

A. Political Representation

Chair, Marianne Stewart, University of Texas Dallas
Darren Lilleker & Tom Acton, Bournemouth University, *Listening to the Public? UKMPs and the Influence of Opinion Polls*

Roger Scully, University of Wales Aberystwyth & David Farrell, University of Manchester, *Representing Europe's Citizens: Electoral Institutions and Constituency Representation*

James Tilley, University of Oxford & Michael Marsh, Trinity College Dublin, *Golden Halos and Forked Tails: The Attribution of Credit and Blame to Popular and Unpopular Governments*

B. Social Context

Chair: Steve Fisher, University of Oxford
Robert Ford, University of Oxford, *Support for the Welfare State as a Function of Neighbourhood Ethnic Composition*

Ron Johnston, University of Bristol, *Neighbourhood Social Capital and Neighbourhood Effects*

Shawna Smith, University of Oxford, *Campaign Spending and Change in Vote Choice*

C. Social Identity

Chair: Rosie Campbell, Birkbeck College
Edward Fieldhouse & David Cutts, University of Manchester, *Voter Engagement in British South Asian Communities at the 2001 General Election*

Alistair McMillan, University of Oxford, *The Electoral Dynamics of Regional Politics*

Maria Sobolewska, University of Oxford, *Ethnic Agenda: The Relevance of Political Attitudes to Party Choice*

11.00-12.30 - SESSION IX

A. Northern Ireland Election Study

Chair: John Garry, Queens University Belfast
Geoffrey Evans, University of Oxford, Paul Mitchell, London School of Economics, & Brendan O'Leary, University of Pennsylvania, *Party Competition and Public Opinion in the Northern Ireland Assembly*
Ian McAllister, Australian National University & Lizanne Dowds, University of Ulster, *Protestant Disillusionment with the Agreement*

Jon Tonge & Jocelyn Evans, University of Salford, *Eating the Oranges? The Democratic Unionist Party and the Orange Order Vote in Northern Ireland*

B. Turnout

Chair: Justin Fisher, Brunel University
Oliver Heath, University of Essex, *Party Identification, the Political Context, and Rationality: Turnout in Britain*

Jansev Jemal, University of Essex, *Canvassing, Turnout and Party Support: An Experiment Revisited*

Daniel Rubenson, London School of Economics & Université de Montréal, *The Illusory Effect of Social Capital on Political Participation*
Steve Fisher, University of Oxford, *The Impact of Turnout Change in Britain*

C. Political Parties

Chair: John Bartle, University of Essex
Karin Bottom, University of Manchester & Jeroen van Spijk, Free University Amsterdam, *Disputing the Status Quo: The Role and Effect of New Parties in Europe*

Philip Cowley, University of Nottingham, *Five Spines Away from Defeat: The Higher Education Bill's Passage Through Parliament*

Jane Green, University of Oxford, *Path Dependency in the Election Strategy Choices of Unpopular Parties*

Peter John, Helen Margetts & Stuart Weir, Birkbeck College, *The Rise of the BNP and UKIP: Public Opinion and Voting in the 2004 European Elections*

THIRD INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON NEW DIRECTIONS IN THE HUMANITIES

Homerton College, Cambridge University, Cambridge,
United Kingdom, 2-5 August 2005 - an invitation to submit
proposals.

The conference will continue in its endeavours over recent years to develop agenda for the humanities in an era otherwise dominated by scientific, technical and economic rationalisms. What is the role of the humanities in thinking the shape of the future and the human? Anthropology, Archaeology, Classics, Communication, English, Fine Arts, Geography, Government, History, Journalism, Languages, Linguistics, Literature, Media Studies, Philosophy, Politics, Sociology or Religion - these are just some of the many disciplines represented at the Humanities Conference. The focus of papers ranges from the finely grained and empirical to the expansive and theoretical.

Included as part of the conference program will be major keynote presentations by internationally renowned speakers and numerous small-group workshop and paper presentation sessions. Participants are also welcome to submit presentation proposals, either as 30 minute papers, 60 minute workshops or jointly presented 90 minute colloquium sessions. Presenters may choose to submit written papers for publication before or after the conference in the fully refereed *International Journal of the Humanities*, published in print and electronic formats. If you are unable to attend the conference in person, virtual registrations are also available which allow you to submit a paper for refereeing and possible publication in this fully refereed academic journal, as well as access to the electronic version of the conference proceedings. The deadline for the first round call for papers is 1 October 2004. Proposals are usually reviewed within four weeks of submission.

