

the exclusion and inclusion of competitors). More work can therefore be undertaken to trace the relationship between national context, environmental stimuli and party ideological and strategic responses. Furthermore, the correspondence between different organizational adaptations has a parallel in outcomes. Parties have 'struggled' (Scarrow, p. 105) to adapt to the challenges faced, achieving only 'partial, even ephemeral' success (Knapp, p. 80) based on efforts that were 'too late . . . half-hearted . . . and not credible' (Müller, Plasser and Ulram, p. 174). In view of this less than impressive record of success, it would seem unlikely that party adaptations have come to an end, leaving considerable scope for future research which should build upon the admirable contributions collected here.

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John C. Green and Rick Farmer (eds), *The State of the Parties: The Changing Role of Contemporary American Parties*, 4th edn. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003. \$34.95, xii + 425 pp. ISBN 0 7425 1822 1.

This is the fourth edition of a popular collection of studies about political parties in the United States. People who own the third edition should know whether it's worth upgrading to version 4.0. Those learning for the first time of this collection should know whether previous editions are worth tracking down.

The first edition appeared in 1994 under the editorship of Daniel M. Shea and John C. Green. The same authors switched order of mention for the second edition in 1996, and the editors were again Green and Shea for the 1999 edition. Green edited the fourth volume (2003) with Rick Farmer. All four editions have averaged around 400 pages.

Despite the identical titles, continuity in editorship and similarity in length, the succeeding editions qualify as full version upgrades. According to my count, the 88 different articles published over all four editions have 69 different authors. True, that number is inflated by multiple authors of new pieces. Nevertheless, each succeeding edition recruited many new authors. Even when the same authors wrote similarly titled pieces for subsequent editions, they usually revised their previous articles significantly.

Therefore, each of these identically titled readers offers substantially different information on party politics in America. Getting down to cases, only 5 of the 22 selections in the fourth edition overlap in title and substance with the previous one. Moreover, all five are substantially revised, incorporating findings and insights from the 2000 election.

One of the overlapping titles, of course, is the editors' introduction to the volume. But even 'The State of the Parties in an Evenly Divided Nation' addresses the novelty of the close 2000 presidential election. Green and Farmer

then proceed to describe the five-part organization of the volume and the substance of each selection.

Part I has four articles on 'The Party System'. The two by A. James Reichly on the future of the two-party system and Paul Allen Beck's on changing party coalitions are substantial revisions of similar titles in the previous editions. Reichley is more optimistic about the future of the two-party system than Beck, who sees volatility in the sizeable 'non-partisan' component of the electorate. A new article by John Jackson, Nathan Bigelow and John Green compares convention delegates, 1992 to 2000, and clearly shows that the delegates differ between the parties while differing little within parties. Although David Ryden writes again on party law (as in the previous edition), it is almost an entirely new essay about new court cases, most notably *Bush v. Gore* that resolved the 2000 presidential election.

Part II has four articles on 'Party Finance', a new section in this edition. Anthony Corrado, Sarah Barclay and Heitor Gouvêa look at how national party committees financed the 2000 presidential election. Robin Kolodny and Diana Dwyre examine how congressional committees shuffled hard and soft money to state parties. Looking at the funds from the states, Ray La Raja assesses the impact of soft money on party building and generates a fresh measure of party organizational strength for 37 states. However, Sarah Morehouse and Malcolm Jewell find that state parties themselves raised most of the political funds spent within their borders.

Part III on 'Party Services in the States' also contains four articles. Peter L. Francia, Paul S. Herrnson, John P. Frenreis and Alan R. Gitelson survey candidates running in state legislative elections and find that congressional spending has raised the level of campaign services for them too. Despite the growth of the Internet, Rick Farmer and Rich Fender determine that state parties tended to be trailing behind available web technology. In a case study of Ohio's 2000 presidential election, Melanie Blumberg, William Binning and John Green conclude that weak local party organization lost Gore Ohio's electoral votes, costing him the election. Assessing the relationship between campaign consultants and parties, David A. Dulio and James A. Thurber find more a symbiotic relationship than conflict.

Part IV on 'Party in Government' has only three selections. Jeffrey M. Stonecash examines the partisan tensions within the House of Representatives, while Larry Schwab scrutinizes the even more closely divided Senate after the 2000 election. Lawrence Butler creates a 'Majority Party Strength Index' to assess the strength of party government, which he claims has declined with the departure of Newt Gingrich and the entry of Dennis Hastert as Speaker.

Part V on 'Party Responsibility' contains three articles that revisit party government from the perspective of responsible parties. Revising his similarly titled article in the third edition, Gerald A. Pomper regards the 2000 election, Republican control of congress and the presidency, and increased party cohesion as moving toward more responsible (parliamentary) government. Daniel M. Shea begs to differ, saying that contemporary America lacks sufficient citizen engagement to support parliamentary government. John J. Coleman introduces a new dimension into the discussion, saying that the various 'functions' served by parties (e.g. overcoming the separation of powers, recruiting candidates, etc.) should be analysed separately from the dimension

of 'responsibility'. He creates a two-dimensional classification for analysing party politics since the Civil War.

Part VI concludes the volume with three articles on 'Minor Parties'. John C. Berg asks whether Ralph Nader's 2000 candidacy served to spoil or build the Green Party, and answers that on the whole he helped build the party. (Nevertheless, the Green Party rejected his candidacy in 2004.) Ronald B. Rapoport and Walter J. Stone test for remains of Ross Perot's Reform Party in 2000 and find evidence that its activist corps was absorbed by the GOP in the 2000 campaign (despite Pat Buchanan running as the Reform Party candidate against George Bush). The last selection, by Theodore J. Lowi, revises his argument for a 'responsible *three* party system', which he has argued for in all previous editions of this reader. This is not simply a reprint of Lowi's earlier pieces; again, it is a substantially revised contribution.

Taken together, the selections in this volume do provide a fresh assessment of the 'state of the parties' between the 2000 and 2004 elections. How well does it serve in the classroom? Most selections may be too focused on topics that matter more to party scholars than to undergraduate readers. Graduate students, however, can gain a great deal from these readings. I used the first edition with excellent results when I last taught a graduate seminar on American political parties. I assume that a new edition is being planned, using evidence from the 2004 presidential election. Until that edition is published, I encourage serious students of party politics in America to consult this one. The editors have excelled in making each edition more relevant to contemporary scholarship than the previous edition, so it is not important to track down earlier editions. Still, I keep all four editions on my shelf.

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Sarah Birch, *Electoral Systems and Political Transformation in Post-Communist Europe*. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003. £45.00 (hbk)
xii + 212 pp. ISBN 0 3339 8765 9.

The impact of electoral systems has long been a preoccupation of many of the finest minds in the discipline. The work of Cox, Duverger, Farrell, Lijphart and Taagepera and Shugart, however, has focused largely on electoral laws in established democracies. In *Electoral Systems and Political Transformation in Post-Communist Europe* Sarah Birch explores the role electoral systems have played in 20 post-communist countries.

After an overview of the electoral systems at play in post-communist Europe, through a series of detailed statistical tests, Birch explores the impact of electoral systems on electoral participation, representational inclusion, party system size and shape and party system stability and change. The most impressive aspect