

lig, inomfamiljär nivå och även, tror jag bestämt, på grupp-nivå. Det finns en tradition inom psykologi och psykoanalys att intressera sig för större grupp-fenomen, så också vi hör hemma i det här fältet”.

Idéerna för ISPP började växa på början av 70-talet hos frustrerade statsvetare som ville göra psykologiska grundantaganden mer explicita inom den egna disciplinen. Det var också en reaktion på behaviourismens landvinningar inom samhällsvetenskaperna under 60-talet. Jean Knutson, nu bortgången, och Fred Greenstein var två av de tidiga eldsjälarna. 1978 valde man Harold Lasswell som sin första president på sin första formella sammankomst.

Sedan dess har kända namn såsom Robert E. Lane, Ralph K. White, M. Brewster Smith, Margaret och Charles Herrmann, James C. Davies, Ole R. Holsti, Richard Ned Lebow, Robert Jervis, Betty Glad och Robert Tucker syns på ISPPs möten, och medlemskapet ligger nu på drygt 600 varav 2/3 i USA, vilket dock är en nedgång från rekordet 657 året 1987. Man har en tidskrift, *Political Psychology*, som ges ut 4 gånger per år. Nästa årsmöte hålls i Helsingfors den 1-5 juli 1991 och har temat "A World in Transition: Societies and Individuals Learn to Cope with Change."

All korrespondens med ISPP, inklusive medlemsansökan vilket ger bl. a. ett månatligt nyhetsbrev och fyra nummer av *Political Psychology* i brevlådan, kan sändas till organisationens Executive Director:

Professor Rosalind A. Lorwin
Department of Psychology
San Diego State University
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Program chairs för mötet i Helsinki nästa år är:

Tom Bryder
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och

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Sakkunnigutlåtanden rörande SAREC-professorerna i statskundskab*

Report on the applications for two professorships in political science

When I was asked to participate in the evaluation of the applications for SAREC's professorships in political science, I was aware of the fact that this had proven to be a controversial matter and that it was widely felt within SAREC that I lacked the necessary qualifications. The task of evaluating candidates for academic positions is generally unpleasant and unwelcome, and this is even more the case when you know in advance that your views will be found irrelevant by some of those involved in making the decision. The reason why I nevertheless agreed to serve as expert was that I thought it essential for the profession, even if perhaps not for SAREC, that someone familiar with the traditions and current standards of Swedish political science took part in evaluating the candidates.

The definition of the SAREC professorships (*ämnesbenämningen*) is political science; there is no modification or restriction. The post description (*ämnesbeskrivningen*) is as follows:

Research is to focus on the political systems of the developing countries, their state formation and structure (*statsuppbyggnad*) and the transformation of social structures.

In order to be deemed qualified, an applicant obviously must (1) be qualified for a professorship in political science, and (2) have some background in the particular research area outlined in the post description. This raises three issues.

The first concerns the criteria for determining whether an applicant is qualified for a professorship in political science. This, following Swedish university regulations, is a matter of his scientific and pedagogic qualifications and of other relevant experience. SAREC has urged its experts to make their criteria explicit. I cannot burden this report with an essay about scientific quality, but I should like to stress one aspect: in order to be able to perform the functions of a professor of political science in a satisfactory manner, it is in my view essential to be capable of doing both theoretical and empirical research of a good quality and to be familiar with more than one theoretical approach and more than one empirical method. As regards the evaluation of pedagogic

* SAREC = Swedish Agency for Research Cooperation with Developing Countries. Ingen av de sökande bedömdes vara kvalificerad för de utlysta professorerna

qualifications, Swedish universities are presently wrestling with the problem of doing it in a valid and reliable way. What needs to be stressed here is that significant experience with graduate teaching and thesis advising are essential, when it is a matter of professorships. So far as the third set of criteria is concerned, I consider the ability to organize and direct externally-funded research and to collaborate with others in common undertakings to be of especial importance and experience with international scientific communication to be a further aspect.

A second issue concerns what is included into and excluded from the post description. The description, first of all, does not include international relations; there is a striking difference in this regard between the political science positions and SAREC's new professorships in development economics. The emphasis of the post description, furthermore, is on structural features like political systems and *statsuppbyggnad* and not on decision-making, ideologies, or policies. The inclusion of "transformation of social structures" is somewhat peculiar, since this is a central focus of sociology rather than of political science; a reasonable interpretation is that the transformation of social structures belongs to the area of study of the professorships only insofar as it is related to political phenomena.

A third issue raised by the *ämnesbenämning* and *ämnesbeskrivning* is the extent to which an applicant must be qualified in the relevant subfield and not merely in the overall discipline. This is a common problem in the evaluation of applications for professorships. If a position is named after the subfield rather than the discipline, which is the case, for example, with SAREC's positions in development economics, professorial competence in the subfield is usually considered necessary, whereas other qualifications – e. g. in other parts of the discipline of economics – are thought auxiliary. If, on the other hand, the designation of a professorship is of the increasingly common type "X with an emphasis on Y" or "X, especially Y" – e. g., "economics, especially development economics" – it is generally considered sufficient to have substantial, even though not full professorial, qualifications within the subfield. SAREC's positions in political science differ from both of these standard cases, however, since the designation is political science without modification or restriction, whereas the post description outlines a narrowly defined special area. Such tension between *ämnesbenämning* and *ämnesbeskrivning* is, I believe, uncommon. One would rather expect a position described in this way to be called something like "political science, especially developing countries". Since this is not what SAREC has decided to do, it is not unreasonable to conclude that a

relatively limited background in the subfield may suffice for being found qualified.

There are four candidates to consider: Associate Professor Björn Beckman, Stockholm, Associate Professor Walter Carlsnaes, Uppsala, Professor Axel Hadenius, Uppsala, and Associate Professor Lars Rudebeck, Uppsala. Carlsnaes's application is conditional: after having outlined his views on how to improve the quality of the political analysis of the third world countries, he writes that "if SAREC is interested in something else, I do not want to be considered an applicant despite this application". SAREC, to my knowledge, has not taken a stand on the matter, and I have considered it my task to evaluate Carlsnaes's qualifications in the same way as those of the other applicants.

SAREC has suggested that the report should begin with a presentation of all the applicants and that the evaluation of their qualifications should come thereafter. I have found it more natural to conclude the presentation of each individual applicant with a consideration of whether he is qualified for the position.

Björn Beckman, b. 1938, received his *fil. kand.* and *fil. lic.* degrees at the University of Stockholm and, in 1976, his doctorate at the University of Uppsala. He has been a student in England and Ghana and has held positions as Senior Lecturer and Reader at the Department of Political Science, Ahmadu Bello University, Nigeria, for several years. He has also held temporary positions at the University of Stockholm, where he is presently acting Associate Professor of Political Science.

Beckman's teaching experience is primarily from Ahmadu Bello University, where he was active particularly in the M. Sc. program and supervised seven completed M. Sc. dissertations. In Stockholm he has, among other things, given two postgraduate courses and served to a limited extent as thesis advisor. His chief experience with research planning is from the AKUT group in Uppsala; he seems to lack the experience of having organized and directed projects with younger scholars. His publications record suggests that he is an experienced participant in international research collaboration.

Beckman's list of publications includes 33 items. Three of these comprise five pages or less. Of the remainder, at least 13 belong to the category known as grey literature (AKUT reports, drafts, applications for grants, other mimeographed material). Beckman's publications proper include, first of all, two books and one booklet; one of the books and the booklet are co-authored with Gunilla Andræ. He has, furthermore, contributed to six books authored by others and published eight articles in academic journals (five in the *Re-*

view of African Political Economy, one in the *Nigerian Journal of Political Science*, and two in Scandinavian journals). Two thirds of the items on Beckman's list of publications are from the 1980s.

Beckman's *fil. lic.* thesis, presented in 1966, was called *Colonial Traditionalism: Ideology and Administration in British Tropical Africa*. His attempt to take the concept of ideology seriously was not bad for its time and place (this was the *Sturm-und-Drang* period of the behavioral approach in Swedish political science).

The rest of Beckman's career can be divided into two overlapping periods dominated by the study of Ghana and Nigeria, respectively. The main achievement of the Ghanaian period is the doctoral thesis presented in 1976. Since then Beckman has been concerned with developing a theory of the postcolonial state and applying it to the case of Nigeria; his publications in the 1980s may be seen as a series of reports from a single project with a theoretical as well as an empirical aspect.

A consideration of these writings may begin with an essay called "Political Science and Political Economy" (1983). It starts out with the standard argument that "much of current professional specialization is obstructive to an understanding of substantive social problems", that there is an urgent need to "treat issues as social wholes", and that "meaningful specialization can only be achieved on the basis of such a unified approach". This, Beckman maintains, cannot be achieved in the way suggested by some proponents of a "new political economy". Coleman, for one, in his concern with the political preconditions and consequences of economic development, errs by being committed to "abstract notions of political science" such as political competitiveness, political stability, and political integration. Such concepts, Beckman writes, can have no meaning except in relation to the content and nature of the contradictions involved. Unless this relation is identified we are unable to "transcend the ideological obscurantism promoted under the auspices of such concepts". A Marxist approach is what Beckman advocates; political science would gain in realism and relevance by focusing attention on "the roots of politics at the level of production, social relations and social organization of class forces" as well as on "the impact of politics on economic and social forces and the contradictions and struggles to which they give rise". Both concerns, according to Beckman, require an understanding of the dialectical relationship between the economic and political levels of society; he knows of no theoretical framework other than Marxist political economy that addresses this matter "seriously and consistently".

This perspective on political science is discernable,

even though not fully developed, already in Beckman's doctoral thesis, *Organising the Farmers: Cocoa Politics and National Development in Ghana* (1976), which remains his chief work. It is a study of the United Ghana Farmers' Council, which was established in 1953 as a farmers' organization associated with Kwame Nkrumah's Convention People's Party and was banned in 1966 after Nkrumah had been overthrown. The CPP regime gave the Farmers' Council both a political and a commercial monopoly, and Beckman's object is to explore and document this monopoly. Underlying the investigation are the questions of the relation of the CPP's development strategy to the "principal social forces" of the Ghanaian political economy and how its achievements and failures reflected "the balance of social forces and the way in which these were brought to bear on the political organisation of the Ghanaian state". Most of the thesis is devoted to a detailed consideration of the Farmers' Council – its establishment, the development of its economic and political monopoly, its role in creating a new bureaucratic class of cocoa traders, its failure to function as an organization of and for the farmers, and its broader impact on the Ghanaian economy.

Beckman's treatment of these matters has two important strengths. One is his ability to document his descriptive account in detail. Beckman had unrestricted access to the records of the Farmers' Council and is probably correct in maintaining that this gave him a unique opportunity; so far as I can see, he shows skill and care in taking use of it. Another strength of the study is Beckman's ability to combine economic and political analysis. Its chief limitation is its narrow focus on the CPP regime to the neglect of wider issues; the study is almost completely non-theoretical.

Among Beckman's later writings about Ghana is a chapter for a volume called *Rural Development in Tropical Africa* (1981). His chief concern is to explain what he terms the disintegrating agrarian basis of the postcolonial state – that of the Ghanaian state, first of all. The explanation, he argues, can be found in the interests of international capital.

This in fact is the central idea in Beckman's writings during the 1980s. I shall first consider his theoretical work. Two essays in the 1970s stand out as preparations for a more definite effort in the 1980s. One surveys the literature about the degree to which the third world state is autonomous. This, Beckman contends, can only be decided by a careful study of the links between political structures and processes, on the one hand, and the overall economic and social organization of society, on the other. The other early essay considers the large degree of state intervention in many third world econo-

mies. The most important issue, Beckman argues, is the interaction between internal class forces promoting their interest through public enterprises, on the one hand, and the still dominant foreign interests, on the other.

Beckman's main theoretical contribution has been published as a series of articles in the *Review of African Political Economy* (1980, 1981, 1982, 1986). The problem Beckman sets out to resolve is whether the national bourgeoisie in colonies and ex-colonies is a progressive or a reactionary force. It is clear, according to Beckman, that this is "one of the most brutally oppressive and unreforming capitalist ruling classes the world has seen so far". What remains to be investigated is its role in relation to capitalist development.

Underdevelopment theory has failed in this regard, Beckman contends; it is a misconception that imperialism is opposed to industrialization in the third world and therefore also that the national bourgeoisies serve as its tools for this purpose. Marxist political economy, on the other hand, has paid little attention to the manner in which peripheral societies are incorporated into and transformed by capitalism. The task Beckman sets for himself is to improve Marxist analysis on this point so as to render it capable of "transcending" underdevelopment theory.

The key is the monopoly interest of international capital. The essence of imperialism, Beckman writes, is "the enforcement of monopoly profits by political and military means". The contemporary form is "a transnational alliance of international capital backed at both ends by the power of the state". Imperialism needs "domestically rooted bourgeois class forces in order to establish the appropriate material and political conditions for its profits". The domestic bourgeoisie, on the other hand, uses its alliance with international capital to "buttress its class rule and accumulation". Jointly the two "hold back popular pressures for social and democratic reform". Therefore, the struggle against imperialism is inseparably linked with the domestic class struggle.

Beckman emphasizes that the distinction between foreign and domestic capital is not decisive; this is a "secondary contradiction" that needs to be placed in the context of "the basic problem facing capital in general, that is, in its relation to social forces opposed to capital or obstructing capital". The functions performed by the state in support of capitalist development are "performed in the interest of capital in general". State power is "used to generate conditions for monopoly profits, including the suppression of anti-monopoly social and political forces".

In a further article Beckman rejects the claim that a

leading revolutionary role can be attributed to the military. This claim, according to Beckman, suffers from a neglect of class analysis and from an incorrect identification of contradictions in society.

Beckman's writings about Nigeria represent the application of these theoretical ideas to an empirical case. For example, in an essay called "Neocolonialism, Capitalism, and the State in Nigeria", he first surveys the results of the way in which the Nigerian state has spent its oil money, a result he describes as deepening neocolonial dependence going hand in hand with a "dynamic process of capitalist transformation and class formation". The state plays a crucial role in this dependent capitalist development, he argues, and then he sets out to examine its class character. The state is presumed to be an organ of the ruling class at least in the sense that there is "some basic correspondence between the manner in which state power is formed and wielded and the logic of economic power relations at the level of production". The question is whether the Nigerian state is controlled by "the agents of international capital and foreign domination" or whether it is used as a platform by national class forces in opposition to the agents of international capital. Beckman thinks that there is evidence to support either conclusion. This "riddle" can only be solved, he maintains, "if we take as the point of departure *the unity of capital vis-a-vis social forces which are opposed to it*" (emphasis in original).

Beckman has been particularly concerned with Nigerian agriculture. *The Wheat Trap*, a well-researched book published in 1985 together with Gunilla Andræ, is introduced to the reader as a study of the politics and economics of food dependence in Nigeria. It explores the interaction between foreign big business penetration and social transformation, looks at the connection between capitalist expansion and agrarian underdevelopment, and considers the problems of food policy and national self-reliance. The authors start out from the assumption that many third world countries have become dependent on imported food that cannot be produced locally; once established such a dependent consumption pattern is self-reinforcing, they argue. This, they further maintain, is the case with Nigeria, and the objective of their study is to "demonstrate how the mechanisms of the trap work and why it is so difficult to get out of it once you have been trapped". This entrenchment, they contend, results from the collusion of three forces: US agrobusiness, Nigerian commercial and producer interests, and the Nigerian state. The wheat trap, they argue, demonstrates how subordinated integration in the world economy obstructs national development, with the local ruling class as instrument.

In an article published in 1985, Beckman is con-

cerned with large-scale peasant resistance to a major irrigation project in Nigeria. The roots of the conflict, Beckman argues, can be found in the strategy pursued by "capital, state and private, foreign and domestic, to impose its own solution to the problem of agrarian development". The fact that capital has failed to subordinate peasants as well as workers reflects "the unconsolidated nature of capitalist class formation", including "the unconsolidated class orientation of the state apparatus itself". An essay of 1987 considers six major agricultural development projects in Nigeria; the focus is on class formation in the agrarian sector. A 60-page report together with Andrae, also published in 1987 and called *Industry goes Farming*, is concerned with the raw materials crisis in the Nigerian textile industry and its implications for agriculture. The authors argue that there is evidence that import-dependent industries are first "domesticated" and then compelled to "integrate backwards into agriculture". This, they contend, is of major significance for "accumulation, class formation, and national development generally".

How Beckman plans to continue his research can be seen in a project proposal worked out in 1987. Beckman sketches a project called "State, Underdevelopment and Democracy: Nigeria, 1975-1990". The study will examine the failure of Nigerian development policies by focusing on "the process of state formation as an integral part of class formation". The concept of democracy is prominent in the new project: Beckman regards democracy as "a critical aspect of the organisational experiences and aspirations of . . . /the domestic class/ forces, affecting their political impact". By democracy he means the rules regulating "the operation of state power" as well as those determining "the scope for the organisation and articulation of the forces themselves". These are not primarily formal rules, he writes, but "political practices reflecting the balance of forces and experiences of struggles and confrontations". He does not comment on the differences and similarities between this view of democracy and a conventional approach such as that of Axel Hadenius (see below).

Beckman has also published an essay about Swedish political parties over the proper relationship between foreign aid and foreign investment. Beckman explains the polarization of views occurring in the late 1970s in terms of an increased contradiction between capital and labor over the internationalization of capital in combination with a growing integration of capital and aid. He does not consider other possible explanations such as the peculiar political situation obtaining in Sweden after the Social Democrats had been ousted from power for the first time in four decades.