This conference will be held in Homerton College, University of Cambridge. The historic city of Cambridge is the home of one of the oldest Universities in the world. Its first college was officially founded in 1284.

Full details of the conference, including an online call for papers form, are to be found on the conference website. <http://www.HumanitiesConference.com>

We do hope you will be able to join us in Cambridge in August 2005.

Yours Sincerely,
Prof. Tom Nairn
The Globalism Institute
RMIT University, Melbourne, Australia

FROM THE BPG-LIST SERVE

Conference: 6-8 July 2005 - The 74th Anglo-American Conference will be held at the Institute of Historical Research, University of London, from 6 to 8 July 2005. The theme will be 'States and Empires'.

Call For Papers

What are Empires? How do they relate to the States which have often been their foundation and to the States which they incorporate under their power? Are empires super-states? Do they crush existing states, or do aspirations to nation states destroy empires? Can empires exist without any state machinery at all? The vocabulary has existed in the western tradition since classical times, but the variations in meaning and interpretation over several millennia are almost infinite.

The intention is that the 2005 Conference will be wide-ranging and comparative in its approach. Papers on the British Empire will be welcomed, but they should set out to adopt a contextual and comparative approach. There must be a classical and medieval component to the Conference, which should ideally both explain earlier states and empires and make links to modern and contemporary developments. We would strongly welcome papers on the great modern empires (Soviet, American, in particular), but also want the Conference to include pre-conquest American empires, classical China, the Steppe empires, the early modern European seaborne empires, Ottoman Turkey, the Hapsburgs and Austria-Hungary, the Napoleonic Empire, the Third Reich outside Germany, Islam, state and empire, etc.

Papers will be welcomed on a host of themes. These might include: formal and informal empires; the relationship of state and imperial structures; differences between empires constructed through peaceful possession and conquest; the relationship of empires and their component states and peoples; the rise and fall of empires; state and imperial ideology; gender, state and empire; the economics of empire; religion, state and empire; the art of empire; the place of minorities (ethnic, religious) in empire compared to their place in nation-states, trading companies and empires (e.g., the East India Company, American Corporations in South and Central America); and the legacy of empire.

We welcome individual paper proposals or panel proposals. Individual papers should not exceed 20 minutes in length and panels should be no more than 2 hours. Please send a brief synopsis of your paper or panel proposal to Richard Butler, Conference Administrator, Institute of Historical Research, Senate House, Malet Street, London, WC1E 7HU (Email Richard.Butler@sas.ac.uk) to arrive no later than 31st October 2004.

BOOK REVIEWS

John Field, *The Story of Parliament in the Palace of Westminster* (London: Politico's, 2002, distr. in the US by International Specialized Book Services, Inc.), xi & 308 pp., Bibliography, Index, Cl. \$45.95

Field has written a most useful book for fans or students of Parliament and the Palace of Westminster. In addition to the gracefully composed text, the book contains floor plans of the physical home of Parliament, a glossary of terms, a chronology beginning in 1000 A.D., an outline of legislative procedure in both chambers, the structure of committees in both houses, over 60 illustrations, over 20 plates, and a three page bibliography. The photograph of Harold Macmillan and Ted Heath, each with an expressive hand to the face on page 268 says more than pages of words could pronounce. This is the kind of book that warrants a place on one's bookshelf as a reference and a companion with which one can become informed or be reminded of the great history of a magnificent structure and the legendary deeds associated with it. *T.P. Wolf, Indiana University Southeast*

Andrew Sparrow, *Obscure Scribblers: A History of Parliamentary Journalism* (London: Politico's: 2003), xiii & 238 pp., Bibliography, Index, Cl. £20.00; Bernard Ingham, *Kill the Messenger...Again* (London: Politico's, 2003), xiii & 434 pp., Index, Pb. £ 12.99; Joe Haines, *Glimmers of Hope: Harold Wilson in Decline* (London: Politico's, 2003), xxi & 234 pp., Index, Pb. £8.99; Nicholas Jones, *The Control Freaks: How New Labour Gets its Own Way* (London: Politico's, 2001), viii & 322 pp., Index, Cl. £ 18.99/\$34/95; Bernard Donoghue, *The Heat of the Kitchen: An Autobiography* (London: Politico's, distr. in US by ISBS, Portland, Ore. 2003), 392 pp., Index, Cl. £25.00; \$45.95

