

Some caricatures became classics of their kind (one thinks of Daumier and his "Rat-apoil" and "Macaire" drawings in particular), but with the suppression of censorship both the quality of political caricature and its impact on events diminished. Suitable targets for the crayonists became harder to find as politics became more diffused ("How can one attack a government which is subdivided into groups, subgroups, commissions and committees of all sorts?" wrote one critic in 1906).

Goldstein's often-humorous account is exhaustively researched, beautifully copy-edited, and provides the reader with a useful bibliographic essay and a banquet of caricatures as points of reference. It is one of those rare scholarly books that will appeal to professional historians, political scientists, and journalists, to students both graduate and undergraduate, and to the general reading public as well.

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Ambrosius, Gerold and  
William H. Hubbard  
**A Social and Economic History of  
Twentieth-Century Europe**  
Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press  
368 pp., \$19.95, ISBN 0-674-81341-3  
Publication Date: November 1989

Gerold Ambrosius and William Hubbard have written a wonderful volume tracing economic and social change in modern Europe. Through intelligently chosen statistics and figures combined with perceptive analysis, they provide a comprehensive overview of the continent and its regions.

The book is composed of five topical chapters: demographics, social structures, creation of national product, use and management of national product, and paths of socioeconomic development. Each chapter fits nicely with preceding chapters, and all are tied together by recurring themes. One such theme—the growth of the state in society and the economy—pushes this book beyond the disciplinary bounds of social and economic history. The authors do an excellent job of tracking the expanding role of the state in the twentieth century. As a result, any state, or social scientist interested in social deals, the rise of the welfare state, or social and economic policies in Europe will find this a very useful volume.

This is not a light read. Though a useful research tool, I would not recommend it as a textbook for undergraduates; it should be a much-used volume in graduate seminars, but even graduate students can probably

incorporate only selected doses rather than the whole volume. In a book so dense with insight and data, I suspect it takes a craggy veteran not to be overwhelmed. Having said that (and being somewhat craggy), I do wish there were more data comparing Europe with other northern nations. Although the authors do some of this, especially in the two economics chapters, more international comparisons would allow a richer appreciation of Europe's distinctiveness as a region.

Other recommendations? Footnotes would be an improvement. The sources for data in tables and graphs are always cited, but the arguments used to organize the data are never related back to the key literature. A few wisely placed footnotes would be a blessing. There is a very useful bibliography. However, I am surprised at some of the authors who go uncited. None of Charles Maier's extraordinary work is listed, though Maier-like arguments about efforts to restabilize European society after WWI can be found in the volume. Walt Rostow is listed (and the authors even use his theory of takeoff at one point), yet neither Douglass North nor Mancur Olson are cited, though they offer interesting and widely influential interpretations of European economic history.

Who should have this volume on their shelf? Anyone who writes, reads, or teaches about modern Europe. It should also be in every graduate and undergraduate library collection. A terrific resource that is likely to become indispensable, my only hope is that future editions are already planned.

DANIEL PEARSON  
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Porter, Bernard  
**Plots and Paranoia: A History of  
Political Espionage in Britain, 1790-1988**  
Winchester, MA: Unwin Hyman, Inc.  
276 pp., \$29.95, ISBN 0-04-445258-6  
Publication Date: November 1989

Bernard Porter, a British professor of history at the University of Hull, has written a fascinating history of espionage and counterespionage in Great Britain. His story begins with a brief overview of such activities, or more correctly nonactivities, in ancient times. According to his chronicle, espionage did not really flourish in Western Europe until the second half of the sixteenth century.

Espionage, or the fear of it, led to the creation of political police in such countries as Austria. In Great Britain, it led to such practices as intercepting mail and later phone calls. Although there was a reaction to domestic counterespionage practices during the Whig era, they nevertheless continued. Until the establishment of the London Metropolitan Police's "Spe-

cial Branch" in 1887, such activities were not organized or bureaucratized in Great Britain. But it was not really until the advent of World War I that counterespionage in Great Britain developed an international, as opposed to an internal, security focus.

Porter brings the reader up-to-date with a good account of British espionage and treason during and after World War II. His book is thoroughly researched, well written, and displays a charming sense of humor. European historians and professionals will appreciate this excellent chronicle of the development of Britain's "secret state." In addition, it could provide the grist for lively discussions in graduate seminars in European history. It could also be a relevant text in courses that are concerned with comparative civil liberties.

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Baumgartner, Frank R.  
**Conflict and Rhetoric in  
French Policymaking**  
Pittsburgh, PA: University of  
Pittsburgh Press  
287 pp., \$34.95, ISBN 0-8229-3616-X  
Publication Date: September 1989

France, perhaps more than any other contemporary European system, has been the subject of a series of in-depth policy studies over the last decade. France has intrigued policy specialists largely because of its unique experience with capitalist planning ventures, and also by its use of experts who have often had extensive control over public-policy decisions. *Conflict and Rhetoric in French Policymaking* is part of a growing list of titles published by the University of Pittsburgh Press in its Pitt series on policy and institutional studies. In this work, Frank Baumgartner, an assistant professor of political science at Texas A & M University, focuses on French educational policy in order to answer some larger questions about the policy process itself.

The author begins with a general theoretical framework concerning strategies of policy making and provides a brief review of the literature in order to establish the context for his particular study. Based on these theoretical writings, a number of questions are raised about the policy process. One of the central issues explored by the author is why some policy decisions are controlled by a small group of experts, while others receive media attention and eventually expand into the broader policy domain. The emphasis is on rhetoric, manipulation, and the guidance of the policy debate. Extensive reliance is made on the

pioneering theoretical work of Roger Cobb and Charles Elder in agenda building. Data for France provide the bases for a series of excellent case studies for an examination of these questions.