Beckman's published production is relatively small

for being submitted in support of an application for a professorship, especially on the theoretical side. It is characterized by the single-minded application of one particular point of view, emerging in the 1970s and made explicit in the early 1980s. This single-mindedness is both an asset and a liability. It gives consistency and coherence to Beckman's work but also tends to render it schematic, closed, and in my view not very creative. Beckman at times seems more concerned with demonstrating an assumed truth than with testing the assumptions and exploring their limitations.

Some of Beckman's most central concepts, moreover, are poorly defined. An example is "class character". By the class character of institutions and policies, Beckman explains in *Organising the Farmers*, is usually meant "the way in which class interests or the development of class forces are expressed at the political level". By the "class basis" of policies and institutions is similarly meant "the way in which they are rooted in the social organisation of production". An underlying assumption is that "classes or, more abstractly, social forces engaged in maintaining or changing" the organisation of production should be seen as "principal actors in the development of societies, including their political institutions". These definitions are unsatisfactory on two accounts. One is the ambiguity of key expressions like "expressed" at the political level and "rooted" in the social organization of production. The other is the notion of classes or social forces as "actors", which leads on to the assumption that classes, like individuals and organizations, have objectives, make plans, implement strategies - a mystification that is not foreign to Beckman's writings.

It must be added, even though this is not a chief consideration, that the kind of phenomena generally regarded as political are peripheral to the argument in some of Beckman's publications, including for example the 1981 essay about the agrarian basis of the post-colonial state, *The Wheat Trap*, the 1987 study of development projects in Nigeria, and *Industry Goes Farming*. This does not reflect on the quality of Beckman's work or on its general relevance, of course. However, when it is a matter of evaluating an application for a professorship in an established academic discipline, it is inevitable to take into account the extent to which the work of the applicant falls within this discipline as generally conceived, and Beckman's contribution to political science is somewhat more limited than his already rather limited publications record suggests.

Beckman is doing intelligent and careful research about important matters. He would be a serious candidate for a research position at the *docent* level in a subject like the political economy of developing countries.

However, bearing in mind his relatively limited production, particularly with regard to theory, the fact that this is not compensated for by an unusually high quality, his lack of variety in approach, and his limited experience with organizing and directing research, I cannot consider him qualified for a professorship in political science.

Walter Carlsnaes, b. 1943, received his *fil. kand.* at the University of Uppsala in 1968, his M. A. at Princeton University in 1970, his *fil. lic.* at the University of Uppsala in 1972, and his doctorate at Oxford University in 1976. He was Assistant and Associate Professor at Aarhus University in 1976–1978 and has served as Associate Professor at Uppsala University for most of the time since 1978; during parts of this period he has also held positions as externally-financed researcher. Since 1978, furthermore, he has been Senior Research Associate at the Swedish Institute of International Affairs.

Carlsnaes has taught mainly at the graduate and senior undergraduate levels and has some experience as thesis advisor. His experience with organizing collaborative research is limited to an on-going project, in which he is cooperating with a senior colleague at the University of Stockholm. His professional career has been highly international in orientation: he has degrees from three countries, almost all his writings are in English, his books have been published in the UK and the US, and he has been quite active at international conferences.

Carlsnaes's list of publications comprises three books, six published essays, and ten unpublished papers. Only eight of the publications have been submitted with the application; Carlsnaes has had the good sense to avoid sending in duplicates, sketches, and small pieces that could not have affected the evaluation of this scholarly qualifications. All his main works have been published in the 1980s.

Carlsnaes began as an Africanist. This is reflected in four early papers, one of which has been published. The papers seem to have been written as part of Carlsnaes's undergraduate and early graduate study. In "A Conceptual Analysis of African Nationalism", Carlsnaes criticizes various definitions of the concept of African nationalism and then introduces a definition of his own, according to which nationalism is a "feeling of community" in David Easton's sense and is African "insofar as these political communities are constituted of Africans ruling themselves". It follows that there can be no African nationalism until national self-determination has been achieved. "A Political Analysis of Colonial Buganda" is an account of social conditions and political authority based on secondary sources, followed by a brief consideration of the extent to which the facts sup-

port a number of propositions seemingly put forward during the course for which the essay appears to have been written. In "African Nationalism and Regional Disintegration", Carlsnaes's object is to indicate the role nationalism has played to prevent African integration. He concludes, among other things, that whereas "radical" nationalism serves to disintegrate, "elite" nationalism is mainly irrelevant to the question of integration or disintegration. "Ideology and Nationalism in Africa", finally, is almost entirely conceptual; much attention is devoted already in this paper to the concept of ideology, to which Carlsnaes would later devote two books. Bearing in mind that these early essays have been written by a young student, one cannot but be impressed by their thoroughness and striving for clarity.

Carlsnaes's first major work is *The Concept of Ideology and Political Analysis* (1981). Its aim is "to raise and to pursue the question whether there remains much if any utility in retaining the term 'ideology' for explanatory purposes". Carlsnaes rejects the view that terminological matters are of limited significance because of being concerned with linguistic convention rather than substance; he presumes such a close relationship between term and concept that the inadequacy of one reflects the inadequacy of the other.

"Raising and pursuing" the above-mentioned question mainly consists in examining the concepts of ideology propounded by Marx, Lenin, and Mannheim; most of the book consists of three chapters dealing with each of these. In each chapter, the respective conception of ideology is first explicated; Carlsnaes makes a point of not just reporting how the three thinkers defined the term but of exploring the role of the concept of ideology in the larger framework of their thinking. More than half of each chapter is devoted to a critique of the respective conceptions of ideology.

One conclusion Carlsnaes draws on the basis of this analysis is "the failure, on the part of our classical authors, to justify a general philosophical, and more particularly, an epistemological or normative *raison d'être*" for the concept of ideology. Another is that we should aim at a "restrictive" conception of ideology rather than one according to which "ideology" is applicable to all political belief systems. A third is that "it is methodologically a *cul-de-sac* to seek for a conceptualization basing itself on, or aiming at, either a theory of ideology or a critique of ideology. . . . Rather, our primary purpose should be to classify and delimit the concept instead of constructing 'theories' around it". Carlsnaes suggests Lenin's thinking rather than that of Marx and Mannheim to be useful as a point of departure.

The book is a solid contribution to the literature in political philosophy. It demonstrates an impressive fa-

miliarity with epistemological issues in political science. It represents careful, thorough, and independent scholarship.

Carlsnaes's next book, *Ideology and Foreign Policy: Problems of Comparative Conceptualization* (1986), begins with the mildly surprising assertion that the concept of ideology has a noteworthy popularity in the present-day comparative analysis of foreign policy. The objective – never clearly stated – is to give a distinctive meaning to this concept and to demonstrate its proper role in comparative foreign policy analysis.

Carlsnaes first considers the concept of foreign policy. He arrives at the conclusion that foreign policy must be conceived of as actions, that the relevant actions are those that are "policies" in the sense of being "expressed in the form of explicitly stated directives" and "performed by governmental representatives acting on behalf of their sovereign communities", and are "foreign" in the sense of being "manifestly directed toward objectives, conditions and actors . . . which clearly lie beyond their sphere of territorial legitimacy".

Next Carlsnaes introduces a conceptual framework for explaining foreign policy in this sense. The chief notion is that of a three-step procedure: one must first consider the "intentional dimension" ("choice" and "motivation"), which is related teleologically to foreign policy actions, then the "dispositional dimension" ("perceptions" and "values"), which is related causally to the intentional dimension, and finally the "situational dimension" ("objective conditions" and "organizational setting"), which is linked to the dispositional dimension in a "relationship of constraint".

Carlsnaes then considers his favorite concept of ideology. After having devoted considerable attention to the general problem of conceptualization as well as to the history of the concept of ideology, Carlsnaes is ready to present his own definition, according to which a phenomenon is ideological when it is a "political doctrine" that "purports to motivate an actor" to perform or abstain from performing an action for the sake of a collective interest. He then discusses the notions of political doctrine, motivational purport, and collective interest in detail.

The pieces are brought together in a concluding chapter, in which the main point is to demonstrate the implications of the argument by applying it briefly to issues in the study of Soviet foreign policy and in the Swedish foreign policy debate. Apart from these few pages the book is an essay about how to study the role of ideology in foreign policy rather than a consideration of substantive matters.

The work is penetrating, well-argued, and careful. It deserves to be read by political scientists who mean to

take foreign policy analysis seriously. It is good enough to deserve serious criticism. Such criticism cannot be offered here. Let me merely mention two of the points where I find Carlsnaes's analysis to be unpersuasive.

One is his insistence that in order to explain foreign policy we "must" (the book is full of musts) begin at the intentional level. I am not convinced that Carlsnaes has succeeded in demonstrating that this is indeed a must and not just a matter of analytical preference. More importantly, it is not quite clear what the prescription means in practice. Explaining action directly in terms of situation, in Carlsnaes's view, is to commit an "ecological fallacy". He concedes, however, that if the actors are left out merely as a shorthand, this is *not* to commit the fallacy. Now theories to the effect that external conditions render it rational for states to do this rather than that in order to defend their interests and therefore help to explain why they actually do this rather than that would seem to satisfy Carlsnaes's methodological rule. Since this is the way in which theories about the impact of situations on foreign policy are generally constructed, it is difficult to avoid posing the question whether Carlsnaes is admonishing us in the strongest terms to do what most of us are already doing.

Secondly, Carlsnaes does not succeed entirely to attain his basic objective of explicating the relationship between ideology and foreign policy. He locates ideology in the intentional dimension of his conceptual framework. He also admits, however, that ideologies may have an impact on perceptions and values. This obvious possibility cannot be accommodated by his conceptual framework, in which there is no room for the intentional dimension's having an impact on the dispositional dimension.

Criticisms such as these do not detract from the fact that this is an admirable work – the best by far submitted by any applicant for the SAREC positions.

Carlsnaes's third book is called *Energy Vulnerability and Swedish National Security*. It is submitted in manuscript (part of the concluding chapter is missing). Carlsnaes characterizes it as "my first major empirical publication". For being a "major empirical publication" it is rather non-empirical, however.

The research problem, formulated at the end of the second chapter, is: "were Swedish energy policies during the decade in question commensurable with the basic assumptions of the logic underlying her very special type of foreign policy doctrine?" The decade in question is 1973–83, and the very special type of foreign policy doctrine refers to the policy of neutrality. Carlsnaes surveys the so-called energy crises during the decade and the international responses to them. He then devotes a chapter each to Swedish energy and foreign pol-

icy. In the concluding chapter he argues, first of all, that Swedish energy policy has failed to solve the vulnerability problem of the welfare system. The section dealing with the relationship between energy and neutrality is not included in the manuscript as submitted, but the reader can anticipate the argument: Carlsnaes contends that the vulnerability of a country depends on the cost of breaking off a given structural relationship with its international environment; that the more vulnerable Sweden is in relation to one superpower or the other, the weaker the power base of the policy of neutrality; and the weaker the power base of the policy of neutrality, the less credible this policy.

This is an empirical work in so far as it includes accounts of the energy crises and of Swedish policy. Carlsnaes almost entirely limits himself to reviewing secondary sources, however. Furthermore, the problem of the "commensurability" of Sweden's energy policies and foreign policy is largely resolved by conceptual rather than empirical means. The manuscript gives further proof of Carlsnaes's conceptual and critical skills but fails to demonstrate an equally impressive ability to conduct systematic empirical research and also, I would argue, a commensurate ability to contribute constructively to the consideration of substantive questions.

Carlsnaes's current preoccupation is reflected in a conference paper he has submitted which is called "The Production of Knowledge, Policy Analysis and Swedish Foreign Affairs" and in which a new project is outlined.

Carlsnaes's writings are of a high quality; he generally conducts his enquiries at an intellectual level much superior to that of the other applicants. His teaching experience, furthermore, is satisfactory and his integration into the international research community is impressive. Against this must be set three limitations that are not unrelated to each other: his emphasis on methodological problems and on problems of concept-formation rather than on questions of substance, his lack of experience with empirical primary research, and his limited experience with directing externally-funded projects. There occasionally surfaces a methodological innocence that those of us who have dirtied our hands with empirical data to resolve substantive problems have been unable to retain.

Regardless of whether Carlsnaes is considered competent for a professorship in political science, however, it is clear beyond doubt that he is not qualified for the SAREC positions. His writings, including his early papers about Africa, comprise little about political systems, state formation and structure, and social structure, and his chief preoccupations – ideology and foreign policy – are conspicuously absent from SAREC's post description.

Axel Hadenius, b. 1945, received his *fil. kand.* in 1970 and his doctorate in 1976, both from the University of Uppsala. He has been Assistant Professor and is since 1983 acting Professor at the Department of Political Science in Uppsala, where he also holds a research position. He has spent eight months as a visiting research fellow at the University of California. He has considerable experience with graduate teaching, including thesis supervision, and his experience with organizing and directing externally-funded research is impressive.

Hadenius's list of publications comprises four books, one book-length manuscript, nine published articles, and three unpublished papers. All but one of his books and six of his articles are in Swedish; only one article has been published in a non-Scandinavian journal. The vast majority of his publications are from the 1980s.

Hadenius's extensive writings about Swedish politics will be considered only briefly here. His first book was his doctoral thesis, *Facklig organisationsutveckling. En studie av Landsorganisationen i Sverige* (1976). The object is to describe and explain the way in which the Swedish trade union movement has come to be organized – the trends toward centralization and integration, and their impact on developments in the direction of representative democracy and professionalization. Both centralization and integration are hypothesized to have three sources: the adoption of policies presupposing a unified line of action, the policies pursued by government and management, and internal conditions and considerations. Most of the book is devoted to a detailed mapping of organizational developments. There is no systematic consideration of the extent to which the hypotheses are supported by the evidence.

Tax policy became Hadenius's next area of research. The chief result is *Spelet om skatten* (1981). Hadenius's main objective is to describe and explain three major decisions on tax policy taken in Sweden in the period 1978–1979. The explanations are rationalistic, and the book includes a chapter about this way of explaining politics. This is a clear and pedagogic account of standard notions in the literature on decisionmaking and leads up to a helpful distinction between preference systems, cognitive systems, decision rules, and selection rules as explanatory factors. There is also a useful criticism of Graham Allison's so-called models. Hadenius's application of his methodological tools to the task of explaining Swedish tax policy serves to demonstrate their utility.

Hadenius's third book is called *Medbestämmandeformen* (1983) and is a study of the process leading to legislation about the co-determination of employees. The standpoints and arguments of political parties and interest organizations are presented and systematized,

and the positions taken by the various political actors are accounted for in rationalistic terms.

A Crisis of the Welfare State? (1986) is Hadenius' fourth book. It reports a Swedish survey study of attitudes toward taxes and public expenditure. The final conclusion is that if there is a welfare crisis in Sweden, it is due primarily to the complexity of and the homelessness within a large, thoroughly organized society. Hadenius does not go deeply into this matter; the strength of the book lies in its reporting of empirical findings and its comparisons with findings from other countries rather than in the theoretical interpretation of the results.

So much for Hadenius's writings about Sweden. Hadenius has also published a methodological essay that deserves to be mentioned. It is called "The Verification of Motives" (1983). Hadenius is probably correct in supposing explanation in terms of motives to be the most common type of analysis in the social sciences and the humanities. The article is concerned with the problem of how to identify the motives of actors empirically. Hadenius systematically examines a variety of methods for inferring motives, considers their problematic aspects, and proposes solutions. The approach is constructive; whereas a scholar like Carlsnaes is inclined to consider problems such as these at a conceptual if not a philosophical level, Hadenius, while less profound, gives practical advice.

Three limitations of Hadenius's analysis may be noted, however. One is that he never questions the very idea of explaining politics in terms of motives; his own perusal of the several problems of method that need to be faced in this kind of analysis cannot but raise the question whether this is a scientifically meaningful activity. Another limitation is the lack of a serious consideration of what to mean by the motives of collective actors like political parties, interest organizations, and states. A third problem that might have been taken into consideration is the circularity that easily creeps into the motivational analysis of politics.

It remains to consider Hadenius's writings in the area of research outlined in the description of the SAREC positions. They comprise two papers, one called "Democracy and Capitalism" (accepted for publication in *Scandinavian Political Studies*) and the other called "Demokrati och statsbildning" (accepted for publication in *Statsvetenskaplig Tidskrift*), and, more importantly, a 200-page manuscript called *Utveckling och demokrati*.

The problem raised in the manuscript is what determines whether "democratic forms of government" can be introduced in third world countries and "become a stable feature of political life". Hadenius defines de-

mocracy as a decision system in which extensive participation is combined with political rights rendering public contestation possible. Democracy, according to Hadenius, is a "division of power in its most extensive form" whereas the "permissible methods" are "highly limited". Conflict must be resolved "in institutionalized forms and by peaceful means". In order for democracy to obtain it does not suffice that political rights are formally prescribed, Hadenius adds; "the political competition must . . . be real; if certain groups – or ideas – are systematically discriminated against or even prohibited, it is not reasonable to maintain that a democratic form of government is applied". It is furthermore necessary that popular influence has a "full impact on political life: legislative and executive power should (directly or indirectly) be under popular control". Hadenius maintains that, according to this definition, democracy is an either-or question but he also assumes that countries can be more or less undemocratic.

This view of democracy is not original. I have cited it because a concern with the feasibility of democratic government in developing countries seems to lie behind the establishment of the SAREC professorships and since I have already cited the concept of democracy put forward by another applicant (Beckman).

The main body of the manuscript consists in a survey and critical analysis of the literature about the preconditions for democracy in developing countries. Hadenius distinguishes between three types of precondition: economic and social, political-cultural (which are mainly a matter of homogeneity and cleavage in Hadenius's analysis) and institutional. More than half of the manuscript is devoted to the last-mentioned category, preparing the ground for Hadenius's own thoughts. These are presented only briefly. A chief point is the suggestion that a condition for stable democracy is a gradual increase in rule-directed government. The preconditions for such developments, according to Hadenius, are often unfavorable in third world countries, but they do exist.