For students of comparative politics of the major English-speaking nations on the opposite sides of the Atlantic, these books address the common theme of how the media, especially the printed one, report on political matters, and how, in these in-

stances, the British political elite seeks to influence, manipulate, or exercise 'spin' in its relations with the press. At the same time, both the Donoghue and the Ingham works are autobiographic, extending beyond their public service years.

Sparrow's book has the broadest purview of these volumes. Its title comes from a comment in the 18th century by Sir William Meredith who referred to the "petulance with which obscure scribblers have presumed to treat men of respectable character and situation." The latter being Members of Parliament. This book may be surprising to American readers, familiar with the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution, which protects freedom of the press. Yet, those Yanks acquainted with the Official Secrets Act, at least its penultimate version, may think given the restrictions in that Act, why should one be surprised at the obstacles to reporting about Parliament that obtained, in one form or another, for centuries? It may be less explainable that senior members of those authorized to report on Parliament often opposed efforts to reduce restrictions on what and how the press lobby could function.

Press coverage of Parliament began in the mid-1700s and over the decades its ranks included such notables as Samuel Johnson, Charles Dickens, and William Hazlitt, if only briefly. Printers and booksellers were the source of parliamentary reporting in the early generations of that activity.

Fines and prison were the fates of those printers or reporters that displeased a Member of Parliament. For generations, reporters (and others) could be banished from the chamber if only one MP uttered, "I spy strangers." Neither punishment nor banishment were frequently imposed, but the threat was omnipresent. In 1803, the press gained official recognition. Seven years later, the playwright and MP Richard Sheridan articulated for his colleagues the advantages of a free press, but the majority of them disagreed and rejected a proposal to loosen press restraints.

Journalists evidently did not exercise notable resourcefulness: as late as the 1860s, a majority of those assigned to parliament had never spoken to an MP. By the next decade, debates that continues today were prominent: How much space should the press devote to debates in parliament? Is the 'sketch'

a preferable method to report on parliament to printing actual debate? Attribution, i.e., who told the reporter, was an issue that persisted well into the 20th century.

In 1909, the government assumed printing of Hansard. Sparrow gives a brief account of that periodical's evolution. (pp. 69-72)

In 1929, the position that would come to be identified as the prime minister's press secretary was launched in the person of George Steward. That sector of the prime minister's staff would expand, as the Donoghue, Haines, and Ingham (as well as Jones) tomes recount, but was still far smaller than its counterpart in the White House. All three of them had been journalists, although Donoghue only to a limited degree. As press secretaries, they still experienced problems with the media. Haines is particularly critical of BBC-TV for its mistreatment of Harold Wilson, misleading the then former prime minister in the production of a program that was broadcast in a manner contrary to what he had been assured.

In the early 1960s, dissatisfaction with the media and restrictions on it reached the stage that outsiders were offering suggestions. Among those was David Butler, who in 1963 commented on six problems with reporting on political matters. Three decades later, he found these issues had largely been resolved. By that time, Peter Hennessy, one of the most outspoken critics, reached a similar conclusion.

In his final pages, Sparrow comments on a phenomenon well known to followers of American elections: artificial standards of success in elections. Especially common in presidential primaries, persons that get the most votes in those contests may, nevertheless, be rated as "losers" because they did not achieve the level of voter support deemed appropriate by the media. Citing a study by Philip Cowley, Sparrow comments on a similar assessment of the 1995 Conservative Party ballot for party leader in which John Major won, but his victory was assessed as insufficient by some media pundits. It is likely that these kinds of media evaluations will persist, both in the UK and the US.

One might have assumed that Winston Churchill, earning part of his livelihood as a journalist, would have been sympathetic to granting journalists greater flexibility. One would have been incorrect; Churchill was as inflexible in this area as Clement Attlee and most other political leaders of their era.

