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compete for power resources, they also seek to maintain a minimal correspondence between public normative dictates and self-seeking pursuits.

This is a serious book about real countries. The playground is quiet, at least for now.

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Cultural Internationalism and World Order *by Akira Iriye. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997. 212 pp. $32.50.*

This small volume is the product of Harvard historian Akira Iriye's Albert Shaw Memorial Lectures for 1988 at Johns Hopkins University. Iriye, a prominent and prolific scholar of international relations, narrowed the scope of his lectures on "War and Peace in the Twentieth Century" to trace the development of "cultural internationalism" since the late nineteenth century. He acknowledges that definitions of both "culture" and "internationalism" have found little consensus. And he admits the difficulty of separating political and economic ideas, institutions, and policies from cultural phenomena, but he undertakes the task largely through historical descriptive narrative. Iriye concedes that modernization and development have commonly meant Americanization, even though the first two are generally applied to the political economy and the latter to the cultural aspects of international relations.

Iriye's survey of transnational cultural developments demonstrates the important and commonly neglected role of cultural phenomena in the course of the past century. His thesis is that the values, perceptions, methods, and language used in order to cross national cultural barriers are distinct (for analysis) from the activity and conduct people pursue in war, conflict, business, and diplomacy. The tension between cultural internationalism and geopolitical realism is similar to the ideology vs realism dichotomy, except that cultural internationalists often see themselves as realists, striving to avoid the excesses of nationalism. Cultural internationalists believe that even the means to obtain goals (power) need to be culturally defined.

His clarifications and illustrations of the differences among the legal, economic, and cultural aspects of international contact are not always successful. For example, he considers the movement to standardize statistics, weights, and measures aspects of the rudimentary cultural internationalism of the late nineteenth century. The U.S. government, however, pursued a weights and measures agreement at the Panamerican conference of 1889 largely because merchants and manufacturers (many from the West Coast) wanted simplified weights and measures for their commercial activity from Mexico to Chile. Customs laws on this coast required weights in pounds, kilograms, arrobas, or quintales, but it was even more complicated. The countries used arrobas and quintales of different weights. Selling flour or other items by weight was a nightmare. The cultural and economic aspects are not readily separated.

Iriye's narrative incorporates new perceptions of cultural internationalism for the period from 1880 to the 1960s. Beginning in the late nineteenth century, he integrates Japanese and some Chinese intellectual currents and individuals to the Western international cultural movement. He notes how Japanese and Chinese intellectuals (and governments) sought to join the movement—under Western norms—even while asserting national and anti-impe-

rial objectives. In his view, cultural internationalism came of age after World War I had revealed the destructiveness of nationalism and modern political economies. A worldwide spawning of cultural international agencies and writings followed, but the Great Depression devastated the movement. In the 1930s, military and authoritarian regimes coopted the idea of culture. They created agencies and propaganda to assault the culture of their real and imagined opponents. The authoritarian regimes used culture to help them crush the internal opposition and to expand outward.

Dramatically, Iriye judges that the future of cultural internationalism and the human race hung in the balance in 1939. World War II nationalized cultural pursuits, encouraged worldwide revolution (decolonization), and made security the focal point of a new world order. The new world order (the cold war)—a clash of political economies and cultures—was uncompromising, because the period from 1931 until 1945 had been deadly and destructive.

In this book, Iriye has outlined the history of internationalism primarily as intercultural, rather than interstate, affairs. He describes thinkers, groups, or organizations that were largely independent of government bureaucracies. Yet the source of "their" culture (drawn from family, communities, education, and associations) leaves a question mark behind the assertion of their "independence" from the state or governmental structure. His review of cultural internationalism is enlightening and fresh. Although he has championed cultural internationalism for over three decades, he had not pursued the international growth of transcultural individuals and groups previously. Still, Iriye's work is valuable because it confronts rather than ignores the different perspectives of international contact.

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The Election of 1996: Reports and Interpretations *by Gerald M. Pomper, Walter Dean Burnham, Anthony Corrado, Marjorie Randon Hershey, Marion R. Just, Scott Keeter, Wilson Carey McWilliams, and William G. Mayer. Chatham, NJ, Chatham House, 1996. 290 pp. $25.00.*

This book is the sixth in the series of interpretations of the recent presidential elections. It continues to provide a fine compendium of aggregate and factual information; such as the percentage of delegates to both political parties chosen from the first weeks of the campaign and throughout the primary season, the votes in primaries, the campaign resources of the candidates, and poll results throughout the campaign. Much of this is put within a comparative context of at least the last few contests.

The subtitle suggests a division between interpretations and reports, which presumably contain more supportive data. This is what you get. Marjorie Hershey's "Congressional Elections" chapter stands as the best example of data-based analysis, with the conversion of the South from solid Democratic to solid Republican being paramount. William Mayer's "The Presidential Nominations" also stands out in showing the contemporary "front loading" of presidential primaries. Scott Keeter, Anthony Corrado, and Gerald Pomper fall a step down. They use aggregate and survey data to suggest what might have contributed to the 1996 results. Often in these analyses there is neglect of consideration of which way causality runs. For example, Pomper shows that both personal expressions of improvement in finances in the past four years as well as views of the state of the national economy relate