Hadenius's manuscript is an early result of an ongoing research program in comparative politics which he is heading; he is currently establishing an international network of scholars with similar interests. The profile of the program, as Hadenius puts it, is to give the state and its institutional structure a central place in the analysis. I share the view that it is important to focus attention on such factors in addition to economic, social, and cultural background conditions. I am impressed, moreover, with the wide spectrum of theoretical and empirical literature covered in Hadenius's manuscript; this is a good basis for more thorough and more independent study. Hadenius's survey of the literature,

furthermore, may prove useful as a textbook – as a much-needed, theory-oriented introduction to the study of politics in developing countries.

It also has limitations, however. First, Hadenius's use of game theory is more confusing than clarifying. Hadenius assumes that the sum of all relations between all political actors in a country can be summarized in the form of a single two-by-two game with "cooperation" and "defection" as options and Stag Hunt, Prisoners' Dilemma, and Deadlock as alternative structures. This raises some questions. What do "cooperation" and "defection" mean in this context? Is it reasonable to assume that all bilateral relations in the system have the same structure? Why are Stag Hunt, Prisoners' Dilemma, and Deadlock the only possibilities? How does Hadenius mean to determine whether the actual situation obtaining in a country is of one or the other of his three types? Most fundamentally, to what extent are Hadenius's assumptions about the conditions for democracy really derived from a game theoretical analysis?

Second, it would have been useful if the theory outlined at the end had been more formalized. This would have made it easier to see exactly what factors are assumed to determine the preconditions for democracy, how these factors are assumed to be related to one another, and what is the precise theoretical status of each assumption.

Third, it is a worthwhile question to what extent politics within developing countries results from external factors. The only consideration of external determinants in Hadenius's manuscript can be found in his six-page treatment of what he calls the dependency school (Hadenius likes to place researchers in "schools", a habit he shares with too many others). It would not have been farfetched to consider in addition the role of developing countries in world politics, for example, how the conditions for democracy in a country are affected by the position of the country in US-Soviet relations.

"Democracy and Capitalism" adds a further aspect. Hadenius points out that there is an empirical correlation between capitalism and democracy but argues that the former obviously is not a sufficient condition for the latter and that the connection between the two has been insufficiently explored.

Hadenius, in summary, is a many-sided political scientist who has worked with a variety of problems, methods, and theories and has a considerable experience with teaching and with project organization and direction. His pedagogic ability can be seen in his writings: he never makes simple things complex, and he is good at explaining complex things in a simple way. His experience with and interest in practical research tasks

should contribute to making him a successful thesis adviser. His theoretical contributions could have been more extensive, original, and imaginative, and his record of international publication could have been stronger. He is unquestionably qualified for a professorship in political science, however.

It is more difficult to determine whether he is qualified for the SAREC positions, since his experience in the area outlined in the post description is modest. It should be taken into account, in my view, that the positions have been defined as professorships in political science without qualification; this, as pointed out previously, cannot but imply that a relatively limited experience with the subfield should suffice for being considered qualified. It should also be taken into account that Hadenius's writings within the area outlined in the post description are merely the first results of a long-term program. I have come to the conclusion that it is justifiable to consider Hadenius qualified for a SAREC professorship in political science.

Lars Rudebeck, b. 1936, holds an M. A. from the Putney Graduate School of Teacher Education, Putney, Vermont, and *fil. kand.* and *fil. lic.* degrees from the University of Uppsala, where he also received his doctorate in 1967. Since then he has taught at the Department of Political Science in Uppsala, where he is now Associate Professor. During the period 1969–1976 he held a research position at the Swedish Social Science Research Council. He is a very experienced thesis advisor as well as organizer and director of externally-funded research projects, and he has been active in setting up and maintaining the AKUT group in Uppsala.

Rudebeck has submitted 54 publications and papers of a varying character with his application. They include, first of all, five books and about twenty essays published as book chapters or in academic journals. Most of the remainder consists of book reviews, teaching materials, and writings for a general audience. Rudebeck has published in eight languages and appears to be internationally well-established within his field of interest.

Most of Rudebeck's writings are based on his research about four countries: Mexico, Tunisia, Guinea-Bissau, and – albeit marginally – Mozambique. He has also shown an interest in general theory, however. Rudebeck was an active participant in the discussion about the fundamentals of the discipline with which political scientists were preoccupied two decades ago, and one of his books is entirely theoretical. He has, moreover, written about Scandinavian third world policy. In the last few years he, like Beckman and Hadenius, has become preoccupied with the relationship between devel-

opment and democracy. His chief works were published before the 1980s, however.

Mexico is the object of Rudebeck's thesis for the *fil. lic.* degree (1963). A variety of material, ranging from personal interviews and observations to election statistics and official documents, is used to piece together an overall view of the Mexican political system.

Party and People: A Study of Political Change in Tunisia (1976) is Rudebeck's doctoral thesis. Its main purpose is "to illustrate and analyze the connection between policy and politics, between social goals and the political system" in Tunisia, "regarded as an example of an African one-party state". Rudebeck departs from a modified version of Almond's theory of the functions of political systems. He suggests how each function is performed in "elite" and "mass" one-party systems, respectively; it is not clear whether this is meant to be a set of empirical hypotheses or of definitions of ideal types (Rudebeck uses the term "illustrative examples"). Rudebeck then considers in detail the consequences of Tunisia's adoption of "Neo-Destourian socialism" at the central, regional, and local levels. He also presents case studies of the party and the labor movement, the organization of Tunisian youth, and voting participation, as well as a survey study of fifty-nine university students. The results are summarized in terms of the political functions defined at the beginning. The chief conclusion is that the Tunisian political system evolved in the direction of a "mass" one-party system during the 1960s and that this resulted from the policies initiated at the beginning of the decade. This Rudebeck considers to be "an application . . . of the more general idea that a fundamental connection exists between policy and politics".

The point of using a scheme such as Almond's, as Rudebeck notes, is to facilitate comparisons between political systems. Rudebeck applies the idea to a comparison in time rather than in space, and this proves to be fruitful. His experiment with Almond's approach is not unimpressive, given the state of Swedish political science at the time.

A second edition was published in 1969. In a post-script Rudebeck revises his original reasoning. He now thinks that Almond's scheme has an "ethnocentric, western bias". He suggests that the concepts of "mobilization oriented" and "vested interest oriented" system be substituted for "elite" and "mass party" systems. He has realized, furthermore, that Almond's approach is concerned with the how and not the why of politics and outlines a model, which he maintains is implicit in the first edition, of the relationship between political system and development strategy.

This model is taken further in *Utveckling och politik*

(1970), which is an ambitious theoretical effort and deserves special consideration here. The objective, Rudebeck writes, is to suggest a theory of "political development" that contrasts favorably with previous efforts by being characterized by "theoretical clarity and consistency" in combination with "historical relevance".

Part of the book is devoted to a critical review of four previous attempts to theorize about political development: those by Almond and Powell, Apter, Allardt, and Myrdal. Almond, Rudebeck's original mentor, is now said to have offered "a theoretically hopeless mixture of normative and empirical, subjective and objective, criteria and elements". Only Myrdal is found to have made a constructive contribution.

In Rudebeck's own theory, the type of political system and the type of development strategy jointly determine a third phenomenon which I believe may be termed *opportunity for development*. Rudebeck's chief proposition is that only the combination of mobilization-oriented political system and a revolutionary development strategy (*omvälvningsstrategi*) can give "certain possibilities to bring about development dynamics".

The basis of this conclusion, so far as I have been able to make out, is a chain of assumptions to the effect that an "adaptive", i. e., non-revolutionary, development strategy is unlikely to be associated with a mobilization-oriented political system, that political mobilization is integral to political development, and that political development is a condition for a reduction in underdevelopment. The critical question is whether these relationships are merely logical, i. e., inherent in Rudebeck's definitions of the various concepts, or whether they are hypothetical and subject to empirical testing. This is not easy to determine. The unacceptable ambiguity of *Utveckling och politik* can merely be suggested by way of example here.

The ambiguity begins with Rudebeck's definition of underdevelopment as

a *contradiction* between social and human needs and potential possibilities of satisfying them: a question of under-, non-, or misutilization of human and material resources in relation to observable and perceived needs (emphasis in original, my translation).

This definition raises two trivially obvious problems: the one of assessing needs, and the one of assessing the possibility of satisfying them. The former is even more serious for Rudebeck than for others, since he includes not just "human needs" but also something called "social needs" and, at the same time, stipulates that those needs that are relevant for the question of underdevelopment must be "perceived" as well as "observable". It is not easy to determine whether a particular change,

whether observed or contemplated, represents a decrease or an increase in development in this complex sense.

The concept of political development is also difficult to pinpoint; what appears to be meant as a definition covers more than half a page, and it is difficult to determine to what extent this is verbiage. Rudebeck then goes on to consider the concept of political underdevelopment:

The most typical attribute of an underdeveloped political system is . . . almost by definition its inability to mobilize the people politically to a sufficient extent – or, put differently, its inability to establish effective contact and cooperation between the people and its leaders. In such a politically underdeveloped situation there is no effective political mass organization. . . . Nor is there . . . a political determination sufficiently strong and sufficiently oriented toward the interests that the masses themselves have experienced to supply them with an igniting spark of political consciousness. . . . What first of all characterizes underdeveloped political systems thus is, first, that they do not give the masses the possibility to make their interests heard and have them satisfied, and secondly, that the authority of these systems is defective and largely rests on violence, to the extent that it exists at all (my translation).

It is impossible to distinguish between stipulative definition, empirical generalization, and causal hypothesis in this quotation. Rudebeck, with characteristic ambiguity, maintains that an underdeveloped political system is unable to mobilize the people "almost" by definition. He later contends that mobilization-oriented systems are more conducive to development than other types of system "by definition". Still later in the text it merely "appears" to him that mobilization-oriented systems are superior from the point of view of development. He argues, furthermore, that a stable combination of a mobilization-oriented system and a non-revolutionary ("adaptive") development strategy is implausible "for reasons of both logic and experience". Rudebeck's inability or unwillingness to define his concepts clearly and to separate definitions from empirical assertions is also shown by a two-page description of the of the mobilization-oriented system and its opposite. His attempt to achieve his stated object of "theoretical clarity and consistence" is a failure.

Rudebeck's writings about Guinea-Bissau comprise two books and some ten lesser publications and papers. *Guinea-Bissau: A Study of Political Mobilization* (1974), one of Rudebeck's major works, is about the PAIGC's struggle for national liberation and efforts at state-formation. It is based, among other things, on visits to Guinea-Bissau in 1970 and 1972, where Rudebeck

could obtain PAIGC documents and make observations of his own. The chief chapters are descriptive and are concerned with the ideology and goals of the PAIGC and with the emerging political, economic, social, and cultural order in PAIGC-controlled territory. They provide unusual insights into the setting up of a new political and administrative system. Rudebeck considers the PAIGC to be his "struggling comrades", dedicates the book to Amílcar Cabral and the people of Guinea-Bissau, and quotes Cabral's writings at length; this is not intended to be a work of critical scholarship.

The book, according to its opening sentence, is meant to present "concrete facts". It is also intended to "improve our systematic understanding of some of the more general political principles and mechanisms involved in the emancipation of oppressed societies", however. The latter objective is reflected in the concluding chapter, which begins with a statement of underlying assumptions and premises that are marxist-inspired, as Rudebeck puts it. One such assumption is that political mobilization is necessary for overcoming underdevelopment – a proposition familiar from *Utveckling och politik*.

Rudebeck now defines mobilization as "the process through which people begin to see clearly the contradictions between their own aspirations and the existing structural and institutional arrangements of the society they live in". He adds, confusingly, that "mobilization may also occur for other reasons than the illegitimacy of the established order of society". He then defines social mobilization as "the process whereby people's awareness of the structural conditions and contradictions of the society they live in is influenced by these conditions and contradictions themselves". Two pages later this turns out to be merely one form of social mobilization, namely, the "spontaneous" form; "social mobilization" need not, we now discover, be "a result of objective conditions" but can also be a "result of political mobilization".

Political mobilization, in turn, Rudebeck "would like to" define as "conscious work, carried out with the explicit purpose of intensifying, accelerating, and directing the more general process of social mobilization". Here too it turns out after two pages that this is merely one form; political mobilization can also take place "spontaneously, arising from the 'grass-roots'" and need not be "initiated by conscious minorities for purposes of increased social mobilization". He thus seems to be saying that spontaneous political mobilization is one form of non-spontaneous social mobilization. Rudebeck later in the text maintains that the concept of political mobilization contains "a fundamental dialectical tension" between control and spontaneity; in fact, if

one of these is missing, "mobilization as defined here will be either weak or non-existent". The inconsistencies should be obvious.

The stated purpose of the concluding chapter is to use the empirical data about the PAIGC to advance our general understanding of political mobilization. There is a brief consideration of a number of conditions that may have favored or inhibited political mobilization in the specific case of Guinea-Bissau, but no conclusions of a more general kind are drawn. Rudebeck's theoretical contribution in this study is as limited as it is confused. This is especially regrettable with regard to his suggestive insight about the dialectical nature of political mobilization.

In "Vetenskaplig fruktbarhet" (1975) Rudebeck sets out to defend the Guinea-Bissau book in the form of a general argument about methods in the social sciences. He maintains that the book, far from being mainly non-theoretical, is an "explicitly theoretically structured analysis and description of reality", in which the "basic theoretical and political question to reality" is: "what does political mobilization imply concretely, under what conditions does it become possible, and how is it carried out?"

Rudebeck in this paper returns to the question of the relationship between mobilization and development. "Social change in the interest of common people must be brought about by themselves", he now writes. "This is virtually a matter of definition", he asserts, and therefore it follows logically that political mobilization is a necessary condition for overcoming underdevelopment in the third world. When it comes to the concept of political mobilization, i. e., the nature of that phenomenon which is "virtually" a *sine qua non* for development in Rudebeck's sense, we encounter a familiar confusion. Political mobilization is defined first as "conscious political work" and then as a "synthesis of spontaneous social activity and planned coordination" (Rudebeck's emphasis). Whether either is a conclusion drawn on the basis of reality's answer to Rudebeck's question or merely another definitional stipulation is not clear. What is clear is that the mere presentation of one instance of political mobilization and of some plausible conditions for its having occurred do not suffice to shed light on any empirical "theoretical and political question" of a general nature; Rudebeck fails to convince at least this reader that the Guinea-Bissau book makes a contribution to theory.

Rudebeck returned to Guinea-Bissau in 1976 to collect material for a book about independent Guinea-Bissau's efforts to overcome underdevelopment. The main result is *Guinea-Bissau: Folket, partiet och staten* (1977). This book is a good political reportage. Rude-

beck maintains that it is more than that and characterizes it as an attempt to "make abstract theory concrete by using it as an instrument for the description and analysis of a part of reality", thereby improving the description and at the same time contributing to the theoretical debate. Both of these aspects remain largely implicit, however. It is worth noting that in this book Rudebeck, without further ado, rejects a favorite thought: "naturally", he now writes, political mobilization of the people to conscious participation in development work is not the only conceivable way to bring about social change in the interest of the majority of the people in the third world.

The book contains three informative chapters about the political institutions of free Guinea-Bissau, its development strategy, and development work in a particular village. The concluding four-page chapter is mainly devoted to the question whether the development strategy of Guinea-Bissau deserves to be called "socialistic".

Rudebeck has continued to write about developments in Guinea-Bissau, most recently in a contribution to an APSA symposium which is also forthcoming in both German and Portuguese.

Rudebeck's main publication about Nordic third world policy is a chapter for a comparative textbook. Trade, investment, aid, and "political issues" are surveyed. The attempt to account for differences in third world policy between the Nordic countries in terms of differences between their economies, security policies, and domestic politics is rather superficial.

Rudebeck has written three brief papers about democracy and development, the most recent of which has been published ("Utveckling och demokrati", 1987). The question posed by Rudebeck concerns the links between the social basis of state power, its internal structure, and the policies resulting from its exercise. Rudebeck presents what he calls "a sketch of an analytical framework for the analysis of such links". The framework consists of four "levels", also referred to as "variables" as well as "dimensions". They are: the class basis of the state, its cultural basis, its political structure, and the orientation of its policies.

The variable called class basis can take on three values, as it were: "landlords and capitalists", "intermediate strata: small producers, salaried employees, intellectuals", and "farmers, workers, marginalized". This, to my mind, is a typology of classes rather than of the class bases of states. The cultural basis of a state, in Rudebeck's framework, can vary from diversity to integration. The political structure is thought to vary from "autocratic elitist hierarchy" through a "strong state with some kind of social roots" and "democratic popular mobilization" or "people's power" to "equal power dis-

tribution". As regards policy orientation, a scale is suggested from "adaptation to world market profitability" to "giving priority to politically and bureaucratically defined needs".

Much could be said about these concepts, but the most important question concerns the links between the levels, variables, or dimensions. It is not farfetched to interpret Rudebeck to suggest that they correlate so that a class basis tending toward the farmers-and-workers end of the scale, cultural integration, "democratic popular mobilization" or "people's power", and an emphasis on "politically and bureaucratically defined needs" tend to go together. If this is indeed his theory, he would need to explain, among other things, why cultural diversity is associated with a class basis of landlords and capitalists, and why the "people" can be assumed to object to their country's making money abroad.

Since the tone of this review of Rudebeck's work has been predominantly negative, it is important to emphasize that Rudebeck is in some ways highly qualified for the SAREC positions. He has written extensively in the area outlined in the post description while remaining preoccupied with problems that are very central to political science. He has shown an impressive ability to collect data and provide descriptive accounts of political systems in the third world; his experience with a variety of countries as well as with a variety of methods for data collection are significant assets. Rudebeck is also an experienced teacher and thesis advisor, has produced teaching materials, has a proven ability to write about his research for a broader audience, and has a considerable experience as an organizer of research.

