

Soviet foreign relations has certainly taken a new turn when we can read of the 'intimate friendship' between Chicherin and German ambassador Brockdorff-Rantzau, furthered at 'nocturnal sessions at Chicherin's flat in the Commissariat'.

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Christopher Hill and Pamela Beshoff (eds), *Two Worlds of International Relations: Academics, Practitioners and the Trade in Ideas* (London, Routledge, 1994), xiv + 233 pp., £40.00 ISBN 0 415 06970 X, £14.90 pbk ISBN 0 415 11323 7.

The aim of this collection of essays – to examine the relationship between academic ideas and the practice of foreign policy – is certainly commendable but the final product is rather uneven. This is in part a consequence of the ambiguous overall focus of the collection – it is mostly concerned with British academics and their relationship with the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) but it also has pretensions to a comparative analysis. Hill's introductory essay provides some useful guiding themes but in common with the contributions of other academics ultimately defends an idealized model of the academic as someone always requiring a certain distance in order to retain intellectual credibility. Reading the contributions of those with the most direct experience of the interface of the 'two worlds' it is tempting to assume, especially in the British context, that academics might as well maintain the view that the distance is necessary to their integrity because practitioners seem inordinately disinterested in reducing the gulf. Overall, the FCO comes off rather poorly, which should surprise few readers. Tooze explores some of the more nuanced issues at play, in particular the idea that the relationship between the two worlds is irredeemably political. But for this academic the account by Cable of his involvement in the FCO Planning Staff provides the collection's punch. The notion of authentic critique appears to float behind his imagining of the ideal policy-planner as stropky and troublesome – walking a tricky path between the two worlds one might say.

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Brian Hocking (ed.), *Foreign Relations and Federal States* (London, Leicester University Press, 1993), x + 294 pp., £39.50 ISBN 0 7185 1477 7.

In scientific research, apparent anomalies attract attention. For Realists and Institutionalists, who assume that the main strategic actors are unitary, often rational states, the foreign policy activities of sub-national provinces, regions, states, cities and other sub-national governments (SNGs) are of intrinsic theoretical interest. Liberal theorists, who stress the ways in which state-society relations mediated through domestic institutions of representation influence state behaviour, have an even greater stake. The main hypothesis of this book, containing contributions by academics and officials, is that the reassertion of civil society and the differentiation and deepening of global markets is leading to more independent diplomacy by SNGs. The evidence, drawn from Australia, Canada, the US and Germany, is detailed, objective, fascinating and intelligently analysed. Unacknowledged by authors or editors, however, it disconfirms the central hypothesis. The authors find surprisingly little support for the view that independent activities by sub-national governments pose a significant challenge to the core foreign policies of central states. Australian regions are stepping back from independent diplomacy in favour of a role in the coordination of national policy. The policies of Canadian provinces, even status-seeking Quebec, tend to complement, not contradict those of Ottawa. In the US, as elsewhere, most activities are not core state functions: exchanges of students, experts and artists, export and investment promotion, and symbolic declarations. Only in the relations of German Länder to the EU

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(themselves anomalous) is there a hint of real independence or a challenge to core functions; yet even this possibility remains largely in the future. On balance, this book suggests that this issue is best analysed within a more traditional framework, in which the interests of SNGs are aggregated by national representatives. This is not to suggest that SNGs are unimportant, only that we remain far from a borderless world.

ANDREW MORAVCSIK
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Jon Jacobson, *When the Soviet Union entered World Politics* (Berkeley CA, University of California Press, 1995), xi + 388 pp., \$40.00 ISBN 0 520 08332 6, \$18.00 pbk ISBN 0 520 08976 6.

Jon Jacobson is best known for his study of *Locarno Diplomacy*, as well as for a series of related publications on interwar diplomatic history. In this new study he has sought to place Soviet foreign relations within the wider political economy of the 1920s, and at the same time to relate them to domestic developments. The result is a full and detailed study which serves as a summing-up of the best of Western scholarship on Soviet foreign relations before the new generation that has begun with the opening of the foreign ministry and Comintern archives. It is also a study with a strongly methodological emphasis, reflecting Jacobson's own concern to advance a scholarly agenda he has called the 'new diplomatic history'. All specialists on the international history of the 1920s will want to read this book: they will find much that is familiar, but also an unusual emphasis upon (for instance) the place of foreign relations in the Bolshevik strategy of industrialization, and in disputes within the leadership.

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James M. Lindsay, *Congress and the Politics of U.S. Foreign Policy* (Baltimore MD and London, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), viii + 228 pp., £35.00 ISBN 0 8018 4881 4, £11.50 pbk ISBN 0 8018 4882 2.

In this fine, long-overdue book, Lindsay deals with the crucial problem of the role played by Congress in shaping American foreign policy. The author addresses the entire array of issues that constitute foreign policy at large, i.e. crisis policy, national security policy, aid, human rights, trade. He first explores the whats, whys, and whos of congressional activism. Here the work focuses on the role played by individual members, committees, the floor, and party leaders. After reviewing the tools that members of Congress use to make their preferences felt in foreign policy (legislation, procedural legislation, and several nonlegislative means), the book analyses the question of congressional influence and, in the last, sharp, chapter assesses the vices and virtues of Congress's role. Lindsay rejects two stereotypical views represented by those he calls the 'Irreconcilables' and the 'Skeptics'. The former argue that congressional involvement in foreign policy has created a 'fettered presidency'. The latter, on the other hand, contend that congressional activism is more show than substance. Lindsay's analysis shows, however, that although Congress by no means controls foreign policy, it frequently influences it indirectly.

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James A. Nathan and James K. Oliver, *Foreign Policy Making and the American Political System* (Baltimore MD and London, Johns Hopkins University Press, 3rd ed., 1994), xii + 323 pp., £37.00 ISBN 0 8018 4771 0, £12.50 pbk ISBN 0 8018 4772 9.

Moving from Tocqueville's well-known remarks on the inadequacy of the American system for conducting a consistent foreign policy, the authors address two central issues, namely the fragmentation of foreign policy making in the American constitutional