The Lords is often considered to be an anachronism, but it has responded to technologic changes more readily than its counterpart. As with televising proceedings, sound recording of daily sittings began in the Lords and the first time the Commons used microphones was during WWII when that body met in the Lords' chambers; its own precincts were destroyed by Nazi bombs.

Haines and Ingham are the more mean-spirited of the authors reviewed here. Both endorse the Hutton Report's findings. Ingham's book, first published in 1991, is revised in this paperback edition, commenting on subsequent events, lambasting the sleaze of the first years of the Blair administration and especially what he saw at the failure of the media to condemn those acts, e.g., Robin Cook's airport announcement that he was leaving his wife for another woman.

For Americans familiar, for example, with the memoirs of such former presidential spokespersons as Ron Nessen and Marlin Fitzwater will be struck by the expressed animosity of Ingham and Haines toward certain members of the press. In contrast, his American counterparts, while often unhappy with the media, rarely spout vitriol in their memoirs at specific journalists.

Haines, who succeeded Trevor Lloyd-Hughes as Harold Wilson's chief press officer at the onset of 1967, supplements his earlier account, published in 1977, of his days with Wilson. This memoir is notable for the space devoted to Marcia Williams, as indicated by the four pages devoted to her in the index of the 19 pages therein. That must be a record for anyone holding a comparable position with a prime minister – or American president. For Americans, that while holding such a job, a woman could have two children out-of-wedlock, is remarkable, if not unthinkable.

Haines see the relationship between Wilson and Williams to have been, perhaps, based on psychological needs of each. Donoghue suggests that Williams' power derived from financial arrangements that Wilson preferred not to become public. Williams evidently did have mysterious access to financial resources. Her public income was reputed to be only about £4,000 per annum, but she maintained multiple residences, had five servants, and sent her children to private schools, among other 'perks.'

Both press aides of Wilson are convinced the relationship never influenced Wilson's actions on public policy. The only decisions of note were Wilson's awarding of Honours, which were greatly influenced by Williams, with the result that he was made to look foolish since some of the recipients were clearly undeserving.

Donoghue, Haines, and Ingham look at media-government relations from the perspective of the government, Jones comes to the issue from the media side. Initially, his argument (Chapters 1 & 2) is weak. His account of the July 2000 policy forum at Exeter reveals, not effective control by the Blairites, but the opposite: confusion and disarray. Similarly, the Government's reaction to the release of the select committee on Robin Cook's performance demonstrates a ham-handed effort to mute the committee's findings and defend Cook.

More persuasive in support of the 'Control Freaks' phenomenon are the subsequent governmental efforts to control the membership of select committees, and Jones' account (Chapter 3) of the substantial increase in the number of press aides in the Blair administration, as well as the use, under the Tories, of a large number of such aides – but far less than with Blair – who used this experience as a stepping stone to later careers as MPs, etc.

Much of Jones' book might be seen as picking at nits: what would one expect a Blair or any prime minister to do, but defend his actions? That may be valid, but Blair, with the assistance of Alistair Campbell and Peter Mandelson, has devoted more resources to meticulous promulgation and defense of his administration than any previous occupant of Number Ten than his predecessors.

The photograph sections of *Glimmers of Twilight* and *Kill the Messenger ... Again*, each have a notable error. Marlin Fitzwater's name is misspelled in the Ingham book and Isaac Stern and Aaron Copeland are each identified as the other in the Donoghue book.

The autobiographies of Ingham and Donoghue are recommended by this reviewer, a chronological contemporary of the two authors, for their accounts of what life was like in the 1930s and 940s. Donoghue certainly had an unusual childhood. *T.P. Wolf, Indiana University Southeast*

Charles Neilson Gattey, *Crowning Glory: The Merits of the Monarchy* (London: Shephard-Walwyn, distr. in U.S. by Paul & Company, Chicago, Ill., 2002), viii & 134 pp., Bibliography Cl. £13.95, \$21.95 (CAN \$32.95); Neil Blain & Hugh O'Donnell, *Media, Monarchy and Power* (Bristol: Intellect, distr. in US by ISBS, Portland, Ore., 2003), 216 pp., Bibliography, Index, Cl. \$49.95

Gattey's book begins with an overview of the impressive physical structures, e.g., Windsor Castle, that were either created or restored by the pre-Victorian monarchs, as well as cultural contributions that enriched the nation. He notes in passing that the day of the monarchy may not have ended since the office has been restored in Spain and Afghanistan. Starting with Queen Victoria, a chapter is devoted to each monarch, except the Duke of Windsor, whose absence deprives the book of the opportunity to inform the reader of the complications that ensue when the monarchy fails to function as expected. One, especially a scholar, must continually remind himself of the title of Neilson-Gattey's book. It is about the merits, the 'pluses,' if you will of the monarchical institution. Thus, it is not a 'warts and all' treatment.