The chief problem is the poor quality of his theoretical work. This in my view is such a fundamental matter that I have felt compelled to conclude that Rudebeck cannot be considered qualified for a professorship in political science.

Of the four applicants Walter Carlsnaes is easiest to evaluate. Carlsnaes is a fine scholar whose qualifications, however, are not the right ones for the SAREC professorships.

Björn Beckman and Lars Rudebeck have devoted most of their careers to the special area of the SAREC positions. Both have done careful empirical research about politics in third world countries. The chief empirical works are mainly non-theoretical in both cases (Beckman's thesis about Ghana, Rudebeck's books about Guinea-Bissau). Both have also produced theoretical studies, even though Rudebeck's theoretical efforts are more ambitious. Rudebeck, furthermore, has been more concerned than Beckman with the kind of

questions that are central to political science.

The chief reasons why Beckman cannot be considered competent for a professorship in political science in my view are that his published production is relatively limited, particularly so far as theory is concerned, and that virtually all his writings apply one particular point of view, and one that may inspire oversimplification rather than openness and creativity. The main reason why I have been unable to consider Rudebeck competent for a professorship in political science is the dubious quality of his theoretical work.

There remains Axel Hadenius. His qualifications for a professorship in political science cannot be doubted. He has moreover embarked on a major project within the special area of the SAREC positions. His writings in this area are limited but promising. Whether they suffice to make him qualified for a SAREC professorship is a difficult judgement to make. My conclusion, which is based on the way in which the positions have been defined, is to *recommend Axel Hadenius for one of the SAREC professorships in political science.*

Kjell Goldmann

Evaluation of candidates for two SAREC professorships in political science

In 1987 the Swedish Government decided to establish half a dozen new senior academic posts for research on development issues. Among these, two were allocated to political science. In the description of these posts it is stressed that research is to focus on "the political systems of the developing countries, their social structure and the transformation of social structures". According to the Government Bill of 1987, it appears the purpose of these professorships is to strength the scholarly resources for evaluating development assistance, promoting research cooperation with individuals and institutions in developing countries, and encouraging a serious debate about development in Third World countries. The responsibility of the new professors is to build a research environment in which younger scholars can be stimulated and trained for future work on development issues.

Four applications were received by SAREC for these two professorships. My evaluation of these applications is organized into four sections: (1) presentation of the candidates; (2) discussion of evaluation criteria; (3)

evaluation of the candidates; and (4) recommendations to SAREC.

Presentation of the Candidates

Presentation as well as evaluation of the applicants is being done in alphabetical order:

1. *Björn Beckman*. Born in Göteborg, Sweden, 1938, Björn Beckman received his first degree from the University of Stockholm in 1960 with a combined major in History and Political Science. He received his second degree (fil. lic.) from the same institution in 1966. While preparing his thesis, he spent ten months at the School of oriental and African Studies and subsequently also several months at the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, both affiliated with the University of London. He finished his doctoral degree ten years later, having done field research in Ghana affiliated to the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, Legon. While writing up his dissertation, Beckman was a part-time research fellow in the Department of Political Science, University of Uppsala, where his degree was granted. His teaching career, which began in 1978, has been largely in Nigeria, more specifically at Ahmadu Bello University in Zaria. Between 1978 and 1981 he was a Senior Lecturer in Political Science and from 1985 to 1987 Reader in the same subject. In the years in-between he occupied a temporary position as Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of Stockholm, spending part of his time doing research in Nigeria. Since April 1987 he is back in that Department in a temporary capacity. Both his research and his teaching has been guided by a radical political economy perspective. The bulk of his teaching has been at the undergraduate level, but he has advised seven M. Sc. students at Ahmadu Bello and he has taught individual post-graduate courses both there and in Sweden. As a member of AKUT – a group of radical scholars interested in political economy issues, drawn from both the University of Uppsala and the University of Stockholm – he has been involved in running a series of research programmes, financed by SAREC. Of relevance is also that he serves as an Overseas Editor of the Review of African Political Economy (ROAPE), published in Great Britain. Through both AKUT and ROAPE he is plugged into networks of researchers both in Europe and developing countries.

2. *Walter Carlsnaes*. Born in South Africa 1943, Walter Carlsnaes studied at the University of Uppsala where he received both his first (1968) and his second degree (1972) with highest honors in Political Science. Much of his graduate studies was spent outside Sweden, both in

the United States, where he received a Masters degree in Politics from Princeton University 1970, and in England, where he finished a D. Phil. degree in Politics at Oxford University in 1976. During these years, he was the recipient of a large number of prestigious scholarships and fellowships which enabled him to study at some of the best institutions of higher learning in the Western World. Upon returning to Scandinavia in 1976, he is the recipient of research grants from the Swedish Council for Research in the Humanities and Social Sciences twice and from the Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation once. Carlsnaes' original intention was to do research in East Africa but after failing to obtain research clearance he switched to other sub-fields of political science, notably the philosophy of social science and the comparative analysis of policy, with a special focus on foreign policy. After a brief spell (1976-77) as Assistant Professor in Political Science at Aarhus University in Denmark, Carlsnaes became affiliated with the Swedish Institute of International Affairs as Senior Research Associate in 1978. While on leave from that job, he has been Acting Associate Professor in Political Science at the University of Uppsala 1981-83 and 1986-89 and has been affiliated with the same Department as Senior Researcher on individual research grants 1984-86. His teaching experience consists mainly of seminars on Foreign Policy/International Relations and on Methodology and the Analysis of Ideas, conducted either for advanced level undergraduate students or graduate students. He has served as thesis advisor for three graduate students. Together with two colleagues from the University of Stockholm, he has administered an externally funded research project on "Knowledge Utilization in Foreign Policy".

3. *Axel Hadenius*. The youngest of the four applicants, Axel Hadenius was born in 1945 in Linköping. Educated under the new system for higher education in Sweden, he finished his first degree in Political Science at the University of Uppsala 1970 and proceeded directly to doctoral studies. He obtained his Ph. D. in Political Science from the same University in 1976. His research and teaching career has been confined to that Department, where, over the years, he has served in various capacities, including Acting Professor since 1983. He was a Visiting Research Fellow at the University of California 1984-85. Since 1987, he combines the position of Acting Professor with that of Senior Researcher in his home department at Uppsala. Hadenius' research interests have evolved from being initially exclusively concerned with Swedish Politics to being increasingly more focused on Comparative Politics issues, notably the study of democracy. His teaching has been at both un-

dergraduate and graduate levels where in recent years his main contribution has been in the fields of Comparative Politics and Research Methods. He has played an active role in advising incoming graduate students. He has been principal advisor of five doctoral students, two of whom have graduated. He has run three research projects of his own, one with colleagues from other universities. In addition, he has participated in two other research programmes organized by colleagues in his Department. His current research focuses on "Democracy and State Formation" in a comparative perspective. Hadenius has served as Member of the Board of the Swedish as well as the Nordic Political Science Associations. He is the current Chairman of the former.

4. *Lars Rudebeck*. Born in Lund 1936, Lars Rudebeck pursued his undergraduate studies both in the United States and the University of Uppsala, where he obtained his first degree in 1961. His second degree in 1963 as well as his doctoral degree in 1967 are both in Political Science at the same University. Being one of the first Swedish social scientists devoted to research on development issues, Rudebeck has conducted research in Mexico, Tunisia, Algeria, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique. Affiliated with the Department of Political Science in Uppsala, initially on a temporary basis but since 1986 as tenured Associate Professor, he has been teaching courses and seminars on development theory and practice. He has been principal advisor of nine doctoral students in Political Science who have all successfully completed their degrees and he has served as advisor on three dissertations in other departments. Rudebeck has been invited to give lectures at several universities in Africa, Europe and the United States. He has also received several invitations to prepare papers for international meetings including those organized by the International Political Science Association and the World Congress of Sociology. He is a rounding member of AKUT and has served as consultant to SAREC.

Striking about these four applicants is that all of them have been educated and mainly affiliated with only one of the Political Science Departments in Sweden. Furthermore, only two of them have been continuously involved in Third World Studies, the third having an aborted career as Africanist and the fourth only beginning to take an interest in developing countries. This is a rather sad comment on the state, not only of Third World studies but also of Comparative Politics at large in Swedish Political Science. Despite an impressive quantitative as well as qualitative growth within the latter during the past three decades, Comparative Politics

remains the Cinderella of the discipline. Swedish Politics and Foreign Policy/International Relations have been the growth points. Comparative Politics has been part of the curriculum but few Swedish political scientists have actively devoted time to do research on other political systems.

Evaluation Criteria

It is against this background that the two new professorships must be evaluated. If Government investment in these positions is going to be of lasting value, the prospective appointees should preferably combine the following qualities and skills:

- a scientific production of acceptable standards;
- peer recognition in relevant circles;
- relevance of scholarly work to development problems;
- pedagogical skills.

1. *Scientific production*. This criterion has both a quantitative and a qualitative dimension. The number of publications expected of a person considered for appointment to full Professor varies from discipline to discipline, from university to university and from country to country. All the same, my experience from evaluating candidates for such jobs in Political Science in Africa, Europe as well as the United States suggests that, *at a minimum*, the following qualifications should be met: (a) a continuously active production of scholarly work; (b) two major published books; (c) 10-12 articles in scholarly journals or edited books. This purely quantitative set of indicators may of course be modified in exceptional instances, particularly when the scientific merits of the candidate are outstanding.

The quality of the publications is generally assessed in terms of: (i) the confidence of the author to handle complex theoretical or conceptual issues; (ii) his or her ability to relate theory to empirical problems in a creative and productive fashion so that knowledge is being advanced; (iii) his or her ability to present problems in relation to relevant existing literature; and (iv) his or her competence in presenting arguments with the necessary clarity and care.

2. *Peer recognition*. Such recognition usually manifests itself in three ways: (a) acceptance of articles in refereed journals; (b) invitations to publish chapters in edited books; and (c) frequent citations of his or her publications. A "refereed journal" is one that employs independent outside readers to evaluate the quality and relevance of a given article before it is being accepted

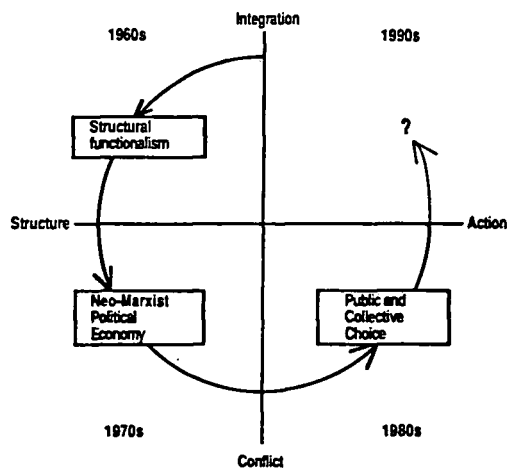
for publication. Depending on the number of manuscripts the journal receives and the number of its readers, it acquires recognition as being, or not being, a prestigious and influential outlet for scientific work. Exceptions to this "rule" can of course be accepted. For instance, a Swedish scholar who has conducted most of his work in Africa may wish to publish his or her work in an African journal because, among other things, it acquires particular significance there and it helps to boost the local journal. But a scholar seeking recognition by peers in his or her discipline or field cannot limit publication to such outlets. It is the acceptance of articles by widely read refereed journals and books by "serious" publishers of academic manuscripts that makes a person a legitimate candidate for professorial advancement. This is an opinion that I have encountered everywhere I have worked: in East Africa, the U. S. and Sweden. How often and by whom the material of a certain scholar is being used by others can be regularly gauged by reading the Social Science Citation Index. It covers social science journals in all major and some minor (e. g. Swedish) languages and records how often a certain scholar's work is being cited in scholarly journals. It also provides details about where the citation occurs and who has made it.

3. *Developmental relevance.* This criterion takes on particular importance in the case of these professorships. "Development" means different things to different people. Furthermore, its meaning has shifted over time. Thus, for instance, in the late 1950s and early 1960s, development implied a strong central government direction of activities focused on individuals or groups with a comparative advantage. "Progressive farmers", for instance, was a favorite target group because they were expected to serve as role models for others, thus providing the vehicle for a "trickle down" of new ideas or innovations to the population at large. When policy-makers and practitioners realized in the late 1960s that the premises of this approach were faulty, development began to take on a new connotation. Development is meaningless without equity and redistribution of resources to meet the needs of the poorer segments of the population. As a result, major efforts were made by governments to redirect benefits and resources so as to meet "basic human needs". In the early 1970s, this was the predominant strategy pursued by the international community. One of its consequences was to extend government involvement in social and economic processes, often way beyond what poorly endowed Third World governments could afford or manage. This tendency towards an "over-developed" – or perhaps better put, over-burdened – state was ex-

acerbated by the turbulence in the international economy that followed in the wake of the 1973 oil crisis. Confidence in the state or the government as an "engine of development", therefore, was seriously shaken. Development analysts, and gradually also policymakers, began to look beyond the state for answers to their puzzles. In the late 70s and early 80s, this search took essentially two forms. For those who were concerned with the welfare and abilities of ordinary people, the emphasis shifted increasingly towards the notion that "small is beautiful", i. e. that non-bureaucratic forms of organization were superior. Non-governmental organizations were "discovered" as developmental mechanisms because they were viewed as having greater capacity to interact with the poor than government departments. In more radical circles, this new orientation manifested itself in the "new social movements", e. g. environmental groups, who were organizing themselves to challenge existing political establishments. The second form is particularly associated with the neo-liberal renaissance in development economics and notably its implications for the work of the major international finance institutions like the IMF and the World Bank. Here the emphasis has been on liberalizing the economic system so as to create greater incentives for individuals and firms to produce more. The lessons that towards the end of the 1980s seem to emerge from this new development thinking is that it is not only a matter of "getting prices right" but also of "getting politics right". In many Third World countries, as illustrated by both Algeria and Burma during 1988, the institutional legacy of the past has become a political burden. Ordinary people in Africa, Asia and Latin America are increasingly seeing their governments as part of the problem rather than part of the solution. Development is increasingly being associated with the demands for political reform. It is no exaggeration to suggest that development thinking is today increasingly veering towards the political dimensions of change. The decision by the Swedish government to establish two professorships in Political Science is both timely and relevant against this backdrop.

How well equipped are political scientists for the challenge that the current mode of development thinking poses? To be sure, Political Science as a discipline and Comparative Politics as a field have not been standing still in the past three decades. Within the broader theoretical traditions that guide the study of politics, noticeable shifts have taken place, as suggested below. Comparative political inquiry has been guided by the following basic questions: (1) Are political decisions to be explained with reference to the purposes and reasons of individual actors or by reference to the structural

needs of the "system"? (2) Is political stability or change best explained with reference to the presumed existence of a normative consensus or by reference to value conflicts that are inherently disruptive? The first question refers to the dichotomy between action theory and structural theory, the second to the dichotomy between integration and conflict theories. The brief history of comparative politics is the history of a quick sweep over the waters that the parameters of these two questions cover:



Without wishing to suggest that the theories listed above have been exclusively employed, they have been the dominant paradigms in the study of politics, each for about a decade. A research tradition has been established around each "school", but as the empirical reality has changed, it has become increasingly difficult to sustain hegemony, even if attempts have been made to modify or refine theory and concepts. This loss of hegemony does not mean that the "school" is dead, but it is relegated to a secondary position and finds itself in growing difficulty to recruit new disciples. Thus, for instance, structural functionalism was the dominant paradigm in the 1960s at a time when the Third World for the first time became an integral part of the comparative study of politics. Its universal categories and its promise of a "grand theory" of development attracted scholars from all social science disciplines to its ranks. It served very well the optimistic and innocent mood of the 1960s. As its epistemological and methodological problems were exposed in the late 1960s and new empirical challenges emerged as a result of what was happening around the world, it was replaced by neo-Marxist theories. Coming in different varieties – dependency theory, class theory and eventually theories of the state

– this new paradigm stressed the need to place the analysis of politics in the context of economic variables. The inevitable tendency was to become historically deterministic and to reduce politics to being a dependent variable. Like the structural-functionalist school, the new political economy stressed the importance of structures, the difference being that the former treated them as potentially enabling while the latter viewed them as only constraining. In view of the pessimism that this approach engendered and its own shortcomings as a theoretical guide for empirical investigations, it was overtaken in the early 1980s by public and collective choice theories, the off-spring of neo-classical economics. Stressing the universality of rational choice in the sense of every person's inclination to always satisfy his own interests first, this school developed a competing paradigm which retained the notion of economic preeminence over politics but shifted from group or class to individual as the relevant unit of analysis. In the study of development, this school has during the 1980s been influential through its study of the "rational peasant" and critical issues in natural resource management (the "tragedy of the commons"). In recent years, this paradigm has been challenged by those who argue that human preferences are not exogenous, i. e. beyond systematic investigation, but that they are shaped in the course of social and political interaction. Particularly influential has been the New Institutionalism, associated with the names of James March and Johan Olsen. There is a move towards reconciling the overly simplistic "actor" perspective of public and collective choice theories with the notion that structures matter, but that they do so in ways that neither structural functionalists nor neo-Marxists saw it whether seen from a theoretical or a methodological perspective, this is where the research frontier in Comparative Politics is as we approach the 1990s. It is manifesting itself in various ways both in Africa, Europe and America, e. g. through a growing interest in "democracy", "human rights", or "governance". What this emerging research has in common is the recognition that politics is much more of an independent variable than was assumed before and that political culture is potentially as important as political economy.

