ficial indifference. The final chapter on U.S. humanitarian action in Africa calls most notably for an expansion of the definition of such assistance to include programs on civilian protection and human rights.

Unfortunately, the events of September 11, 2001 have inevitably turned policy makers' attention elsewhere and blunted any impact that this book might have had. When senior policy makers again have time to consider the U.S. role in ameliorating African problems, however, this volume will be most useful.

JOHN F. CLARK
Florida International University

Catholic Roots and Democratic Flowers: Political Systems in Spain and Portugal *by Howard J. Wiadra and Margaret MacLeish Mott. Westport, CT, Praeger Puiblishers, 2001. 215 pp. Cloth, $65.00; paper $24.95.*

It used to be said that the difference between fascist regimes and socialist regimes is that the former end eventually and the latter never end. More recently we see that some socialist regimes can end too. While the authors of *Catholic Roots and Democratic Flowers* argue persuasively that Spain and Portugal were never fascist in the sense that Germany and Italy were, they present convincing evidence that these two Iberian authoritarian regimes left their respective countries in much better economic condition than did the Eastern European socialist regimes. Both are now enthusiastic members of the European Union, and Spain is the tenth industrial power in the world. This was not supposed to happen in the 1970s, when Franco and Salazar died. Pundits and experts predicted that both countries were not likely to catch up to the rest of Western Europe for a long time, if ever. Howard J. Wiadra and Margaret MacLeish Mott remark in this comprehensive textbook that little attention has been paid to the progress of Iberia in the last quarter century and in particular to the "Spanish Miracle."

It wasn't supposed to happen, so it didn't happen. It is perhaps evidence that now that the twentieth century is over, a precise, objective book like this one can be written without fighting once again the *Reconquista*, the expulsion of the Moors and the Jews, and the Spanish Civil war or without arguing that Catholicism exercises oppressive power in Iberia. Clericals and anticlericals, after two centuries of conflict that repeatedly tore Spain and Portugal apart, now seem to agree that peace, prosperity, democracy, a civil society, and membership in Europe are more important than their old conflicts.

What are the chances, the authors ask, of regression to the old ways? Practically nonexistent, they answer. Both Iberian countries retain certain stylistic residues of their Catholic past. While neither country is mercantilist and neither has a top-heavy bureaucratic social structure (the European Union permits nei-

ther), neither can be considered a pluralistic country like the United States. The state is still an important reality in both countries, deeply involved in, for example, labor-management negotiations as one interpretation of Catholic social theory suggests that it should be. However, the authors add, in this respect the Iberian countries are not greatly different from France. It is possible to be democratic and civil and support a free market economy (EU-style) and still retain something of the corporate style of the Catholic past.

Catholic Roots and Democratic Flowers is an admirable textbook for students who are entering a study of the history and politics of the Iberian countries. Its low-key, balanced style and its careful, restrained judgments will help the introductory student to approach phenomena about which they know little without any burden of ideological memories that may no longer be pertinent. The inquisitive student might even ask the most important question about contemporary Iberia: Given where they were not so long ago, how did they get to where they are today?

It might also tempt the senior sociologist or political scientist who has paid little attention to Spain or Portugal in the last quarter century to ask the same question and perhaps to revise some obsolete stereotypes about the two countries, about Iberian Catholicism, about how to "modernize," and about what it means to be European.

ANDREW GREELEY
The University of Arizona
The University of Chicago

Politicians Don't Pander: Political Manipulation and the Loss of Democratic Responsiveness *by Lawrence R. Jacobs and Robert Y. Shapiro. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2000. 425 pp. Cloth, $50.00; paper, $18.00.*

Presidents and members of Congress don't pander to public opinion. That is the central point of this book, which takes as its foil the idea, or perhaps the caricature of an idea, that American politicians find out what public opinion is and then manufacture their positions on issues so as to match exactly what they find. "Public opinion," in this account, is the median viewpoint that surfaces on issues in national opinion surveys.

Instead of pandering, the authors argue, politicians once in office try to advance their own policy ideas. To this end they use opinion surveys a great deal, but they do that to figure out how to sell their own policies to the public. Politicians need to make such pitches while they are holding office, not just during election campaigns. Policies need to be successfully merchandised in this way if they are to be enacted. The public is not a blank slate on most matters, but it can be influenced. Therefore, elected officials draw on opinion surveys to help