the existence of, what he calls, "Asian pathologies" linked to historical baggage and the emphasis on national sovereignty, make it difficult to agree on co-operative solutions to energy problems in the region. He also delineates the "nuclear challenges" to the region with the attendant risks for further proliferation of nuclear weapons. In spite of such reservations, he contends that "rather than being a source of conflict, energy has the capacity to become an integrative force" (p. 203) for regional co-operation. To this end, he recommends a set of regional and global "energy initiatives" premised upon "strategic petroleum reserves; sea-lane security"; curbing "maritime piracy", and "nuclear cooperation" (pp. 205–6). After discussing the positive role that could be played by the United States in the aforementioned issues, the author ends by stating, in the last paragraph of the book, that his analysis "has tried to demonstrate that scarcity is increasingly counterproductive as a paradigm for fashioning energy security" (p. 207).

All in all, this is a most informative and level-headed analysis of energy issues in the Asia-Pacific region that this reviewer has come across in recent years. Although he does not claim to have all the answers to the questions raised in the book, Manning manages to clearly dissect the issues and separate myths from realities. Policy-makers and academics in the fields of area studies, energy studies, regionalism, and Asia-Pacific relations, as well as those who have a general interest in the region, will reap significant benefit from this book. Unfortunately, notwithstanding the compelling logic and impressive facts supporting Manning's analysis, whether it will convince the doomsayers and those with vested interests to modify their perspectives remains to be seen.

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***Democracy and International Relations: Critical Theories/Problematic Practices*. Edited by Hazel Smith**. London and New York: Macmillan Press Ltd and St. Martin's Press, 2000. 278pp.

Since the end of the Cold War, the themes of democracy, democratic peace, and democratic development have assumed an increasingly central place in international relations scholarship and have produced some controversial conclusions and recommendations. This edited volume adds to that literature — and to those controversies — because it

largely takes a sceptical view of democratic development, both in terms of theoretical advancement by scholars and in terms of practices across various regions of the world, whether it be in Europe, Central America, Africa, the Middle East, or Asia. While more than half of the chapters in this volume appeared in a special issue of *Global Society* a few years ago (albeit in earlier versions), there are still several that were prepared specially for this edited work.

The chapters are divided between four which are conceptual essays in nature and six which are case studies. In the first four chapters, the authors grapple with the role of international relations theory, the meaning of democracy, the cultural limits of democratic development, and the issue of cultural relativism for democratic practice. Hazel Smith argues that international relations theorists — realists, liberals, or constructivists — inadequately explain democratic development, since they focus so heavily on state-to-state ties, while democratic theorists inadequately address the impact of the international system on domestic developments, since they focus so heavily on within-state activities. Hence, the principal way to unite these two theoretical traditions is to rethink the role of the state and to move towards what she labels as a theory of international democracy.

Kimberly Hutchings examines and critiques four differing conceptualizations of democracy — liberal, civic republican, cosmopolitan, and radical pluralist. A central message of this chapter is not only that democracy takes various forms, but that international relations theorists must understand the effects of the global arena on democratic development (and vice versa). In perhaps the most difficult chapter in the volume, Vivienne Jabri seeks to unpack and critique Jurgen Habermas' discourse on ethics and assesses its utility for understanding the universality of democratic standards. Ultimately, Jabri appears to conclude that Habermas' deliberative democracy may be too ethnocentric and calls for moving beyond it. Stephanie Lawson's chapter on democracy and cultural relativism provides an interesting discussion of cultural factors and how they may fit into the development of democracy.

In the next six chapters, the authors principally discuss the operationalization of, or prospects for, democratic governance across regions of the world by focusing on particular examples: Russia, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Zimbabwe, Palestine, and Hong Kong. There is no systematic effort in these case study chapters to examine particular themes from the first four chapters; instead, each author introduces her own elements of the democracy/international relations arguments. In this sense, there lacks a theoretical continuity in the assessment of the case studies. Still, each chapter offers interesting arguments.

