

Undoubtedly, the issues raised by Saul, particularly the examination of the causes of poverty and the strategies to counter them, deserve our utmost attention. But precisely for this reason they also merit being treated with a high degree of analytical clarity and thoroughness, which, disappointingly, the current volume fails to deliver.

DMITRI MITIN *Nizhni Novgorod Linguistic University*

### **Bringing Religion into International Relations**

Jonathan Fox and Shmuel Sandler

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Released as part of the Palgrave Macmillan Series on Culture and Religion in International Relations, this book offers a broad yet systematic overview of an issue that has become increasingly contentious in the past two decades, namely the role of religion in international relations. According to Jonathan Fox and Shmuel Sandler, the two highly respected international relations experts who authored the book, the “various manifestations of religion and their influence” have settled the controversy: religion is important to international relations research. Their book in fact covers a wide range of issues involving religion, from religious legitimacy and the internationalization of local religious conflicts to transnational religious phenomena and the so-called clash of civilizations. They also focus on a particular case study, the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Although they recognize that “religion is not the main driving force behind international relations,” they believe that “international relations cannot be understood without taking religion into account” (7).

But, readers beware! Their book is not about religion. It is about its influence on the worldview and identity of political actors as well as the legitimacy religion confers upon them and on formal institutions. It challenges the secular bias that has prevailed hitherto in much of social science and international relations research, and questions the foundational paradigms and the interpretative power of modernization and realist theories. Indeed, deeply embedded in the underlying ideologies of modern Western nation-states (and Western academia), the realist school has tended to treat states as unitary actors whose foreign policy flows from the almost exclusive pursuit of objective material power within the structure of an essentially anarchical international system. Yet, as Fox and Sandler suggest, this picture has proven somewhat inadequate; increasingly the manifestations of religion have chipped away at the foundations of realist assumptions. Primordial identities have shown themselves more resilient. Rapid social transformation might have led to the breakdown of traditional social norms and structures, but it did not destroy “old” identities. Instead the latter have re-emerged, appearing in both the West and the East, with new forms of transcendence and religiosity. Since the late 1970s, long-term changes, like the rise of the religious right in the United States and the advent of an openly theocratic state in Iran in 1979, have underscored the limits of secularization as a theoretical paradigm. And since 9/11 a paradigm shift in international relations seems to be under way as more researchers take into account religion as a political variable (see Philpott, 2002). The swing is such that international relations textbooks now include chapters on cultural and religious factors as a matter of course.

Fox and Sandler’s book will not revolutionize the field—the authors are the first to acknowledge that current quantitative studies on the role of religion in international relations are relatively crude compared to those using other variables—but it has much to say that will interest students of international relations, religion and Middle East studies. Their chapter on political legitimacy and religion is particularly interesting since it informs the fundamental assumptions underlying much of the book.

Religious legitimacy as a research concept relies on religion's normative power in shaping international relations, in defining the instrumental values behind foreign policy goals and means, in justifying primordial attachments and ultimately in legitimating the use of force and war. In this sense religion not only links domestic politics to international affairs as a basis for legitimacy through the influence it exerts on policy makers but it also performs a crucial role as motivation in many transnational political phenomena that are not exclusively statocentric.

Despite the fact that some of the specific arguments they rely on to assess the role of religion in international relations can be questioned and that their study of perceptions has some methodological shortcomings, the book is successful overall. It demonstrates the fundamental relevance of religion in the study of international politics both as a policy instrument and as a motivational force. In trying to bring religion back into international relations, Fox and Sandler thus join the growing number of scholars who believe in the importance of culture, religion and identity in analyzing global politics (Huntington, 1993, Lapid and Kratochwill, 1997, *Orbis*, 1998, *Millennium*, 2000, Monroe, 2001, Goff and Dunn, 2004, Hall and Jackson, 2007). For this reason, their contribution to the field is important not only to students in international relations, religion and Middle East studies but also to policy makers.

ALI G. DIZBONI Royal Military College of Canada

**La dénationalisation tranquille. Mémoire, identité et multiculturalisme dans le Québec postréférendaire**

Mathieu Bock-Côté

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Si le débat intellectuel s'organise sous la forme de phases historiques, les générations à venir regarderont probablement la décennie postréférendaire au Québec comme une période à part, étroitement encadrée par la victoire du non au référendum de 1995 et par le double événement que représentent le débat sur les accommodements raisonnables et la percée de l'ADQ aux élections québécoises de 2007. Douze ans de débats que Mathieu Bock-Côté s'offre comme objet d'étude dans cet essai, qui initie peut-être, l'avenir nous le dira, une nouvelle phase du débat public.

Bock-Côté n'est pas du genre à laisser couler ses idées en filigrane. Sa thèse est claire : la décennie postréférendaire fut l'occasion d'une transformation radicale de la culture politique québécoise. Cette transformation, qui a pris des habits divers, peut se résumer en un mot : dénationalisation. L'espace national, occupé naïvement et spontanément par la plupart des intellectuels fédéralistes et souverainistes jusqu'aux années 1980 et 1990, fut soudainement pris à partie dans des projets intellectuels qui souhaitaient reconstruire la pensée québécoise en dehors du cadre national incarné par la majorité francophone.

Le premier chapitre du livre offre une véritable chronique des années postréférendaires. Dans ce résumé particulièrement dense, Bock-Côté nous rappelle les principaux événements qui ont structuré le débat public et intellectuel – d'abord chez les souverainistes – à partir du 30 octobre 1995 : la déclaration de Parizeau, le débat sur la nation ethnique ou civique, la marginalisation de la question linguistique, l'affaire Michaud, etc. Tout dans la dynamique postréférendaire semble pousser la pensée québécoise vers un «souverainisme sans nationalisme», soutient Bock-Côté, cherchant plus que tout à exorciser les démons de l'ethnicité et de l'exclusion.

Les citations, particulièrement bien choisies, dépeignent d'une manière convaincante la course des politiques et des intellectuels vers une identité québécoise toujours plus inclusive et tolérante. Le portrait est concis et habilement tracé. De

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