

the elite and the establishment. However, in order to fund the projects and to become known, to “develop a name” in the discipline, in almost every period of the discipline’s history, the intellectuals mostly had to become “the intellectuals of statecraft” or “the academic intelligence base”.

Third, as the author of the book himself concludes, after elaborating throughout the whole book and referring particularly to the present day, on the numerous connections (corroborated by a number of examples) between “scholars”, the state structures, the intelligence communities, the military-industrial complexes of dominant states, and the “big businesses” (energy, weapons, etc.): a discipline led by scholars of this moral calibre cannot be expected to restore its intellectual integrity. Under conditions of the growing precariousness of academics at all levels, few of the rank and file can afford to take their distance from such leading scholars either. And yet, whilst both politically and economically the pre-eminence of the societies of the Lockean heartland is fast eroding, IR today is still spreading across the globe, along with economics and the rest of the Anglophone disciplinary infrastructure (pp. 234-235).

The conclusion formed from reading this book is that it is definitely worth reading. It is comprehensive by its conclusions and perspective, and detailed and analytic by its content. It is also very different from the mainstream literature devoted to IR because of its critical stance to the discipline itself. It could be used at the graduate and doctorate levels of education.

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Review

Phillip Manow
**Mixed Rules, Mixed Strategies:
Candidates and Parties
in Germany’s Electoral System**

ECPR Press, Colchester, 2015, 238 pp.

Philip Manow, currently Professor of Comparative Political Economy at the University of Bremen, has written extensively on welfare state systems, socio-economic and religious cleavages, and party and electoral politics. Manow’s recent monograph deals with the intricacies of the German personalized proportional electoral system. This book represents a serious empirical attempt to tackle some of the burning issues concerning the more subtle and complex aspects of electoral competition, electoral politics, and electoral outcomes in Germany.

The author follows an implicit rational choice, institutionalist approach, by following a research framework that deals with the constant interplay of electoral rules and the different strategies electoral competitors employ in order to maximize their gains. The book consists of three main parts. The first one deals with the way parties adapt to electoral rules. The second one offers an analysis of the strategies individual candidates employ regarding the electoral rules of the game. Finally, the third part discusses the characteristics of *Bundestag* members through the lens of the electoral system.

When discussing contamination effects between the two electoral segments (single-member district vs. party list), the author draws the attention to the rarely discussed disproportionality of the district segment, which the party list vote, used to determine the overall share of seats, cannot fully neutralize. Manow accurately points to two factors determining disproportionality in the single-member segment – district size and the effective number of (electoral) parties. He draws a conclusion that an increase in the number of electoral competitors increases disproportionality. In addition, since former East Germany is rather sparsely populated, German reunification has introduced new states with few electoral districts, again increasing disproportionality. Furthermore, instead of regressing towards effective two-party contests (as posited by Duverger), the district segment regularly features a third strong candidate, thus increasing the number of districts won without an absolute majority, leading to more disproportionality. The author explains this by establishing a strong link between small party candidatures in the plurality-tier and a positive boost to results in the PR-tier, thus showing a pay-off for small parties to enter single-member races they cannot win. Finally, Manow observes that increased disproportionality in the plurality segment increases the gap between the first votes (candidate votes) and second votes (list votes), thus increasing the number of surplus seats, which in turn increase the overall disproportionality. An added point to this discussion is an in-depth analysis of modes of electoral coordination of bigger and smaller parties. In the

early years of the Federal Republic, such cooperation included stand-down agreements, yet later evolved towards general vote-splitting strategies.

In the second part of the book, Manow offers his insight into the particular processes of candidatures, re-election, and re-nomination. The author's analysis shows a very high success rate of candidates, with almost 80 per cent becoming MPs in their first attempt. In addition, only one fifth experienced a defeat before entering the *Bundestag* and only one fourth did not achieve re-election, which shows a strong incumbency effect. Of course, the share of returning MPs is much higher among larger parties. Manow also points to the greater importance of nominations than actual elections for the long-term prospects of a candidate to develop a career as an MP, thus highlighting the party-centered nature of German democracy.

The final part of the book, which deals with the effect of the electoral rules on MPs, detects high stability of German parliamentary life, reflected by an average MP tenure of ten years (more than two parliamentary terms) and an average return rate of over seventy per cent. The author also, quite logically, shows that hedged candidatures, i.e. MPs that appeared in both the list-tier and the district-tier, had the highest chance for re-election, while MPs that were list candidates generally enjoyed shorter tenure than MPs that were district candidates. Finally, Manow shows that, although there are links between the two electoral segments, the electoral system, in fact, produces two kinds of MPs that subsequently play different roles in the *Bundestag*, which becomes evident

through the analysis of their committee membership.

As he develops his analysis of the German electoral system, Manow tries to offer straightforward explanations in order to make the subject matter more accessible to a wider readership, unfamiliar with specialist jargon. The author offers a clear and compelling narrative, and support his arguments with relevant data on the various effects of different electoral models on party systems and party competition. Although this book does assume some basic to moderate prior knowledge about both psephology and OLS regression, it is nonetheless a highly recommendable read for both students (at the graduate and postgraduate levels) and scholars. Finally, scholars who have a special interest in electoral systems in general and mixed-member electoral systems in particular will truly enjoy reading this book and will surely find it very useful for their own teaching and research.

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Review

Niall Ferguson
Kissinger: 1923-1968: The Idealist

Penguin Press, London, 2015, 1008 pp.

Late last year another biography of Henry Kissinger was published. It is titled *Kissinger: 1923-1968: The Idealist*, penned by the acclaimed British historian and Harvard professor Niall Ferguson. In over a thousand pages, the symbolic title covers Kissinger's extraordinary career, from the times of his youth as an émigré from the Nazi Germany to the US, to the high positions of National Security Advisor and Secretary of State in the White House, under the Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford administrations. Not least, Kissinger was the winner of the Nobel Peace Prize.

After graduating from Harvard, thanks to his acquaintance with David Rockefeller, Kissinger was able to begin demonstrating his political skills and intuitive application of *realpolitik* principles in foreign policy practice. The event that threw Kissinger into the limelight was the Russian launch of the first Earth satellite, *Sputnik*, which unpleasantly surprised the American public. Only a few months earlier, Kissinger had published his first book *Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy* in which he elaborated his views on the operation of the Eisenhower administration