There are fascinating tidbits throughout the text. The chapter on Victoria includes excerpts from her diaries, estimated to contain 60,000,000 words. The volume features a set of black and white plates depicting each of the heirs to the throne, including Edward VIII, from Victoria to the present Prince of Wales. This is a handy book for those that appreciate or are fascinated by the British monarchy, as well as a modest counterweight to the arguments of the republicans that would welcome the demise of this ancient office.

For political scientists and historians of contemporary Britain, the Blain and O'Donnell book is the more appealing treatise. Broader in scope, it encompasses the role of and particularly the media reaction to the monarchy, not just in the UK, but also Spain, Belgium, Norway, and the Netherlands. The book's orientation is from a communications perspective. Readers may be off-put by the vocabulary (jargon) such as 'valorize' or 'valorizing' (p. 7) employed by the authors and some would find that

the 'most sustained and serious studies' of the British monarchy extend beyond Tom Nairn's *The Enchanted Glass* and Michael Billig's *Talking of the Royal Family*, but the book offers an approach not common in the writings of political scientists and historians of modern Britain.

The book is composed of three parts: "Modern and Postmodern Monarchy," "European Monarchies and the Media," and "Celebrity, Royalty and Power." Following the core of the book are two brief sections: "Afterword" and "Appendix." The former opens with this sentence: "As the British media have become steadily less concerned with real world since the tabloid revolution of the 1970s, the processes of mediation [*Which does NOT mean to mediate between two adversaries.*] themselves have also in part displaced the external world which was once more exclusively the object of attention to reporters and editors." (Italic insertion added.) The socio-babble of that sentence does not relegate this book to the dustbin, but one must be willing to contend with that style of language to mine the useful material in this book. *T.P. Wolf, Indiana University Southeast*

Philip Stephens, *Tony Blair: The Price of Leadership* (London: Politico's, 2004), ix & 402 pp., Index, Pb. £8.99; Paul Richards, ed., *Tony Blair in His Own Words* (London: Politico's, 2004), xviii & 281 pp., Index, Cl., £14.99.

These two books may not encompass 'all you want to know about Tony Blair,' but they constitute a sound beginning to reach that goal.

The Richards anthology is useful if for no other reason than it traces the progression (or for Blair's critics 'regression') of Blair's publicly expressed political philosophy and agenda. Each speech is introduced by a Richards' preface, which sets the context for that entry. For example, in introducing Blair's c.v submitted to the local Labour Party of Sedgefield when he was seeking (successfully) selection to be the party's candidate there, Richards notes there are misspelling and that Blair's organizational affiliations are mis-titled in some cases or omitted.

Richards notes that he has generally avoided Blair's 'official' speeches and ghost written articles. Instead, he has chosen those works, such as interviews by the media that are derived directly from Blair's own utterances and aid in understanding his personal political beliefs. Among the selections are his October 1994 Labour Party Conference speech at Blackpool in which he announced his intention to drop Clause IV from the party charter and parts of Blair's maiden speech to the House.

Divided into three parts, the book has ten presentations by Blair in "Blair the politician," (1982 to 1993); "Blair the leader," (May 1994 to October 1996); and "Blair the Prime Minister," (May 1997 to January 2004).

One might be initially put off by the prospect of reading speeches, but Richards has chosen well and the entries are generally brief, only two being more than twenty pages.

The Stephens book reverses the customary direction of cross-Atlantic publication on British politics: the initial version (Viking, cloth \$25.00) appeared on the shelves of American bookstores earlier this year. This version, released in the UK, is an update of that, which takes into account the Hutton Report and reaction to that.