The brief account above of the history of Comparative Politics in the past three decades may give the impression of a highly volatile discipline or field. It must be recognized, however, that it is indicative of the social sciences at large, and that these are different from the natural sciences. The principal feature distinguishing the social sciences from the natural sciences is that their empirical problems are externally defined, i. e. by social forces external to the discipline. Political scientists, for

instance, do not sit outside the social world which is the object of their study; they are at once both observers of and participants in this world. Nobody is immune to the empirical surprises that the world is throwing upon its people. Another difference between the natural and social sciences relates to problem solution. A natural science empirical problem can only be dissolved by its solution, or appropriation by another research tradition. In contrast, social science empirical problems can be dissolved by social forces. Empirical problem solution in the social sciences does not lie in the logic of a research tradition or in the rivalry among research traditions only. Because empirical problems in the social sciences are externally defined, socially mediated, and historically situated in the way that the natural sciences are not, progress in the social science disciplines must be viewed in the light of their ability to cope with the contingency nature of their empirical problems. Thus, progress in the natural sciences is measured in terms of a succession of research traditions (where one is replaced by another on a rational basis). In contrast, progress, e. g. in political science, is enhanced to the extent that a large number of potentially useful research traditions exist. New approaches and paradigms emerge – and should emerge – as existing ones prove inadequate for purposes of understanding and explaining given empirical problems. The social sciences progress laterally while the natural sciences do so vertically. By this, I do not wish to suggest that there is no vertical progress within the social sciences. For instance, within each research tradition there is vertical progress to the extent that verification of new hypotheses make existing ones obsolete. Such progress, however, is still relative in the sense that few, if any, hypotheses in the social sciences can be treated as universally true.

Coming back, finally, to the question of development relevance we can now suggest that it may be assessed in two different ways. The first is whether a candidate is situating his work at the frontier of research. The second is whether through innovative work within a given research tradition – regardless of whether or not it is hegemonic at the time – the candidate is conducting research that is likely to enhance our understanding of a given set of problems in a better fashion. For the purpose of the SAREC professorships, the first position may be particularly attractive, but the other is an acceptable "second best".

4. *Pedagogical skills.* Little needs to be said about this criterion here. Student evaluations of their instructors is one source for saying something about pedagogical skills. In the absence of any such evaluations of the candidates under consideration here, it is necessary to de-

duce any statement on the subject from the information provided by the candidates themselves, notably about their involvement in graduate teaching and advisement of graduate students.

Evaluation of the Candidates

As in the case of my presentation of the candidates, the evaluation will be done in alphabetical order:

1. *Björn Beckman*

Beckman has submitted a total of 33 items, including his fil. lic. thesis titled "Colonial Traditionalism: Ideology and Administration in British Tropical Africa", his doctoral dissertation, *Organizing the Farmers: Cocoa Politics and National Development in Ghana*, published by the Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, a second book – *The Wheat Trap: Bread and Underdevelopment in Nigeria* (Zed Press 1985) – co-authored with Gunilla Andrae, five chapters contributed to edited books, seven articles, all but one in ROAPE, and a number of papers issued by AKUT or published by SIDA or the Scandinavian Institute of African Studies. As can be expected, there is great overlap between many of these items. My review will concentrate on the more salient pieces.

The "licentiate" thesis is a chapter of its own in Beckman's intellectual development. It bears little, if any, relation to what we today consider to be either political science or political economy. It is essentially a piece of political history: well researched and indicative of an almost minute concern with the importance of source material. It also demonstrates Beckman's intimate knowledge of colonial history in the former British parts of Africa.

Even though it must be deemed a milestone in his evolution as an Africanist scholar, little of the orientation manifested in his thesis reoccurs in his subsequent work. There is a big gap in his scholarly production between 1966 – the year of his thesis – and 1976 when he publishes his doctoral dissertation. The "new" Beckman that emerges in his dissertation is more radical. His analysis is located within the neo-Marxist political economy paradigm that was dominant in the 1970s. The introductory chapter of the book is a good summary of the arguments put forward by radical scholars with an interest in Ghana, but Beckman does not really provide much of an analytical scheme of his own. Theory and concepts play a secondary role as the presentation progresses. In fact, the narrative is the strength of the book. It is widely considered one of the more thorough case studies of peasant behaviour and state action in Africa and as such often cited by authors both of the

Marxist and the non-Marxist persuasion.

His research on the agrarian case of the post-colonial state in Ghana resurfaces in a few subsequent publications, the most important being a chapter on Ghana in the highly regarded book on *Rural Development in Tropical Africa* (Macmillan 1981), edited by Judith Heyer, Pepe Roberts and Gavin Williams. This chapter adds new empirical material on Ghanaian agriculture in the 1970s and I find the theoretical perspective that informs the study much clearer than in the dissertation.

From the early 1980s onwards, Beckman shifts his attention from Ghana to Nigeria. At the same time, he enters a more "theoretical" phase in his scholarship. Beckman enters into debate with other radical scholars in ROAPE about the nature of capitalism in Third World countries. What emerges from these contributions, authored between 1980 and 1983, is an increasingly distant relationship between theory and empirical facts. His position that the state must be seen as an agent, not of a particular domestic bourgeoisie, but of a nebulous international capital that acts in a predictable manner seriously limits his ability to use theory to inform and guide relations among social groups or classes. One cannot escape the impression that at this point theory has become more ideology and when he has something interesting to say about a particular case, as for instance in his article on the Bakolori peasants (published in the *Nigerian Journal of Political Science*), he does so not because of theoretical insights but regardless thereof.

What bothers me in Beckman's writings generally, but particularly in the 1980s when he becomes more concerned with theory is his reluctance or inability to scrutinize his own research tradition from within. There is in none of publications a reference to the epistemological or methodological problems associated with the application of neo-Marxist theory. Nowhere is the reader informed of the issues that face the researcher. Although Beckman does have an article comparing political science and political economy (Barongo ed.: *Political Science in Africa: A Critical Review*, Zed Press 1983), there is little but polemics with other approaches. Not even the full width of neo-Marxist approaches is being covered and analyzed here. Absent, for instance, is the writings of Bill Warren and others who from a Marxist perspective have tried to demonstrate the progressive role of capitalism in the Third World countries.

The determinism – or "logic of underdevelopment" as Beckman prefers to call it – is evident also in his contribution to *The Wheat Trap*. His argument here is that the ruling classes in Nigeria have no interest in shifting their taste and as a result, the country is bound to remain heavily dependent on food imports. Since the

book was written and published, the Nigerian Government has taken steps to challenge this position. Although it is too early to say whether it is succeeding in growing more domestic wheat and make bread mixed with other grains, the extent to which Nigeria is caught in a "wheat trap" is not a foregone conclusion but an empirical question to be further investigated. *The Wheat Trap* has been fairly extensively cited and reviewed but it is worth noting that the bulk of these citations are from sympathetic writers who use it to corroborate their own pet position.

The other two major articles that I wish to mention here both deal with the relationship between agricultural production, exploitation of oil and the role of the state in Nigeria. Both are contributions to volumes edited by others (Bernstein and Campbell 1985 and Watts 1987). Particularly the chapter in the Watts volume is a valuable and interesting analysis of the Nigerian situation, and it ranks as probably the single best piece of Beckman's publications during the 1980s. Although it lacks the finesse and nuances of say Sara Berry's writing on Nigeria, it is refreshingly free from some of the conceptual and theoretical baggage that overloads some of his other writings.

The latter is particularly evident in some of the contributions to AKUT and other papers that remain unpublished. It is not clear that AKUT has helped Beckman to advance his scholarship. Certainly, the AKUT papers do have the character of being written for a small "inner circle" rather than for academic peers with an ability to assess them independently.

The strand in Beckman's writings that must be mentioned concerns his articles on Swedish foreign aid. Beginning with a couple of papers in 1978, notably one published in *Cooperation and Conflict* – the Nordic Journal of International Politics – he has on and off entered the debate about the orientation of Swedish foreign aid. His position is strongly colored by a belief that aid must be free from commercial strings and reflective of "true" solidarity between Sweden and the poorer countries of the world. While these articles, the most recent in 1987, are relevant, they are more polemical than analytical and are at best complementary to the material on which a candidate for an academic position should be assessed.

Beckman is well known outside Sweden and his two books have been cited with regular intervals. In fact, compared to the others, his work has been cited more often, as a review of the Social Science Citation Index for 1980–1987 confirms:

Table 1. Total number of citations for each applicant 1980-87

	Total number of citations	Number of citations in Third World/development journals
Beckman	31	29
Carlsnaes	7	0
Hadenius	15	0
Rudebeck	22	18

(In comparison it should be mentioned that two prominent Swedish political scientists, Leif Lewin and Olof Ruin, were cited 55 and 35 times respectively during the same period.)

Beckman's visibility and his extensive contacts with scholars, particularly in West Africa, cannot be ignored, but it is not a factor that changes my overall impression of his candidacy which I find weak on the following grounds. The number of published items hardly reaches the minimum required. Even more importantly, those published are within a narrow context: chapters in books whose editors generally are sympathetic of the same position taken by Beckman, and articles in a journal (ROAPE) of which he is himself an Editor. The quality of the production is uneven with only a very small number of really good pieces. Judging from situations, his doctoral dissertation remains the single most important of his publications. The second book is not only co-authored but also weaker, theoretically as well as conceptually. In short, it is hard to see that his scholarship marks a clear upward turn or that he locates his own research on issues that are really at the frontier in Africa or elsewhere. What he does may be described as "mainstream", but also rather unimaginative, within a single research tradition that currently finds itself on the academic sideline. Beckman's experience of advising graduate students is limited and does nothing to change my conclusion that at this point he does not possess the necessary merit for consideration as full Professor.

2. Walter Carlsnaes

Carlsnaes has submitted a total of eight publications, including two published books, a third manuscript accepted for publication, two published articles and one chapter in an edited book, one book review, and four unpublished essays. Carlsnaes began his academic training with a view to becoming an Africanist but apart from a few unpublished essays, the only piece that bears testimony to this legacy in his education is an article on the concept of African nationalism (Hessler ed., *Idéer och*

ideologier, 1969). In the 1960s, "nationalism" was a widely debated topic in the literature on Africa with several scholars trying to define its characteristics. Many of the authors tended to talk past each other and there was no real sense of what the parameters of the debate was. In his article, Carlsnaes is trying to pull together the principal arguments advanced in each approach and sort out the assumptions underlying these arguments. He also places the African debate in the context of the wider literature on nationalism. I find this piece most illuminating and clarifying. It is a pity that it has not received wider circulation, particularly in Africa and in the United States, because it is an overview that fills a lacuna in the literature. Particularly remarkable about this first article of his is that it was written only a year after he completed his first degree. I can think of few beginning graduate students capable of producing something as rigorous and solid as that piece. It is not surprising that Carlsnaes was offered graduate fellowships from some of the best universities in the United States in order to complete his Africanist training. It is a great pity to the Africanist community that he was unable to pursue his research in East Africa as intended and that, as a result, he shifted his interest to philosophy and the sociology of knowledge.

Against the background of this unusually promising start, it is surprising and also disappointing that Carlsnaes never published a single article, leave alone book, during the whole 1970s. To some extent, this may be explained by the fact that he shifted field and was engaged in completing his doctoral degree. Yet, it remains a mystery that neither during the years in Oxford nor after his graduation in 1976 did he have anything published. All he managed was four conference papers, none of which was submitted for evaluation here. Another question concerns the title and content of his doctoral dissertation which is not mentioned in his resumé.

Carlsnaes' publication record picks up again in the early 1980s with a book, *The Concept of Ideology and Political Analysis* (Greenwood Press 1981) and an article in *Scandinavian Political Studies* on "Foreign Policy and the Democratic Process". Each one is indicative of his principal scholarly interests: conceptual analysis and comparative policy analysis. *The Concept of Ideology* is a critical examination of its usage by Marx, Lenin and Mannheim, all of whom have made a significant contribution to the development of the concept. Carlsnaes probes the writings of these authors at several levels, including both epistemology and philosophy of science. As a result, this is an extremely rich analysis which gains further from being related to other literature on the concept of ideology. He takes away most of the confusion associated with the concept and ends up with a

very balanced assessment of the contributions made by the three "classical" figures covered in the book.

The SPS article on foreign policy and the democratic process is the outcome of a project on "Democracy and Bureaucracy in Domestic and Foreign Policy" in which Carlsnaes has participated together with colleagues from Uppsala and Stockholm. Drawing on both Swedish and international literature on policy processes, Carlsnaes discusses the problems of comparability and the peculiarities of the democratic process as it pertains to foreign policy-making.

In 1986 Carlsnaes follows up his work in the field of conceptual analysis with an important book titled *Ideology and Foreign Policy* (Basil Blackwell). Here he challenges the field of foreign policy analysis by suggesting that the shortcomings experienced in comparative analysis are not methodological but meta-theoretical. The strength of this volume is his ability to integrate foreign policy with philosophical issues and take a much broader view of a field that otherwise tends to be characterized by more methodological "nuts-and-bolts" issues only. It is refreshing to read and, again, it is hard not to be impressed by the rigor and clarity with which he pursues his presentation. As in his previous writing, Carlsnaes demonstrates familiarity with a broad range of literature relating both to foreign policy analysis and to philosophy.

If the reader of Carlsnaes' publications gets the impression that he is only capable of writing highly abstract and theoretical pieces, he is corrected by the most recent book-length manuscript – *Energy Vulnerability and Swedish National Security: The Energy Crises, Domestic Policy Responses and the Logic of Swedish Neutrality* (Frances Pinter 1988) – which analyzes a topical case study. His decision to study the relationship between energy vulnerability and national security bears witness to his ability to select interesting and innovative research topic of great practical value. Although the concluding sections of the manuscript were never shared with the evaluators, what is available does confirm Carlsnaes' competence and confidence in dealing with more "down-to-earth" policy problems. He has a good command of the relevant literature, particularly as it pertains to policy-making in Sweden but also draws on his familiarity with much of the international literature on the same subject. With a colleague, Bengt Sundelius, he is currently continuing his research in the field of policy analysis with a study on the relationship between knowledge production and foreign policy-making.

Carlsnaes cites 19 papers or published items, of which he has shared 8 with the evaluators. I can only assume that those which have been shared with the evaluators

constitute the more important. The overall impression one gets from the latter is of a first-class scholarship which after a somewhat hesitating start has grown and matured in the 1980s. Taken together his three books are indicative of an enormous span in his knowledge as well as a great analytical depth. His writing is "tool-oriented" and sometimes quite difficult to fully absorb but it is never dull and uninteresting. It is certainly indicative of an ability to rise several levels above more conventional political science analysis. Given the high standards of his scholarship and the fact that all of it is in the English language, it remains a mystery to me that his writings are not better known and more frequently cited. As Table 1 suggests, Carlsnaes has been cited less often than any of the other applicants. He has been working much on his own over the years and has only had a relatively limited teaching experience. He has been advising three graduate students, but it is not clear whether they have completed their degrees. He has been involved in managing one joint research project with two colleagues at Stockholm University. On the basis of the material and information he has supplied, I am persuaded that he is meritorious enough to qualify for consideration as full Professor.

3. Axel Hadenius

Hadenius has submitted for consideration four published books, one book-length manuscript and six articles. These represent literally all his scientific publications.

Hadenius' scholarship may be divided into two phases: the first being exclusively concerned with Swedish politics, the second being a conscious effort to move into comparative politics. The overwhelming part of his publications belong to the first phase.

In his doctoral dissertation – *Facklig organisationsutveckling* – Hadenius adopts a simple but effective scheme of analysis to examine the relationships between centralization and integration, on the one hand, and democracy and professionalization, on the other, within the Swedish trade union movement. It is theoretically rather weak and referring almost exclusively to a relatively narrow set of literature dealing with trade unions in Sweden and internationally. The field of Organization Theory, for instance, is not explored. The empirical side of his work, however, is quite strong. Although it uses no interview data, official primary source material is carefully examined and cited.

In his second book – *Spelet om skatten* – he becomes theoretically more conscious. Taking advantage of the growing literature in the field of Decision Theory, Hadenius is developing, particularly with the help of Graham Allison's writing, a model of rational choice that is subsequently applied to understand the positions taken

by the Swedish political parties on the question of taxation during 1978–79. In his version, the rational choice model becomes not only a tool of analysis but also an instrument to defend and justify the role of strategy and tactics in politics. Like his doctoral dissertation, the book is well researched, this time including a large number of interviews with key actors in the parties, and well written. There is no doubt that Hadenius is in command and capable of quite comfortably using the conceptual apparatus that he brings to bear on the empirical material in this book.

His third book, about the Swedish Co-Determination Act, comes only two years after the second. Using a similar actor perspective on politics, this book is well crafted but less extensive in its empirical coverage. Adequate references are made to major Swedish and foreign publications on the question of workers' involvement in business management but there is no real attempt to place the Swedish material that he presents in a comparative perspective. As a result, the reader cannot escape the impression that the references in the introductory part of the book are more pro forma than of real use in understanding the issues under discussion.

His fourth book is also on Swedish politics but written in English. *A Crisis of the Welfare State?* is based on opinion surveys about taxes and public expenditure in Sweden in the early 80s. Published in 1986, the book is presumably the product of a year's sabbatical leave spent at the University of California. Given this exposure, I find the volume surprisingly thin, both theoretically and conceptually. To be sure, for the first time, Hadenius is beginning to grapple with the limits of rational choice models, but how self-interest interacts with symbols or how choices are mediated by institutions are only alluded to in this piece. Its strength lies in the analysis of the data where the author demonstrates that he can use quantitative data with both care and comfort. His article in *Journal of Public Policy*, a spin-off from the same project as the book, provides an abbreviated presentation of the content of the book.

