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Armies and Parties in Africa, by H. Bienen

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national communism. However, the authors go too far in attributing several other, more prominent, cases of nationalistic or third-world variants of socialism to the same intellectual forebears. Lin Piao's image of a world peasantry encircling the world city has had enough adoptive grandparents by now; tracing intellectual affinities is ultimately sterile.

Still, the authors add an important case to the study of ideological hybridization. I find useful their distinction between the search in the early period to "Marxify" Islam and today's tendency to "Islamize" Marxism, which suggests one avenue for theory-building—the seeking of hierarchical structures in the organization of ideologies. But perhaps the most useful feature of the book is the set of reference appendices at the end. Here are to be found several articles by the most interesting figure they discuss, the ill-fated Mir-Said Sultan Galiev, together with Stalin's speech in 1923 denouncing him; the program of the ERK, an underground anti-Russian Moslem socialist party; a demographic table on the basis of which the authors project that the Moslem population of the Soviet Union could reasonably be expected to reach 85 million by the turn of the century; a chronology of events between 1917 and 1928; identification of the political parties and organizations discussed; and a glossary of Soviet and Islamic terms. On the whole, this book is to be highly recommended to both the general and the specialist reader.

THOMAS REMINGTON, *Emory University*

Armies and Parties in Africa. By HENRY BIENEN. (New York: Africana Publishing Co., 1978. Pp. x, 278. \$22.00 cloth, \$8.75 paper.)

The Rise and Fall of the Peruvian Military Radicals, 1968-1976. By GEORGE D. E. PHILIP. (London: The Athlone Press, The University of London, for the Institute of Latin American Studies [Dist. in U.S. by Humanities Press, Atlantic Highlands, NJ], 1978. Pp. vi, 178. \$16.00.)

In most of the Third World the military has come to play a critical if not dominant role in politics. Of particular concern to scholars has been the advent and operation of military regimes. A number of

critical issues have emerged. What causes the military to intervene? How effective are military officers as developers of the economy? Is the military politically skillful enough to build the necessary governmental and social institutions to provide order for the development process? How does the return to civilian rule occur? Bienen and Philip address only the first three questions. They do so by a case study approach. Philip is concerned with the radical military regime in Peru, and Bienen deals with selected aspects of the military in politics in Kenya, Nigeria, Tanzania, and Uganda.

On the advent of military rule, Bienen identifies an approach for studying the process; he does not systematically test cross-cultural generalizations. He suggests that coups are a consequence of the extent of "institutionalization" and the quality of "performance" of the military and the relation of these factors to critical social forces, e.g., class and ethnic cleavages (181). Philip sees the Peruvian military intervention as a product of the radical interests of the officer corps but emphasizes their opportunism. He sees the stalemated political system as the immediate impetus to action.

On the issue of development, Philip contends that the Peruvian military has only been effective in removing the vestiges of the oligarchy from economic control. Beyond that, he sees few successes, but allows that "The full effect of this transformation has yet to be seen." (162) Bienen contends that the military in Africa is highly fragmented as a result of the impact of various social groups and thus unable politically to achieve the necessary unity for a substantial development effort.

Both Philip and Bienen argue that the critical problem for the military is its weak political skills. It cannot form coalitions, manage and manipulate conflict, or move decisively in crisis situations. Ultimately, they see the military regimes as being just as vulnerable to political pressures as the civil regimes they replace. Bienen feels that political parties are the only organizations which can eventually provide the authority necessary to insure public order. He concludes his lengthy discussion of political party governments with a case study of KANU in Kenya. This party, in Bienen's view, is fully able to contain conflicts of various interests within society and to promote *ad hoc* coalitions of these interests in order to insure stability. Elections are particularly critical to parties in that they make government "responsive to popular pressure." (90) Philip echoes this view, concluding that "The problem of participation is the Achilles heel of radical military regimes." (167)

However, he does not endorse strong political parties as a solution to the problem of instability (largely because Peru has no such parties).

Both books have weaknesses that detract from their analysis. First, both are highly descriptive. As such they lack substantial theoretical orientation. Bienen, for instance, examines African political parties in terms of the American political machine model. Philip is virtually atheoretical, making only a passing reference to hypotheses about the military which have been developed by such prominent scholars as Huntington, Pye, and Nordlinger. Second, both books are substantially lacking in evidence for the arguments presented. Thus, while Bienen says that the political machine in Kenya is responsive to popular will, there is little indication of how or where these responses have occurred. Similarly, Philip gives no evidence that the military's attempts at popular mobilization failed. Furthermore, he offers no empirical data on the economic system in Peru, thus forcing the reader to accept his impressions of the various sectors.

Our evaluation of these two books raises the larger issue of the value of case studies in political science. Case studies often fail to address key questions in the discipline. In the absence of such a focus, they are not likely to contribute to a cumulative body of knowledge. Unfortunately, while both authors show a massive knowledge of military politics, they do little to relate it to the ongoing discussion in the discipline. A testing of existing theory would allow our colleagues to utilize the potentially rich sources of information provided by these and similar case studies.

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Distortion or Development?: Contending Perspectives on the Multinational Corporation. By THOMAS J. BIERSTEKER. (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1978. Pp. xvi, 199. \$17.50.)

Thomas Biersteker, an assistant professor of political science at Yale University, has undertaken, in his *Distortion or Development*, a difficult quantitative evaluation of theories of the effects of multinational corporations upon underdeveloped nations. Using Nigerian government reports, Nigerian central bank reports, and 60 interviews in Nigeria, he has measured theories against the facts pertain-