By any standard, Stephens' account and analysis of Blair's rise to power and his conduct thereafter is a solid piece. Stephens touches all the bases: the impact of Blair's faith and his greater orientation toward Victorian era politicians than those of the 20th; Cherie Blair's role (not inconsiderable); the policies that have characterized Blair's government, and the tense relation between Blair and Gordon Brown, to mention only a few aspects of Blair's regime. This is a book that one is likely to return to again and again when seeking to understand Blair. *T.P. Wolf, Indiana University Southeast*

Gerry Hassan & Douglas Fraser, *The Political Guide to Modern Scotland: People, Places and Power* (London: Politico's, 2004), iv & 568 pp., pb., £19.99; Matthew Spicer, *The Scotsman Guide to Scottish Politics* (Edinburgh: The Scotsman Publications, dist. in UK by Edinburgh U. Press & in US by Columbia University Press, 2nd rev. ed., 2004), pb. £12.99; \$19.50.

These two tomes are essential reference publications for students of contemporary Scottish politics. The core (355 pp.) of the Hassen & Fraser book is the section on Scottish constituencies with a brief profile on each, along with the backgrounds of the MSP and MP for that district and the results therein of the 2003 Scottish parliamentary election and those for general elections. The number of elections for the last category varies according to the data available since boundaries changed more often in some constituencies. A color foldout map inside the back cover supplements these data.

The authors' contributions are supplemented by chapters on the Scottish Parliament's first term and the 2003 elections, by Peter Jones and John Curtice, respectively. Other chapters include: "The Emerging Political Landscape in Scotland," partisan voting intentions for Westminster (1974-2003) and for the Scottish Parliament (1997-2003), referendum results (1975-2000), by-election results in Scotland since 1945, local election results since 1974, "Scottish Executives since 1999," "Secretaries of State for Scotland since 1885," "A Chronology of Scottish Politics since 1945," and brief (two-four sentences) "Biographies of Prominent Scottish Politicians."

The Spicer book offers chapters on the 2003 election (the campaign by Jaakon Allardyce; the data analysis by John Curtice), "Women and Scottish Politics" (Susan Deacon, MSP), cultural policy (Joyce McMillan), PR and local councils (George Kerevan), the Scottish Office (Fraser Nelson), the Scottish Parliament Building (Robert McNeil), and a 30 page report of the 2003 Scottish parliamentary election. Except for the last, chapters run six to nine pages each. The major sections of the book are "Profiles of Members of the Scottish Parliament" (160 pp.) and "Profiles of Members of Parliament"

(86 pp.). The biographies in these two chapters contain small photographs of the members. Following these chapters are eight appendices (20 pp.) of additional pertinent information, including contact points for getting yet more information.

There may not be every bit of information required for understanding Scottish politics in these two publications, but they are exceptionally useful starting places. *T.P. Wolf, Indiana University Southeast*

Peter Riddell, *Hug Them Close: Blair, Clinton, Bush and the 'Special Relationship'* (London: Politico's, 2004 rev. ed.), xiv & 322 pp., Index, Pb £8.99

The initial edition of this book was reviewed in *BPGN #114*. This revision is a substantial rewrite, especially in the latter chapters, along with a three-page Preface to this edition. Riddell has not changed his view that the invasion of Iraq was a misjudgment. The failure to find Weapons of Mass Destruction and the Hutton Report are topics that Riddell now examines. Of the latter, he offers succinct comments on the continuing failure to focus on the key issues emanating from that document. For this reviewer, the critical question is why one would presume that Saddam would attack the United States or let himself, in any way, be associated with such an attack. Certain destruction of his regime would be inevitable. No evidence exists that he intended to be involved in such an enterprise.

Riddell's disagreement with Blair's decision to support the American invasion remains, and more strongly expressed in this revision. *T.P. Wolf, Indiana University Southeast*

POT POURRI XXVII

The British Impact on American Education –

These are answers from students in a Catholic elementary school in the United States:

#1. In the first book of the bible, *Guinesis*, God got tired of creating the world so he took the sabbaoth off.

#11. Moses died before he ever reached *Canada*. Then Joshua led the Hebrews in the battle of *Geritol*.

#15. When Mary found that she was the mother of Jesus, she sang the *Magna Carta*.

[Emphasis added.]