Two articles published during this "Swedish" phase of his scholarship, one in *Statsvetenskaplig Tidskrift* (1979) on political actor preferences, a second in *Scandinavian Political Studies* on "The Verification of Motives" are indicative of the theoretical and methodological issues that he is grappling with. Both are important complements in understanding Hadenius' approach to the study of politics. Two other articles should also be cited. The first is his contribution to the "festschrift" in honor of professor Hessler (1987) which discusses the various dimensions of welfare policies in a comparative perspective. The second is an article in *Statsvetenskaplig Tidskrift* (1978) on the boards of the autonomous Swed-

ish administrative agencies. It is the product of a separate project that Hadenius conducted on his own but which never resulted in any other publication of his. Here the author only gives his readers a quick taste of what the issues are. There is no attempt to really place the analysis in a broader conceptual or theoretical framework. Thus, it carries much less weight than the other publications from his projects.

His second phase, with an emphasis on Comparative Politics, is recent. The only items he has shared with the evaluators were either just accepted for publication at the time of submission of his material or even less far along. His analysis in these papers centers on the concept of "democracy" and is related in one case to "capitalism", in a second to "state formation" and in a third to "development". A common theme in this new phase of his work is a concern to combine an actor model with structural analysis. Much of it is still an echo of refined game theory developed by scholars like Axelrod and Elster. How an actor analysis may be reconciled with structural analysis still leaves as many questions unanswered as answered in Hadenius' writings from 1987–88. This is true even of the longer manuscript on "Democracy and Development" which is the most comprehensive of the three papers submitted. There are also rather obvious gaps in the literature, e. g. Peter Berger's book on *The Capitalist Revolution* (1986) where he poses some fifty hypotheses about the relationship between capitalism and democracy. In general, one may say about this material of Hadenius that it is still characterized by the weaknesses that almost inevitably are associated with moving in a new terrain. It should also be stressed that Hadenius should be congratulated on having taken the courage to move into such new terrain and thus begin to fill the lacuna created by the evolution of Swedish Political Science in other directions. Even more importantly, he should be commended for having identified a set of theoretical and methodological issues that clearly belong to tomorrow's research agenda.

My overall impression of Hadenius' candidacy is generally favorable. His scholarship is not outstanding or splendid, but solid and consistent. He goes for simplicity and parsimony at the conceptual and theoretical levels but does so quite effectively. As a result, his data are handled in an easily comprehensible fashion. He has been addressing issues of great public interest and made sure that his academic writing is accessible not only to colleagues but also to a wider circle of readers. The absence of a real comparison is a shortcoming in much of his writing of the first phase of the scholarship. One would have liked to see, for instance, references to the rich literature on corporatism that has been so influential in Comparative Politics in the 1980s. He has real-

ized the inadequacy of some of his earlier publications and it is encouraging to see how enthusiastically he seems to throw himself into the field of Comparative Politics. His exposure there is still limited and his command, particularly of Third World material, needs to be strengthened. The fact that he is working on issues that are increasingly occupying scholars interested in Third World development, makes me feel confident that he will acquire such a command in the near future. Hadenius has been an important figure in the graduate programme of his home department much thanks to the versatility that he has demonstrated over the years both in terms of substantive interest and theoretical as well as methodological insights. That he is respected not only by colleagues and graduate students in his own department is verified by the fact that he has been on the Board of both the Swedish and the Nordic Political Science Associations, serving as the Chair of the former 1987–88. As the summary from the Citation Index suggests, Hadenius's work is still relatively unknown and not much cited outside Sweden. This may change, however, as he moves increasingly into the comparative field. In sum, I believe that Hadenius possesses the necessary merits to be considered for appointment as full Professor.

4. Lars Rudebeck

Much of the history of Third World studies within Swedish political science is associated with Lars Rudebeck. He was the first political scientist to venture into the field in the early 1960s. As its principal protagonist in the 1970s, he was rejected by the Political Science establishment as not being scientific enough. In the late 1980s, he is still keeping the banner high and appearing to emerge from the *cul-du-sac* that he has found himself in the past dozen years.

Rudebeck has submitted no less than 54 items for consideration by the evaluators, including three academic books, one edited book, twenty scholarly articles in journals or books edited by others, a few book reviews, several papers published under the auspices of AKUT, SIDA, or the Scandinavian Institute of African Studies. The latter category is mainly non-academic and/or repetitive of what he has written elsewhere. I have decided, therefore, to pay less attention to these papers. Finally, included in the submissions is also Rudebeck's unpublished "licentiate" thesis from 1963.

The functionalist approach that Rudebeck first outlines in his thesis marks much of what may be described as the first phase in his scholarship, lasting into the early 70s. Focused on politics in Mexico, the thesis is also indicative of some of the concerns that runs through his scholarship to date, notably the concepts of "politi-

cal mobilization" and "power distribution". Although firmly located within the structural functionalist approach that dominated Comparative Politics in the 1960s, his writings from this time do display a conscious effort to keep a distance to the modernization literature which was also largely functionalist in its orientation. This is evident in his doctoral dissertation – *Party and People* – which, as the author describes it, is "about the interdependence of concrete policies and the functioning of political systems" with a special focus this time on Tunisia in the 1960s. What he means by this is how the particular policies pursued by a given political system affect the masses of the people. Politics, then, can help overcome underdevelopment by motivating and organizing people to take collective action. There is a tension here between what I interpret as Rudebeck's "voluntarist" inclination and the stringency of the functionalist scheme of analysis, which presupposes that political action can be interpreted in terms of the functional needs of "the system".

This tension is evident in subsequent writings in the late 1960s and early 1970s, including his second book – *Utveckling och politik* (Wahlström och Widstrand 1970) – and several articles published in *Statsvetenskaplig Tidskrift*, *Scandinavian Political Studies*, and *Cooperation and Conflict*. It appears to be a healthy tension because it enables Rudebeck to see things that those more tightly related to the functionalist theory never recognized. As a result, Rudebeck is in these publications making important contributions to the debate about both development and the study of comparative politics. His prolific writings at this time also extend to more popular outlets like *Tiden* where he debates Third World development issues. His scholarly articles are not only published in Nordic journals but also in the respected *Journal of Modern African Studies*, published by Cambridge University Press. It is impossible to do justice to all his publications individually but those that stem from this period clearly belong to his best. They all bear witness to his concern about the importance of both theory and methodology in Comparative Politics.

In the early 1970s, Rudebeck abandons his commitment to functionalism and thus begins a second phase in his career. He "converts" to a Marxist political economy, something that becomes evident in his writings after visits with the liberation movement in Guinea-Bissau. The principal publication from the early years of this second phase is *Guinea-Bissau: A Study of Political Mobilization* (Scandinavian Institute of African Studies 1974). Political mobilization is studied now not in terms of how a regime does so in pursuit of its development goals but in terms of struggle against colonialism and imperialism. One has a feeling that this shift from struc-

tural functionalism to neo-Marxist political economy signifies a personal liberation of sorts but it is a liberation that Rudebeck may have taken a few steps too far. The tension between theoretical stringency and empirical verification, that had proved so fruitful in earlier years, is now non-existent. Although it may be too much to say that theory becomes an afterthought in his book on Guinea-Bissau, he only provides an almost casual explanation at the end of the book how theory had informed his narrative account. His political science colleagues were largely unimpressed by that book and Professor Jörgen Westerståhl, in an assessment submitted to the Swedish Social Science Research Council, described it as "atheoretical" and not particularly helpful as a guide for future research. The result of this critical evaluation was that Rudebeck lost support for research from the Council.

This was, in my opinion, a very unfortunate incident for Comparative Politics, in general, and Third World studies, in particular, in Sweden. In retrospect, it is clear that Rudebeck himself and the relevant persons in the Political Science establishment in Sweden must share the blame. I have read Rudebeck's book as well as his defence against the critique of his colleagues. Neither of these really provides a good explanation of how he uses theory to inform his research. This is true not only if one approaches the work from a non-Marxist paradigm. There is certainly much more that should have been said on the subject than what Rudebeck provides in his book or in subsequent papers relating to the critique of that book.

Westerståhl's statement, therefore, cannot only be brushed aside as an ideological critique (as it tended to be at the heat of the moment in 1974). There are good reasons why the reader should have been sceptical about the usefulness of the preliminary theoretical reflections presented at the end of Rudebeck's book. The problem with Westerståhl's assessment is that, intentionally or not, he drew too farreaching and too categorical conclusions from one single book. Because Rudebeck was at that time the only political scientist at the post-doctoral level in Sweden working on Third World development issues that assessment not only meant a hard blow to him personally but also an effective marginalization of both Third World studies and Comparative Politics as a field.

Left in the cold, so to speak, after this incident, Rudebeck sought new colleagues outside Political Science. The idea of an interdisciplinary study group, later translated into AKUT, was born in the wake of the critique directed at Rudebeck's book on Guinea-Bissau. He himself took an active lead in forming this group. The creation of AKUT seems to have been a mixed bless-

ing. It obviously provided an important outlet for those scholars interested in development and underdevelopment issues who found their respective home departments too specialized or narrow to accommodate their theoretical concerns. Over the years, the Group has also organized a series of political economy seminars that have enriched the curriculum. At the same time, AKUT has only served to confirm the impression in Political Science Departments that the study of Third World countries is not really political science. The Group must take a major part of the responsibility for this unfortunate state of affairs. At least the two members of the Group, whose work has been reviewed here, have not, in my judgement, managed to demonstrate how, within the Marxist tradition, their work has taken our understanding of development and underdevelopment issues forward. Between 1976 and 1986, there certainly isn't anything in Rudebeck's own writings that indicates this. It doesn't mean that he failed altogether to produce something interesting during this ten-year period. I like to mention at least his article "Nordic Policies Towards the Third World" (Sundelius, ed., *Foreign Policies of Northern Europe*, Westview 1982), which is a thorough and balanced review of Nordic aid policies.

All the same, it is only in the last year or so that Rudebeck has made a successful attempt to share with a broader circle of political scientists what his analytical scheme really entails and how it may be operationalized. His article on "Utveckling och demokrati" (Levin, ed., *Festskrift till Carl Arvid Hessler, Almqvist & Wiksell, 1987*) leaves several questions unanswered but is still wetting the appetite in a way that most of his writings between 1976 and 1986 failed to do. In my opinion, it is more stringent in terms of conceptual delineation and more consistent in terms of how analytical categories relate to empirical investigation. It holds promise for the future.

My overall impression of Rudebeck's candidacy is that he has devoted over a quarter of a century to the issues that are at the core of the job description for the two professorships being evaluated here. During all these years he has been devoted to promoting Third World studies both through his own writings and through advice given to students (including a good number of graduate students). To be sure, the quality of his scholarly production is uneven with a peak in the late 1960s and an upward turn more recently after a low point in the latter part of the 1970s and early 1980s. As his many invitation to write papers for non-Swedish audiences suggest, he is a respected international scholar and his work continues to be cited quite often. Thus, although there are weeds in his production, I still consider it to be, in aggregate terms, both quantitatively and

qualitatively of such calibre to justify my conclusion that Rudebeck has the merit needed to be considered for appointment as full Professor.

Recommendations to SAREC

There are three candidates – Carlsnaes, Hadenius and Rudebeck – left to be considered for the two positions. Choosing between the three is not easy. Certainly, none of them is a clear-cut first choice. Rudebeck has a long track record in the relevant field but his performance has been uneven. Both Carlsnaes and Hadenius have strong credentials as political scientists but these have been acquired in fields other than Comparative Politics and certainly Third World studies. If I am permitted the analogy, the choice is between an old horse showing renewed strength, on the one hand, and two stallions entering the race for the first time, on the other.

I am not merely following a conservative instinct when I place *Lars Rudebeck* on top of the list. After careful consideration, I believe that his extensive work on the political systems of developing countries gives him such an advantage over the others that even if his scholarly work has been up and down, he is the strongest candidate. There are already signs that Rudebeck is moving out of the blind alley that he found himself after his almost summary dismissal by the Political Science establishment in the mid-70s. I am convinced that this process will be accelerated as he finds himself in competition with the person appointed to the second position. There is enough commitment to professionalism in Rudebeck's career that there ought to be no doubt about this.

Choosing between the two stallions is particularly difficult because with regard to the study of political systems of developing countries, their social structures and the transformation of these structures, both are relatively unknown entities. Carlsnaes' scholarly work is of the highest standard, but it is also far removed from the particular concerns of the two positions being advertised. His African interest was deep and his writings on the subject very promising but with his Africanist soul lost almost twenty years ago, it is not likely to be easy to regain it today. He has written several important books but his outreach and influence within Political Science remains surprisingly limited. Hadenius, on his part, has behind him a solid but unspectacular record in Swedish politics which he has transcended in the past two years by incorporating into his interests the comparative study of democracy. While this work is still in an incipient stage, it holds promise and is certainly on target as far as the job description is concerned. Hadenius has a good record of completing research projects and is a person with an extensive outreach within the Political

Science community in the Nordic countries and increasingly elsewhere. In other words, both candidates have competitive qualities, but I am ready to give *Hadenius* a slight edge over *Carlsnaes*, particularly because he seems better placed to ensure that these two new positions are not going to be just another two research posts but important in rebuilding and expanding the interest among younger Swedish political scientists in Third World political systems within a reactivated Comparative Politics field.

This leaves me with a final observations. All three candidates considered here are from one and the same Political Science department. If the final appointments were to be of two persons from the same department, it can be argued that this limits the overall impact of these appointments. Shouldn't there have been a stipulation in the advertisement of these positions that no department could have more than one of them?

Göran Hydén

SAREC professorships in political science

I. Criteria of Assessment

From the material supplied to us by SAREC I have noted the following:

a) from the letter of the Director General dated 1988-05-18: 'The overall purpose of the new posts is to strengthen the university base for research and public debate on development issues. The posts should help create environments in which younger researchers can be recruited and given advanced training.'

b) from the background papers circulated by SAREC to the team of assessors: '*Political Science (two temporary professorships)* . . . It is particularly important to clarify the role of the state in the process of social change and the feasibility of democratic development. Development cooperation requires a continuous feedback of the knowledge accumulated through research in this subject field, with a view to the assessment of current and scheduled measures in various types of development cooperation . . . Research is to focus on the political systems of the developing countries, their state formation and structures, and the transformation of social structures'.

c) from the 'Background Document For Meeting with Experts' provided by SAREC and dated 1988-08-30, a list of 'examples of relevant questions' concerning the scientific qualifications of applicants, a list of 'crite-

ria used at Swedish universities' concerning pedagogic qualifications, and a list of 'relevant questions' concerning candidates' merits other than scientific and pedagogic merits.

Based on these statements of aim, and the suggested criteria of assessment, I have adopted the following four main criteria for my own assessments:

(1) Candidates should have demonstrated competence in research in a developing area of significance for development.

(2) Candidates should have an appropriate quantity and quality of published work. I am informed that no precise official or unofficial norm exists but that as regards quantity there should be more than the equivalent of two doctoral dissertations, and that there is a general requirement that professors' work should be known internationally as well as nationally. As regards quality, I have adopted the 'relevant questions' suggested by SAREC, which strike me as comprehensive and sound.

(3) Candidates should have experience of graduate teaching and supervision of research.

(4) Candidates should show evidence of ability to create or at least contribute to a productive and interdisciplinary research environment and preferably have experience in the direction or coordination of collaborative research.

I would like to comment briefly on some of these criteria. As regards (2), the international scholarly community in which a successful candidate's work should be known should include scholars in the developing world, at least in the area of the candidate's specialisation. As regards (3), I do not feel in a position to comment on candidates' pedagogic skills (as opposed to experience), as we have not been provided with any evidence on this point. Finally as regards (4), I have stressed interdisciplinary work because in my view it is not possible to grasp the reality of social change in developing countries within the conceptual framework of a single social science discipline. While virtually all social scientists have been trained within a single discipline the successful investigation and analysis of development requires an approach which relates social, political and economic structures and processes to each other. In any case SAREC's specifications concerning the research to be done by the persons appointed to these posts, cited in para I (b) above, also seem to call for an interdisciplinary approach.

II. An Overview of the Candidates

Dr Björn Beckman, aged 50, was educated at the universities of Stockholm and Uppsala. He taught from 1978 to 1987 at Ahmadu Bello University in Nigeria, combining this with a part-time position as Reader at

the University of Stockholm from 1981 to 1984. His research has focussed on the role of agrarian development policy in Ghanaian development, and on various aspects of rural and industrial development in Nigeria, and on Swedish development aid. His teaching has been on development theory and political economy at Ahmadu Bello University, and on aid policy and development theory at Stockholm. He is presently a temporary Reader at Stockholm University.

Dr Walter Carlsnaes, aged 45, was educated at the Universities of Uppsala, Princeton and Oxford. He taught at the University of Aarhus in 1976 and 1977, and at Uppsala from 1978 to 1980, from 1981 to 1983, and from 1986 to date, with research posts in the intervening years. His research has been mainly on the concept of ideology and on the nature of foreign policy, with a recent study of the implications of energy vulnerability for Swedish neutrality. His teaching has been in methodology and international relations, with two seminars on African and Asian politics while at Aarhus. He is presently Acting Associate Professor at the University of Uppsala.

Dr Axel Hadenius, aged 43, received all his degrees from the University of Uppsala, and has taught there since 1976. His research has focussed on Swedish politics and government – on the development of the trade union movement, on codetermination, and on the Welfare state, though he has also recently begun a study of the relation between development and democracy in the third world. His teaching has been in general political science courses for Swedish undergraduates, and recently in comparative politics and in empirical research methods. He is presently acting Professor and part-time researcher at the University of Uppsala. He is also Chairman of the Swedish Political Science Association.

Dr Lars Rudebeck, aged 52, received his education in political science from the University of Uppsala after obtaining a Master's degree from the Putney Graduate School of Teachers Education, Vermont. He first taught at Uppsala in 1960–61 and has subsequently taught there since 1963, with periods of part-time work on Swedish politics, his research focussed on Tunisia and Algeria and Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique, and on Scandinavian policies towards the developing countries. His teaching has been primarily in the field of development, including a number of doctoral supervisions, and he has served since 1981 as chairman of an interdisciplinary seminar for development studies. He is presently an Associate Professor at the University of Uppsala.