The first three of these chapters examines Russia and countries in Latin and Central America. In "Democracy, Democratisation and Foreign Policy in Post-Socialist Russia," Margot Light analyses how democratization has affected Russian foreign policy, generally concluding that it has had a benign, although at times confusing, effect. In "State and Business in Neo-Liberal Democracies in Latin America", Jean Grugel argues that the democracies in Costa Rica and Chile have created new (mainly business) policy coalitions that "makes for stable government at the expense of limiting democracy and reproducing structured privilege" (p. 124). In "Building Civil Society from the Outside: The Problematic Democratisation of Central America", Jenny Pearce analyses the evolution of democracy in several Central American countries through the lens of the "civil society" concept. The development of civil society in these countries, however, largely comes from the influence of outside agencies (and, in particular, the requirements of the international financial institutions). These agencies have the potential of skewing democratic development towards neoliberalism (like Costa Rica or Chile), although Pearce suggests that some of these agencies are seeking to take a broader view of development.

The next three chapters assess democratic development in Zimbabwe, Palestine, and Hong Kong. In "Striving for 'Real' Democracy in Africa: The Roles of International Donors and Civil Society in Zimbabwe", Donna Pankhurst examines the notion of civil society in Africa in general, and Zimbabwe in particular. In the chapter, she illustrates the continuing tension between the international financial institutions (IFIs) seeking to institutionalize civil society structures and the need for more widespread democratic development in the society as a whole. This has worked imperfectly in Zimbabwe, and in Africa generally, because of the desire to maintain a strong central government, the pressures by IFIs to impose (and sometimes alter) economic conditionalities, and the need to develop wider political democracy. In "Democratising the Unborn State: Palestine, the PLO, and the Struggle for Democracy", Phyllis Bennis cites the effects of the U.S.-dominated post-Cold War environment, the limited territorial and economic autonomy of the Palestinian Authority, the pervasive influence of Israel, the impact of international institutions, and the limitations of the Palestine Liberation Organization as factors retarding democratic development in Palestine. With the rise of the *intifada*, and actions by related non-governmental organizations, Bennis implies that civil society may be developing, albeit outside the domain of the Palestinian Authority. In "Political Economy, Democracy and Transition: The Case of Hong Kong", Gillian

Youngs also characterizes the prospect for democracy in Hong Kong as limited, and, puzzlingly, places much of the blame on its colonial past (prior to 1984) and the actions taken during the transitional period (1984–97) for such a situation. Moreover, Youngs argues that Hong Kong's democratic prospects are now tied to the Beijing–Hong Kong relationship "and the people of Hong Kong have had no option but to wait and see" (p. 203) how that relationship develops.

On balance, this volume provides some provocative normative, theoretical, and empirical conclusions about democracy and international politics. Still, its ultimate impact is limited for several reasons. First, on a normative level, the volume often comes across as a point-of-view book, offering a sceptical view of democratic development or calling for a particular kind of democracy. For instance, "civil society" as a condition for democracy and international links to democratic development — via international financial institutions, the World Bank, or ties to the United States — often come in for sharp criticism. Liberal democracy, as practised in Western and Northern Hemisphere countries, is generally viewed as an imperfect model for the countries considered here. As a result, some may not be inclined to work through the volume. Secondly, on a theoretical level, the volume only begins to move us towards closure between democratic theory and international relations theory. While the volume correctly points out the difficulty of defining and developing democracy, it does not really leave the reader with the elements of a theory of international democracy. In this regard, a concluding chapter that integrates the findings of the various contributors into a theoretical whole might have been a useful addition. Thirdly, on the empirical level, the case study contributions do much better, since they catalogue the evolution of democracy in various locales around the world. However, as noted earlier, these cases might have served us even better if they were evaluated from a common set of theoretical parameters. As it is, the reader is left to pursue that on her or his own.

Despite these reservations, this reviewer would be inclined to make selective use of a few of these essays in a course on comparative foreign policy or in an introductory graduate seminar in international relations — both for the substantive knowledge of the cases and for some of the conceptual ideas that they raise about democracy. A wider usage of the volume, however, will likely be hindered both by some of the concerns raised above and by the lucidity of several of the chapters.

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