Family ties (as contrasted with the ‘Old School’ ones.) - Five years ago, *The Sunday Times* (20 June 99) when commenting on the occasion of Tony Benn welcoming his son to the House of Commons, representing the fourth generation of Benns and Wedgwood-Benns to serve there, the newspaper also noted these political-familial connections:

Lord Palmerston, twice P.M. in the 1850s, was Foreign Secretary in the cabinet of his brother-in-law, Lord Melbourne.

In 1754, when P.M. Henry Pelham died, his brother, the Duke of Newcastle, succeeded him. Their father, Sir Thomas, was an MP for 27 years.

Arthur Balfour in 1902 followed his uncle, Lord Salisbury as P.M. Salisbury had previously appointed that nephew to be Leader of the Commons.

Anthony Eden, Churchill’s Foreign Secretary and successor at Number Ten, was married to Churchill’s niece.

William Pitt the Elder served as P.M. only two years. His son, Pitt, the Younger became P.M. at 24 in 1783 and served in that office 24 years.

George Grenville was also P.M. for only two years. His son, William could not match that, forming in 1806 the so-called “Ministry of All the Talent,” which despite its nickname ended the next year.

Why the NHS is in the red – In May, a court in York banned a 53 year-old man from all National Health Service hospitals and physicians’ offices. Since January, there had been 40 complaints that he tried to grab surgical gowns and masks for his private collection.

Since the Third Reich, we don’t blindly follow orders from on high! – Veteran readers of this publication will recall a report in this section of the newsletter that German-speaking nations had launched an officially authorized effort to simplify the written German language. Among other changes, this reform would eliminate excessive commas and cut back on the use of the double s or *ess-tsett*, which resembles a capital B. After six years of effort, major newspapers in Germany have announced they are dropping the reformed alphabet. Though taught in schools, writers, the media, and the general public disputed the value of the reform and argued for return to the classic German usage.

Around the Commonwealth –

The Constabulary Solves a Case at Last - In Melbourne last February, a 64 year-old man fell off a stolen bicycle and died. When police searched his home, they found over 400 bicycles and hundreds of parts, which were stacked to the ceilings in every room.

Using the buzz instead of the ‘fuzz’ for protections from would be criminals – In Calcutta, two designers have created a cotton jacket for women to help protect them from molesters and muggers. A nine-volt battery connected to wires throughout the garment powers a mild charge to those that grab one wearing the jacket, which retails for about \$20.

MEMBERSHIP NEWS

Kudos – Richard Rose was quoted in articles about the European parliamentary elections in the Economist issues of 12 June and 19 June 04. He is currently conducting research on turnout in Europe while acting as a consultant for the International Institute for Democracy & Electoral Assistance (IDEA). For further information about this activity, see the website www.IDEA.int

A team from the Political Science program and the ACSPRI Centre for Social Research has won a competitive tender to edit the *Australian Journal of Political Science*, from 2005 until 2007. **Rachel Gibson** and **Ian McAllister** will be coeditors of the journal. The journal, which is produced on behalf of the Australasian Political Studies Association, was recently ranked as one of the top sixty political science journals in the world. It is published four times a year and is produced by Taylor and Francis.

Bill Livingston presided at the opening of the University of Texas at Austin's Institute on Congress and Representative Government that began 14 June 04, and was subsequently broadcast on C-Span-2. The institute was for secondary teachers of history and civics.

New Members -

Paul Chaney, School of Social Sciences, Cardiff U., Glamorgan Bldg, King Edward VII Avenue, Cardiff CF 10 3WT, UNITED KINGDOM

Change of address

James Alt - Department of Government, Littauer M-37, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA 02138

Lawrence Black, Department of History, University of Durham, 43 North Bailey, Durham DH1 3EX, United Kingdom

Miki Caul Kittilson, Department of Political Science, Arizona State University, Box 873902, Tempe, AZ 85287-3902.

New or changed emails –

Lawrence Black lawrence.black@durham.ac.uk

Paul Chaney chaneyp@cardiff.ac.uk

Miki Caul Kittilson Miki.Kittilson@asu.edu

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British Politics Group



Thomas P. Wolf, Newsletter Editor
Division of Social Sciences
Indiana University Southeast
New Albany, IN
47150