According to Baumgartner, educational policy in France has represented a crucible of conflicting interests pitting various socio-professional and citizens groups against public officials, and also against each other. The time frame for this study is the 1983-1984 period wherein several educational controversies led to the involvement of the peripheral public in a series of mass demonstrations and confrontations with government officials. Baumgartner's database includes extensive documentary citations, over one hundred interviews with public officials and interest-group leaders, brief case studies of thirty educational policy decisions, and a mail survey. The author is not shy in exposing his research methodology. The conclusion, brief and to the point, attempts to generalize beyond the French case by describing the workings of the policy process in a democratic pluralistic system.

The work is supported by abundant tabular and graphic materials. A general bibliography is included. Especially useful for the generalist is Appendix D—the glossary of French terms. Too often, the nonspecialist reader becomes lost in a maze of foreign terminology. Baumgartner has produced an excellent study that has major implications for the analysis of democratic systems. This work should be of great interest to scholars interested in understanding the dynamics of the policy process from a comparative perspective.

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McNamara, Francis Terry  
**France and Black Africa**  
Washington, DC: National Defense  
University  
289 pp.  
Publication Date: 1989

Even after decolonization, France preserved its political, economic, and cultural influence in its former African colonies. The book *France and Black Africa* traces the historical roots of and future prospects for this heretofore stable "neo-colonial" relationship.

Francis McNamara describes the means by which the style of French colonial domination assured its position in African affairs even after decolonization. The processes of cultural assimilation and direct rule, which integrated yet pacified the traditional institutions of power and leadership into the colonial "administrative pyramid," helped to make possible postcolonial

relations. The author earnestly describes the political and economic intentions of the French as they expanded into Africa.

The author traces the impact of France's political integration of the African colonies upon the French position in the Second World War. Unlike other writings on the subject, the author emphasizes the role of the African "evolues" during the Second World War, which aided the Gaullists against the Vichy government. The most noted of these African "evolues" is General Felix Eboué, who was a "major voice for reform in French colonial policy and practice."

The author illuminates the French motives during the era of decolonization. The author describes the process as one in which France was willing to forego formal rule while assuring the continuation of close relations with the majority of the newly sovereign African nations, thereby preventing the reproduction of violent anti-colonial movements in the majority of African nations that occurred in Algeria and Vietnam. The end result of the process was one in which the "neo-colonial" character of Franco-African postcolonial relations was mutually agreed upon between France and the African leadership that it created through its colonial policies.

The author describes the character of Franco-African relations as one that has been "familial," with French leadership perpetuating a paternalistic role. Although formal institutions of cooperation were developed and military ties maintained, it is clear from the author's discussion that France did not intend to relinquish its "paternal" and "familial" hold over the newly sovereign nations.

The major contribution that the author makes in this area of research is in his discussion of the present pressures and future prospects of Franco-African relations. The author poses the question, Was it all worth it? The underpinning tensions and problems in Africa and France have now begun to challenge the "facade" of familial relations. Franco-African relations have not been able to obviate the reality of the crises between the impoverished "south" and the increasingly economically unstable "north."

The author delineates the options now facing France as it becomes increasingly unable to accrue the benefits of close ties with the francophone African states. Economic and political change in Europe, the emergence of the European community in 1992, in particular, have caused French interests in Africa to wane. Although measures have not been taken to disengage from Africa, as yet, the author seems to suggest that the debate is unavoidable and that the future of Franco-African relations is headed toward redesign and definition.

The author's stated intention is to fill a gap in the literature on Franco-African relations, from the French perspective. Therefore, few books recently published

compare. This book will be very useful for those individuals concerned about French internal motives for colonization and the future internal debate about its relations with Africa. The book may be an important reference for students of European colonialism and the colonial perspective.

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Best, Geoffrey, ed.  
**The Permanent Revolution: The French Revolution and Its Legacy: 1789-1989**  
Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press  
241 pp., \$10.95, ISBN 0-226-04428-9  
Publication Date: July 1989

To try to capture the essence of the French Revolution for posterity in 1989 is both timely and ambitious: We are in the bicentenary year of a revolution whose lessons we must still try to learn or relearn. It remains an ambiguous and controversial series of events, which the twentieth century has, if anything, made more so.

To define the contributions of the Revolution is made more difficult in *The Permanent Revolution* because it is a series of articles lacking an overall theme and whose style suffers by being from the hands of academics, albeit distinguished ones. Some of the articles are quite interesting, and perhaps the best way to read this book is to pick and choose among them.

"Why does the French Revolution still matter so much?" According to editor Geoffrey Best, the answer is nationalism, "the Revolution's most permanent big legacy." Conor Cruise O'Brien, in the opening article, makes the provocative case that nationalism was a child of the Enlightenment. The *philosophes*, after discrediting the Catholic church and the monarchy, left an emotional void that was filled by *la patrie*. Nationalism immediately became the ambivalent force that it remains today: liberalizing, as the French people tried to manage their own affairs and, as Best points out in his essay on the "French Revolution and Human Rights," the excuse for French expansionism.

The French Revolution was also the seedbed for liberalism, conservatism, and Marxism, and these essays are the most engrossing when addressing how the Revolution helped create these other great "isms." Eugene Kamaenka in "Revolutionary Ideology," notes that Marx took his ideas for the "seizure or creation of a centralized state apparatus" and "an initial dictatorship of the proletariat to safeguard the revolution and its achievements" from his observation of the Jacobins.

Other themes include "The French Revolution and its Historians," and the revolution's impact on the nineteenth and