III. Assessments

Two of the candidates, Dr Carlsnaes and Dr Hadenius, do not meet the first criterion listed above, i. e. they have not carried out research in the field under consideration. In spite of their evident accomplishments they are not qualified in the field of development. I will therefore discuss these two candidates relatively briefly first, with respect only to this particular criterion which appears to me indispensable.

(a) Dr Carlsnaes

Dr Carlsnaes recognises that he has not worked in the development field but states that he did so as a graduate student and is ready and willing to do so again; in his opinion, SAREC should be interested in appointing people who 'in the first instance have the ambition of being excellent political scientists and not merely area studies experts', and thus 'improve the level of Swedish research on Third World politics'.

I may not be altogether clear about the claims made or implied here; but I am not persuaded that his published work indicates that, or how, he would raise the level of such work. This opinion is not affected by the fact that Dr Carlsnaes appears to be a very accomplished writer in the field of applied political philosophy and the clarification of concepts: it is not evident that his skills in this area have led to distinctively superior research and analysis in the one empirically-focused study submitted by him.

Dr Carlsnaes's unpublished early essays on African Nationalism and Politics, written while a graduate student at Princeton, are literature reviews and question-posing exercises. The preoccupation with conceptual clarification that marks his later work is already apparent. The papers show an exceptional talent for rapidly assimilating the literature and posing acute questions within the behavioural perspective then prevalent in the USA, but they do not identify any substantial problem in a form that one would immediately see as appropriate for research today.

Dr Carlsnaes's subsequent work on ideology is scholarly and for the most part clearly excellent. His subsequently published doctoral thesis on *The Concept of Ideology and Political Analysis* suffers, I think, from the distance the author takes from the Marxist tradition, so that it tends to overlook the beginnings of what has subsequently become a large body of new literature on ideology based on the assimilation of linguistics and psychoanalysis; but it is extremely well written and judicious and I found the main conclusions persuasive. In his 1986-87 study, *Ideology and Foreign Policy*, the critique of the use of the concept of ideology in the international relations literature seems excellent, but I

wondered if the conclusions which were drawn from it had required such an extensive analysis. My attention was therefore particularly focussed on the subsequent study (in draft form) of *Energy Vulnerability and Swedish National Security*, which I thought ought to indicate the way in which the author's rigorous approach to concepts would pay off in terms of a distinctively superior quality of empirical research.

I must say that my reaction was mixed. On the one hand I consider Chapters 1-3 of this study extremely well done; the exposition is succinct, yet nothing important seems to be left out. This is talented work. Chapter 4 then lucidly discusses the concepts necessary to the analysis of the meaning of and conditions for neutrality, while Chapter 5 argues that Sweden's energy vulnerability, as indicated by the facts reviewed earlier, undermines its neutrality to a greater extent than has been acknowledged. I found the conclusion impeccable, even if I was not entirely persuaded that the careful conceptual review was essential for arriving at it. On the other hand, I was struck by the fact that the study, while empirical in focus, is almost entirely based on secondary sources. It is primarily an exercise - meticulously carried out - in setting out essentially *known* data, for the purposes of bringing to bear a conceptual critique of the conclusions to be drawn from them.

I am not persuaded that this is the kind of work that is needed, or indeed possible, in most developing countries, where the problem appears to me mostly a very different one - finding ways of posing questions for research which will permit one to produce *new* data, within a conceptual framework appropriate to the complexity of the total developing situation. This often means, incidentally, operating with relatively open and provisional theoretical tools; that is of course a matter of opinion, but what is indisputable is that they are mostly situations where the facts have to be acquired, under often difficult field work conditions. But be that as it may, I do not see that Dr Carlsnaes's study of energy vulnerability demonstrates a distinctively superior kind of work, relative to what other Swedish scholars have so far accomplished in relation to development. On the evidence, then, I do not think that Dr Carlsnaes's work so far indicates that he is qualified for the sort of work that he SAREC positions envisage. Moreover the way Dr Carlsnaes proposes to spend the period of the professorship, if he were appointed (writing a book on the relationship between ideology and the emergence of the modern state, based on a general theory of ideology), would not, I feel, contribute to our understanding of development in the way that SAREC intends.

Nothing I have said here should be read as indicating anything but respect for Dr Carlsnaes's ability. Howev-

er I do not think that his appointment could be justified, and I shall therefore not review his application in relation to the other criteria set out above.

(b) Dr Axel Hadenius

Dr Hadenius seemed at first sight to come closer to meeting the requirements for these positions because his work has been primarily empirical (though also theoretical) and because he has also recently taken up the study of the relationship between development and democracy, which is one of the themes of research emphasised in SAREC's specification of the professorships. He is presently completing a book (*Utveckling och demokrati*) which reviews the literature on the prerequisites for democracy in the Third World, and has outlined in an unpublished paper ('Democracy and Capitalism', 1987) a model for the analysis of such prerequisites, drawing on collective action theory, which provides the general hypotheses that he seeks to explore.

Unfortunately I do not read Swedish so I must leave it to my Scandinavian colleagues to evaluate the book manuscript. On the basis of the paper just mentioned, however, one must say that the project appears still rather provisional. I would also reserve my judgement about the likely value of pursuing hypotheses of the degree of generality, or of the particular theoretical positions he seems to favour. The paper reviews a very contradictory literature and quite rightly concludes that the relation between capitalism and democracy is very problematic. Perhaps important insights about democracy and development will come from Dr Hadenius's proposed approach, i. e. of pursuing very broad comparative work resting largely on secondary and historiographic sources, using a model drawn from collective action theory plus the theses of Professor Skocpol and her colleagues. But for the moment one must remain agnostic.

Dr Hadenius' published work in English indicates that he is a productive scholar, who has written lucidly and interestingly on a variety of issues in Swedish government and politics, and on some associated theoretical questions (his book *A Crisis of the Welfare State* is interesting, well analysed and solidly supported, while his 1983 article on 'The Verification of Motives' is a useful and clear exercise in conceptual clarification). The fact that most of his work is in Swedish, on the other hand, is naturally linked with the fact that it is not about development in the Third World.

On the evidence, then, I do not think the appointment of Dr Hadenius to one of the SAREC professorships could be justified; he is not qualified in the field under consideration.

Once again, I hope I have made it clear that this is not a reflection on his competence in his field, which as far as I can judge is high.

The remaining two candidates, Drs Beckman and Rudebeck, are both specialists in the field of development with a focus on Africa, and I will assess their applications in relation to the four criteria set out in paragraph 2 above.

(c) Dr Björn Beckman

(1) All of Dr Beckman's work has been on development, from his Master's thesis on *Indirect Rule in British Tropical Africa*, presented in 1966, to his most recent work on Nigeria, and all his subsequent work, apart from his study of Swedish development assistance, has been based on research in Africa. It has covered both national development policy (as in the study of state policy towards the Ghanaian cocoa farmers) and local issues (e. g. the study of the Bakalori irrigation scheme), and has dealt with urban and industrial as well as rural policy and politics. Dr Beckman's work obviously satisfies the first criterion.

(2) As regards quantity, disregarding Dr Beckman's Master's thesis, he has published his doctoral thesis as a book, *Organising the Farmers* (1976), and co-authored with G. Andrae a further book, *The Weat Trap* (1985). He has also co-authored a monograph, *Industry Goes Farming* (1987), a chapter in an edited book (1980b) and two papers (1984 and 1987h), all with G. Andrae. He has, in addition, independently published five chapters in books edited by others, about six articles in scholarly journals, four short monographs published by AKUT, three articles in 'aid community' journals, and a number of research proposals, reviews, and working papers. The total appears to satisfy the criterion of quantity referred to in paragraph 2(2) above. It would also meet the quantity criteria for a full Professorship at a Canadian or a British university.

As regards quality, I find Dr Beckman's work to be of a high standard. There is no doubt that he has made important contributions to the development of new knowledge. As the famous Africanist Thomas Hodgkin noted, Beckman's study of the Ghanaian farmers was based on an unusual combination of thorough exploitation of a rich archival source, with knowledge based on interviews and other evidence, gathered in the course of four years of field work, and used the analysis in depth of a single, if important, economic and political sector to develop a general analysis of the post-colonial regime and its development policies. The same technique, of grounding general analyses in detailed studies of particular sectors or issues, is also evident in Beckman's work

on Nigeria. This approach is valuable because the general is referred to the particular, which gives one more confidence in the claims made. I am particularly impressed with the last two major studies, reported in *The Wheat Trap* and *Industry Goes Farming*, which not only follow this practice but also combine a remarkably large amount of variables or dimensions in a single analysis. These are highly policy-relevant studies (of policy towards production of food staples, and of raw materials for textile production, respectively) and I imagine they will have influence on both policy and subsequent research. *The Wheat Trap* is a remarkable demonstration of the way in which a policy option that has very serious negative consequences for a society as a whole can become progressively 'entrenched' as the vested interest not only of a few powerful minorities, but also of large 'popular' minorities (in this instance, the urban wage earning population). *Industry Goes Farming* makes a somewhat similar argument, showing how socially deleterious policies to grow cotton were a product of earlier ill-judged textile industrialization policies. Both studies convincingly bring out the inter-connectedness of sectors whose links must be understood before better policies can be formulated. Both studies testify to Beckman's ability to define problems and developed theory, to respect the complexity of the situation studied, and to work creatively.

Beckman's interest in theory is evident from a number of theoretical interventions (such as items 1976 a, 1977 b, 1977 c, 1977 d, 1980 a, 1981 b, 1982 b, 1982 c, 1983 a, 1983 b, and 1986), some of which (notably 1980 a and 1981 b) have been widely cited. The empirical research in his books, and in the main empirical papers, is excellent. I was particularly struck by his careful reconstruction and analysis of the Bakolori affair (1985 b), but the material gathered for *The Wheat Trap* and *Industry Goes Farming* probably represents a more impressive accomplishment, since it had to be gathered from a wide range of sources and involved a considerable variety of techniques, at a period when research in Nigeria was very difficult for various reasons. As for the future direction of Beckman's research, it is outlined in the proposal listed as 1987 c, 'State, Underdevelopment and Democracy', which shifts from a sectoral to a national approach, drawing on virtually all his previous work and especially the interesting paper issued in mimeo form, 'Capitalist state formation in the third world' (1982 b). In the proposal a very large range of factors and relationships are brought together in a way that is remarkably convincing, given the complexity involved. To carry it out successfully will call for collaboration with other scholars and a sustained theoretical and empirical effort, but the overall effect of reading

Beckman's work is to make one think that he is capable of it. In other words his work indicates developing sophistication without loss of energy. Finally, on the question of critical capacity, it seems to me that Beckman strikes a good balance between engagement and criticism, as evidenced both in his explicit writing on these issues (e. g. his review of political science and political economy, and his critique of dogmatic marxism, in 1983 a and 1983 b respectively, and in his 1986 review of the literature on the military).

The answer to all the questions proposed by SAREC regarding the candidates' scientific qualifications thus seems to me to be rather positive in Beckman's case. Overall, I see him as an exceptionally energetic, productive scholar, who may well have produced more information, and tackled more challenging problems for research (and of direct developmental relevance) than any other political scientist working in tropical Africa over the last ten years. While I already had a strong respect for what I had read of his work, I was not aware of the scope and momentum of his most recent research. His theoretical interventions have not been particularly innovative but have been consistently judicious, directed at criticising excesses, clearing up confusions, and posing better questions for future research.

In summary, I think Dr Beckman's work is of a high standard and fully meets the quality requirement.

(3) As regards teaching and supervision, Dr Beckman has taught graduate courses at Ahmadu Bello University for nine years (1978–1987) and at the University of Stockholm for five years (1980–1984 and 1987–). He has also been involved in an interdisciplinary development studies seminar for graduates at Uppsala from 1973 to 1978, and again since 1987, including the supervision of reading courses. He has supervised seven Master's theses at Ahmadu Bello University, and been 'Faculty opponent' for three doctoral dissertations (two in Sweden, one in Denmark). My judgement of this record is that it is strong in all respects except one, namely the supervision of doctoral research, which for all I know does not yet exist at Ahmadu Bello University. The evidence suggests that Dr Beckman would be competent to supervise doctoral research, however. His broad but well-theorized research interests would offer a rich agenda for research by doctoral students whether in Africa or elsewhere.

(4) As regards the direction or coordination of research involving others, and the creation of, or contribution to, a productive interdisciplinary research environment, Dr Beckman has been actively involved in and, it seems, rather central to, the 'joint' research programmes of the AKUT group at Uppsala. These interdisciplinary programmes have been funded by

SAREC (in 1983 and 1986). It appears that they are collectively formulated and managed, rather than following the model of projects directed by one or two senior researchers employing junior research officers or research assistants. Thus Dr Beckman has experience of planning and coordinating but not of directing research involving the work of others. In my experience, both models have their advantages and disadvantages. SAREC should be guided in this respect by results, and by the mode of research suited to each candidate's personal style and commitments. All I am in a position to say is that Dr Beckman has appropriate experience in this respect.

On the wider issue, of ability to create or contribute to a productive and interdisciplinary research environment, the record of AKUT is presumably important evidence. It would appear that AKUT has been an important focus for Swedish social scientists working on development. It has a 'critical' orientation (i. e. one that foregrounds the situation of workers and peasants, and issues of equity and democracy), which it shares with many similar research groups and institutions and non-governmental organizations working in the aid and development field elsewhere (and indeed with what the rest of the world tends to regard as the distinctive approach of Swedish government policy towards development). Its reputation among researchers elsewhere is positive. I have read a number of its publications, but do not know enough about the other work of the researchers associated with it to form an impression of its overall scale and quality; however it seems reasonable to conclude, on balance, that Dr Beckman has demonstrated an ability to create and contribute to the kind of interdisciplinary research milieu which is needed to foster the training of younger researchers.

(d) Dr Lars Rudebeck

(1) Dr Rudebeck has published six books. The first was his doctoral dissertation (*Party and People: a study of political change in Tunisia*, 1967), and another was a major research monograph, *Guinea-Bissau. A study of political mobilization*, 1974. A third, *Ideologier i tredje världen*, 1969, is a large edited collection of texts; the fourth, *Utveckling och politik*, 1970, is a teaching text; the remaining two are shorter, more popular and descriptive texts in Swedish on Tunisia and Guinea-Bissau, published in 1972 and 1977 respectively. He has published nine chapters in books, about ten articles in scholarly journals, some six research reports put out by research institutes, five review articles, and a substantial number of articles on development issues in non-academic journals and newspapers. Apart from Dr Rudebeck's early work on Sweden, all this output relates

to the third world (mainly Africa, with the exception of the Master's thesis on Mexico), and all of it to development. The central theme of his work in Africa has been the link between leadership and masses in the project of national independence and national development, with special reference, currently, to the relationship between peasant producers and the state in the context of state development policies. Dr Rudebeck's competence as a researcher in the field of development is clear enough, as is the importance of his specific interests for development, as SAREC understands it.

(2) Evidently, Rudebeck's volume of research and publication amply meets the informal norms for a professorship referred to in para 1 above, and would meet those operating in a Canadian or British university. As regards quality, I am limited to Dr Rudebeck's publications in English. The 1967 study of Tunisia (his doctoral research) is a capable and well-written analysis of the 1961 decision to orient Tunisia's development strategy towards state-led, planned development. It shows how the labour and student movements were subordinated to the party and argues that without a mass mobilization such centralism was indispensable. At the time, the functionalist schema within which this study is cast was considered the last word in scientificity. Today, the whole literature to which it belongs seems formal, abstract, and artificial. While this particular book is readable and still rightly cited as a valuable source for that period of Tunisian development, its limitations are also apparent. In common with others of his generation, Dr Rudebeck had to confront this problem and did so with his remarkable study of Guinea-Bissau, undertaken in the early 1970s just before the Portuguese revolution and the end of colonial rule.

The radical shift in Dr Rudebeck's approach which this study represents is outlined explicitly (and to my mind very cogently) in the last chapter of this text, which is also animated by the author's engagement with his subject and the considerable risk and hardship he undertook to gather his data during the last years of the liberation struggle. The result is an unusual combination of passion and objectivity. The PAIGC is not idealised (for instance there is a prescient critique of Cabral for failing to see the need for a post-independence project for development), and the picture is not exaggerated (for instance there is a very balanced use of colonial and comparative statistics to document the colonial experience which is needed in order to explain the recourse to arms, and the strength of the PAIGC's popular support). But there is a strong critical edge to the book, which combined with an unusually economical and accessible prose style makes it very readable, in spite of its scholarly apparatus. This helps explain its

wide impact, notwithstanding the small country it concerns.

Most of Dr Rudebeck's other work (other than his early studies on Swedish politics and his series of articles on Nordic policies toward the third world, and on Swedish aid policy in particular) has been directly or indirectly related to these two field-studies. He has been particularly concerned with the problem of the loss of connexion between the nationalist leadership and the peasantry after independence, and this has led him to work also in Mozambique, where he collaborated in a study of local-level politics and development issues in the north of that country; much as he had extended some of his interests in Tunisian development to Algeria in his earlier work. I found particularly interesting and significant his use of a particular village in Guinea-Bissau, Kandjadja, as a continuing point of reference against which to check his more generalised statements, a technique that is not used nearly as much as it should be (no doubt because it is often tedious and uncomfortable). His current concern with the problem of democracy or 'people's power' is central for the prospects of development throughout much of Africa. At the same time I am not sure what kind of fresh enquiry is foreshadowed by the kind of framework sketched in his 1985 paper, 'Development and Democracy'; it is as if the seeming insolubility of the problems of societies such as Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique made it hard to find a creative way forward for research compared with the no less daunting, but somehow more energising, problems of countries such as Nigeria or Kenya where a frankly capitalist process of transformation is occurring, at whatever social cost. In short, I find it hard to assess the potential of Dr Rudebeck's recent research for the future. One can only say that the record shows that he has found a new way forward when it was needed once already, so that I would not expect him to be held up for long by the evident difficulties of the situations in which his chief expertise resides.

Dr Rudebeck's theoretical writing has been closely related to his empirical work. It has been critical and reflective, rather than speculative or innovative. The discussion in the final chapter of his 1974 book is indicative; on two pages he sets out nine theses which have informed the previous analysis, and invites the reader to follow the reasoning which has led him to them, and to assess their value by reference to the cogency of the preceding text. He has also commented critically on various theoretical lines advanced by others, and has outlined a possible approach to the study of democracy and development (items 84 and 86 in his list of publications) that proposes the concept of people's power as an alternative to democracy that may be more relevant to

the circumstances of many if not most post-colonial situations in Africa. In general, however, I would say that theoretical work is not Rudebeck's chief interest or, no doubt, his forte. His strength lies rather, it seems to me, in an ability to clarify a complex situation, and to focus on important and difficult problems, avoiding any tendency to academicism. Reading through his published work in English conveyed a strong sense of commitment to the third world and its peoples, and a sober view of their difficulties.

In terms of the questions suggested by SAREC, I would summarise the above assessment as follows: Dr Rudebeck has made important contributions to our knowledge. He has handled relevant data well, collecting it under sometimes unusual difficulties (for instance, in *Guinea-Bissau*, 1974, p. 118, one reads: 'The group to which the author belonged spent the following day marching about fifty kilometers to a place in the neighbouring sector . . .') and analyzing it carefully. His post-1970 work has all been marked by a consistent, if never shrill, spirit of criticism. The research issues he is concerned with, and in particular the problem of democratization as a basic condition for development in rural Africa, are important, as well as being central to the interests expressed by SAREC. The complexity of problems is fully acknowledged. In his own work, Dr Rudebeck has stayed within a fairly closely defined problem; I would not describe it as creative so much as clear and tenacious; on the other hand he has encouraged and guided a wide range of interesting work by others.

The overall impression made on me by Dr Rudebeck's work was thus sound rather than exciting, with the outstanding exception of his 1974 study of Guinea-Bissau. On the other hand, the consistency of his attention and effort over two decades during which numerous political scientists have abandoned African studies in face of the continent's appalling problems, should also be recognised. The study of political mobilization, in particular, which is central to any development effort in an agrarian country, has been notably influenced by his work. Without having read his Swedish writings I feel that on balance the quality of his work is probably such as to warrant his appointment.

(3) Dr Rudebeck taught graduate courses at Uppsala starting in 1971; from 1981 this continued through an interdisciplinary faculty seminar, which in 1987 became the responsibility of AKUT. He has in this way taught a total of some eighty doctoral candidates. He has supervised ten completed doctoral theses at Uppsala, co-supervised three others, and acted as faculty opponent of four doctoral theses at other universities. This represents a substantial accomplishment, and one suspects a

unique one in relation to Swedish development research in the social sciences. There is no question that Dr Rudebeck has the necessary teaching experience.

(4) Dr Rudebeck has been centrally involved in AKUT from its formation, and as such has been jointly responsible for its collaborative research projects. Similar remarks to those made above concerning Dr Beckman in this connexion apply here. Dr Rudebeck also funded the research of eight of his doctoral students out of externally financed research grants. In the supplementary material supplied to us by Dr Rudebeck he is careful to point out that AKUT works collectively and without a formal hierarchy, but states that he is formally responsible to the university and to SAREC for AKUT's funded research. It is clear that he is accepted as the key coordinator, at least, of these projects. It is also evident that the success of AKUT must owe a good deal to his qualities as a coordinator and facilitator trusted by colleagues and funding bodies. Again, only SAREC can judge the success of the projects it has funded: it is quite clear, however, that Dr Rudebeck has the kind of experience envisaged as requisite for the SAREC posts now being considered. He must also be judged to have played an important role in creating a stimulating interdisciplinary research environment of the kind sought by SAREC.

It is finally appropriate to note here that Dr Rudebeck has devoted a great deal of time and energy to disseminating information about development in Africa to a wider public through his publications in Swedish magazines and newspapers, public lectures, etc.

III. Final comment and recommendation

It seems to me that Drs Beckman and Rudebeck are both qualified for appointment, on somewhat different grounds. They are alike in both working in the relevant field, with a substantial record of good research, extensive experience of graduate teaching, and appropriate experience of obtaining and administering collaborative research projects. Both have played central roles in the development of a creative research milieu and have fostered the research of younger scholars. Both are known internationally among Africanists concerned with development.

Their strengths and weaknesses are somewhat different, however.

Dr Beckman's work is particularly policy-relevant, with specific preoccupations of precisely the kind SAREC is looking for. He is also in my view a creative, imaginative, and unusually effective researcher who makes good on his undertaking to try to study problems in their actual complexity. He gives the impression, moreover, of being presently at the peak of his powers,

undertaking a new study of Nigerian development that will not be confined to a specific sector. If this ambitious project works, it should be very important. His weakness, if any, is that he has been a slower starter: ten years elapsed between his Master's degree and the publication of his doctoral thesis. Also, he has devoted many years to work in Ghana and Nigeria, with a correspondingly smaller impact in Sweden; however, the depth of experience and the extensive African contacts that flow from this should be considered a major asset.

Dr Rudebeck's study of Guinea-Bissau is a work of distinction. His other publications appear more as good 'state-of-the-art' work, devoted steadily and consistently to the promotion of development studies in Sweden. His graduate teaching record is notable. He is certainly one of the best known contemporary Swedish social scientists working on development. His current interests in popular democracy or 'people's power' are highly relevant to SAREC's research concerns, although it is not yet clear whether the conceptual framework that Dr Rudebeck has evolved for investigating this will generate fertile and creative new lines of work. On the basis of his past record, I would guess that this is partly a matter of timing and that if appointed, Dr Rudebeck can be expected to embark on a new productive phase of research.

On this basis I consider both men are qualified for appointment.

Colin Leys

SAREC professorships in Political Science

The applicants assessed in the report are:

Lars Rudebeck
Björn Beckman
Axel Hadenius
Walter Carlsnaes

Each applicant will be presented and assessed individually and separately, with a final recommendation at the end of the report.

Lars Rudebeck

Rudebeck, b. 1936, is a university lecturer in political science at Uppsala University. He is a Doctor of Philosophy from 1967, and has been working as a lecturer and researcher within development studies in various employments since then. Rudebeck has a wide experience as a supervisor of post-graduate and doctoral research, he has participated extensively in international net-

works within his field, and he has chaired a number of research and conference sessions. His pedagogical experience is quite wide.

Rudebeck has delivered 55 works for assessment, from a publication list of 96 titles. The majority of these titles are review articles, notes, papers, smaller reports, with a certain overlapping. The more substantial works comprise a thesis from 1963, and three books from 1967, 1970, and 1974 respectively. The thesis of 1963 is a study of the one-party system in Mexico. The approach is a functionalist conceptual framework applied to an empirical description and analysis of the dominant Mexican party, covering its internal democracy as well as its external role. It is a straight-forward analysis within the functionalist political systems approach. Shorter articles from this period covers much of the same ground.

Party and people from 1967 is a study of political change in Tunisia. The analysis concentrates on the interdependence between policies and the functioning of the political system, and it introduces a basic theme in Rudebecks research profile: the study of popular *mobilization* within the context of a one-party state. The perspective is still within the framework of functionalist political development analysis, and Rudebeck describes the major mechanisms in the evolution towards a mass party system: political socialization, recruitment, communication, interest articulation, and aggregation into decisions. The major topic is thus how the general "functions" specified by Almond and others are expressed in a one-party system. The book is followed by shorter studies of aspects of Tunisian development, like agrarian mobilization, and also by a more popular description of Tunisia from 1972.

In 1969 Rudebeck edited and introduced a volume – in Swedish – on ideologies in the third world, also concentrating on the relationship between political system and development strategies. *Utveckling och politik* (development and politics) was published in 1970, and introduces a more critical discussion of conventional uses of "political development". Tunisia is here employed as an illustration to demonstrate a more eclectic perspective, within which underdevelopment is seen as a discrepancy between human needs and the misused possibilities for need satisfaction. This increasingly moral perspective is followed up in several articles in the early 1970s, including two minor studies from 1972 on agrarian reform in Algeria, and on popular mobilization in Guinea-Bissau.

Guinea-Bissau – A Study of Popular Mobilization (1974) concentrates on PAIGC strategies and emerging mobilizing institutions within health care, economy, education, and the political sphere. This conception of

mobilization in the broad term is seen as a prerequisite for development, with politics as an agent of social and cultural regeneration after independence. The book is followed by a series of articles on Guinea-Bissau in the latter half of the 1970s, ranging from popular presentations to discussions of class structure and socialist development strategy. Rudebeck has followed up his studies of mobilization and development strategies with several papers on Mozambique in the 1980s. Two papers discuss the relationship between socialist development and democracy, while two recent works are communal studies at the village level, one of which compares local development features in Mozambique with a corresponding village in Guinea-Bissau.

Rudebeck is a serious scholar with a particular expertise on popular mobilization in African countries. He has not so far, however, demonstrated outstanding analytical skills, or theoretically very innovative capabilities. Even more important, his major works date back to the early 1970s, and his most vigorous and fruitful research period does seem to have been at that time. I would not consider Rudebeck quite qualified for a professorship in political science.

Björn Beckman

Beckman, b. 1938, got his doctorate from Uppsala University in 1976, after previous studies in Stockholm, London and Ghana. He has been a university lecturer and a reader in political science in Nigeria and in Stockholm, where he presently holds a position. Beckman has a wide teaching experience from Sweden and particularly from Nigeria, in political science and development studies. He has been active in Nordic and international research networks within development studies, and he has acted as an overseas editor of a journal specialising in African political economy. Pedagogically and as an initiator of research he is quite experienced.

Beckman has delivered 33 publications for assessment. They cover a fairly closely knit cluster of topics within third world development and dependence, like problems of the post-colonial state, African peasantry, democracy and participation, labour movements and state intervention, imperialism and political economy, the third world policies of industrial countries. Beckman's first major work was a lic. thesis in 1966, on the "colonial traditionalism" of British rule as a mode of controlling social change. The study is mainly based on British colonial reports, and is an analysis of indirect administration and ideology within the framework of Eastonian functionalism. Then there is a gap of ten years until Beckman emerges with numerous articles and papers within radical dependency theory. His articles on the peripheral, post-colonial state, on third

world democracy, on development strategies, and on peasants in the colonial economy are all clear and well organized examples of mainstream dependency analysis, while he calls for an explicit integration of "the logic of capital" in his critique of the dependency debate on Kenya (1980).

His articles on aspects of dependency, development and policies in Ghana and Nigeria in the early 1980s generally blame capitalism and third world capitalist state formation as the major obstacles to development, and calls for a mobilization of anti-monopolistic and anti-imperialist forces. The message is even more clear-cut in the general articles on marxism and underdevelopment (1983), and on neo-colonialism, state and capitalism in Africa (1985).

In 1976 Beckman published his only monograph. *Organising the Farmers*, on cocoa politics and development in Ghana. This is an analysis of the organisation of cocoa production, circulation, and international aspects, during the Nkrumah regime. The focus is on local attempts of producers to organise, on the middlemen, on the producers' council and farmers' participation, and on the class character of the state as an intermediary in the Ghanaian economy. The state is also at an intermediary position externally, since the Ghanaian economy basically is at the mercy of international relations. The book is well organised, with a quite rich empirical material.

Beckman's only other book is a co-product with another author: *The Wheat Trap* from 1985, where Beckman is particularly responsible for the section on "the illusions of import substitution". The "trap" is the blocking of national development by growing dependence of North American wheat on the one hand, and the illusions of an import substitution policy on the other. The authors thus call for increased domestic food production, and argue for the continued relevance of underdevelopment theory. The empirical material of this book is quite carefully examined, and it is so far the most thoroughly argued work in Beckman's production.

Beckman's research work is not very extensive, and he has made rather few comprehensive analyses. His work is definitely policy relevant, but from an analytical – and political – point of view there is something intensely predictable and monotonous in his conclusions. Theoretically or methodologically his work is not particularly creative, although there could be something promising in his last co-operative study. He is not, however, qualified for a professorship in political science.

Axel Hadenius

Hadenius, b. 1945, has a doctorate in politics from Upp-

sala in 1976, and has been employed as a research fellow and researcher at the University of Uppsala. He has been teaching a number of post-graduate courses, and he has also supervised PhD students and been leading research programs.

Hadenius has sent 12 works for assessment, mainly on Swedish politics and policies, and on democratic development. Besides the doctoral thesis there are three full-scale monographs and a new book-length manuscript.

The doctoral thesis, on the organizational development of the Swedish trade union movement, partly explains the development through "business union-theory" – the calculation of material interest. There is a careful description and analysis of union integration, centralization, and modes of representation and leadership.

Spelet om skatten (1981) is a rationalist analysis of Swedish taxation policy, with a wealth of empirical material organized and explained within a rationalist model. The book demonstrates analytical competence, knowledge of the research literature, and a grasp on the political topic.

Medbestämmandereformen (1983) is a study of the development of economic democracy in Sweden. The changing standpoints and arguments from different parties are lucidly analysed, with a careful explanation of the reform as a prominent issue on the political agenda. The character of the reform is specified and connected to the process of agenda-setting.

A Crisis of the Welfare State? (1986) is a study of opinions about taxes and public expenditure in Sweden. Rational choice theory is fruitfully applied to explain the patterns of opinions, and the analysis employs a quite wide repertoire of quantitative methods.

There is also several minor studies, basically of a methodological nature, on the analytical perspectives employed in the monographs: on rationalist analysis based on political actor preferences, on the verification of motives, and on the dimensions of welfare policies.

Hadenius has recently taken up questions of democratic development. "Democracy and state formation" (1987) is a perceptive overview of different perspectives with a good knowledge of the international literature. In a paper on democracy and capitalism, collective action theory is contrasted to structural analysing with an argument for the former demonstrated by a fruitful application of a strategic perspective within specific external conditions.

The long manuscript on "Utveckling och demokrati" (1988) is a well organized and ambitious discussion of how economic, social, cultural, and institutional factors relate to democracy (in the sense of Dahl's "polyar-

chy"). The analytical problems are clearly formulated, and lends clarity to much of the research discussions in the field.

Hadenius is a theoretically sophisticated and analytically competent scholar, with a firm grasp on the research literature. He is qualified for a professorship in political science, but his production only recently relates directly to development studies. There is no doubt about his general capabilities to make fruitful contributions to the specific topic announced here, but it is a matter of academic policy whether this qualification is enough.

Walter Carlsnaes

Carlsnaes, b. 1943, has a D. Phil. in politics from Oxford in 1976, and has held various research fellowships, researcher positions and university lectureships in Denmark and Sweden, presently at Uppsala University. He has a fairly wide teaching experience, and has conducted doctoral courses and supervised research students. Carlsnaes has enclosed 8 works for assessment, from a list of 19 titles. Here are two full-scale monographs and a nearly finished book manuscript.

Four essays on African nationalism and politics are from the late 1960s. One is a general conceptual analysis of African nationalism, one is an analysis of social features and political authority of colonial Buganda, one is on nationalism and regionalism, and one on the inflexibilities against regional identities produced by ideologised nationalism. In all these essays there is a firm analytical grasp of ideological representations, and a good arrangement of complex phenomena.

During the 1970s Carlsnaes' production was very modest indeed, and no work is submitted. From the early 1980s he emerges as a mature analyst of ideology and ideologies. In several articles on foreign policy he employs policy analysis to the organizational and ideological aspects explored. *The Concept of Ideology and Political Analysis* (1981) is a new critical examination of Lenin, Marx and Mannheim, with a sharp conceptual analysis, and a sophisticated critique of Seliger's work on ideology.

Ideology and Foreign Policy (1986) is a comparative analysis of conceptualization on a very explicit analytical foundation. The book is basically a *methodological* study, with a refined discussion of concepts like "classi-

fication", "explanation", "causation", etc. The outcome is a refined conceptualization of ideology in the analysis of foreign policy.

The book manuscript on the energy crisis and Swedish neutrality (1988), is partly a conceptual analysis and partly a policy study. Starting with a description and diagnosis of the energy crisis, Carlsnaes describes Swedish energy policy, and then connects the security implications to the Swedish tradition of armed neutrality. The manuscript is interesting and analytically sober, but not quite finished, since part of the last chapter and the important conclusion is not enclosed.

Carlsnaes' production is not very extensive, but his work is analytically sophisticated, and his theoretical competence quite outstanding, as demonstrated in his most ambitious studies. He is probably already qualified for a professorship in political science, despite the limited quantitative range of his production. Whether he is also qualified for a position in development studies is again a policy decision, since his limited preoccupation with the topic (the early analyses of African nationalism), should be weighted against a general analytical competence applicable to any branch of political science.

Conclusion

Two of the applicants, Hadenius and Carlsnaes, have been found qualified for professorships in political science. Alas, these two applicants have a fairly limited production within the field of development studies as specified for the positions available. Hadenius has recently embarked upon relevant third world topics, while Carlsnaes' Africanist adventure dates twenty years back. They have both demonstrated an outstanding analytical competence, which surely could make for fruitful contributions within development studies in need of such competence, but the final assessment here is a question of academic policy. Since there are two positions to be filled, I have not found it necessary to differentiate between Hadenius and Carlsnaes. If policy considerations should make this important, for instance if only one of the positions should be filled now, I am prepared to make an order of precedence.

Oyvind Østerud