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The authors also present a naive view of the relationship between activists who lobby for higher standards and the firms that, in response to "consumer" campaigns, adopt codes of conduct in which they pledge to enforce them. Yet, activists and firms may be forming a symbiotic relationship, in which activists take rents from firms in the process of certifying their good behavior, while firms pass the costs to their workers, on the one hand, and to consumers, on the other. Indeed, in many cases, multinational firms willingly adopt higher standards because they provide a barrier to entry against potential competitors. Nowhere do the authors mention the high costs associated with monitoring plants and factories for higher labor standards, but these costs may be greater than small and medium-sized enterprises can support. Again, the consequences for product markets of higher labor standards and the associated corporate codes of conduct are nowhere mentioned.

Overall, then, *Can Labor Standards Improve Under Globalization?* represents a bold and useful effort to put a new and positive spin on a debate that has brought people into the streets at any number of recent multilateral gatherings. The authors have tried to suggest a middle way, in which higher labor standards translate into greater market access. Students of these issues will undoubtedly use this book as a basis for further discussions concerning how to ensure that the benefits of globalization are distributed to workers throughout the developing world. I heartily recommend it for classroom use at both the undergraduate and graduate levels.

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Open Networks, Closed Regimes: The Impact of the Internet on Authoritarian Rule *by Shanthi Kalathil and Taylor C. Boas. Washington, DC, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace/Brookings Institution, 2003. 218 pp. Paper, $18.95.*

The e-Connected World: Risks and Opportunities *edited by Stephen Coleman. Quebec, Canada, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003. 180 pp. Cloth, $65.00; paper, $29.95.*

In what has been written so far about the political significance of the Internet, three assumptions exert a pervasive influence: a technological determinist view of the Internet as an intrinsically democratic force; a conception of democracy primarily in terms of liberal individualism, which the Internet is seen to naturally facilitate; and the idea that the economic significance of the Internet represents an indirect force for political liberalism. In their different ways, these two books significantly depart from these influences to emphasize the highly contingent nature of the Internet's democratic political impact and the collective organizational and deliberative dimensions of democracy itself.

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Shanthi Kalathil and Taylor C. Boas are specifically concerned about the significance of the Internet for authoritarian regimes. They systematically examine the manner in which the Internet affects relationships within and between the state, civil society, and the economy. Importantly, the cases studied include authoritarian regimes that vary in size and nature as well as extent of engagement with the global market system: China, Singapore, Vietnam, Burma, Cuba, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt. Theirs is a sophisticated analysis that locates the Internet within the context of complex and dynamic social and political processes, highlighting opportunities and challenges alike for authoritarian regimes.

Indeed, one of the great strengths of their approach is its capacity to explain how the Internet is being harnessed to improved surveillance under many of these regimes and why self-censorship often consolidates rather than diminishes with the technology's diffusion. The authors demonstrate that the Internet can be deployed to shore up the legitimacy and effectiveness of authoritarian regimes. This extends beyond e-commerce, e-government, and blatant propaganda initiatives to the selective sanctioning of Internet access and usage by proregime organizations. In Saudi Arabia, for example, authorities have exploited widespread social conservatism by inviting the public to identify sites that should be blocked. The study cautions, moreover, against the idea that loss of control over the Internet by authorities in authoritarian regimes necessarily opens the door to liberal and democratic politics. Where there are cracks in the system of controls in China, for instance, it is nationalist rather than democratic sentiment that threatens. In the Middle East, radical political Islam could conceivably be given fuller expression in any breakdown of state controls.

The book also further exposes the myth about markets as a natural ally of democracy. In China, in particular, it was the desire to keep on the good side of the authorities in order to secure market access that led in 2002 to more than one hundred foreign Internet industry entrepreneurs signing a pledge to promote self-discipline and encourage the elimination of "deleterious information" (p. 36) on the Internet. Multinationals from the West have also been at the fore of designing and providing technical means for filtering, blocking, and monitoring the Web, all of which are being adopted to differing extents by authoritarian regimes.

The fact that all of the states in the study, with the exception of Egypt, control much of the physical network infrastructure, such as national backbones and gateways, is not incidental to the propensity for self-censorship by Internet providers and users in these states. However, the authors do not place faith in privatization per se to foster freer expression and information flow. Instead, they argue that the World Trade Organization needs to specifically foster more liberal access and content policies. Even then, a realistic objective, they argue, would be for policy makers to abandon the idea that the Internet can of itself stimulate grassroots political opposition and instead explore ways in which the Internet can support existing liberal trends, which might involve developments at the elite level.

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This book represents a powerful corrective against technological determinism and naïve liberal optimism about the Internet. It steers attention to such factors as the nature of the state and its political and economic relationships, the complexity of political institutions and party systems, and the extent and nature of the determination by domestic and international civil societies of the Internet's impact on authoritarian regimes. It is not the final word on the precise analysis of these relationships, but it is an outstanding contribution to a better understanding of what the Internet means for authoritarian rule. Hopefully, it will stimulate a research agenda to carry that analysis further.

Stephen Coleman's edited collection brings together an interesting group of Internet policymakers, academics, and practitioners, largely from Canada and the United Kingdom. The topics examined range from protecting anonymity and privacy, policing financial crime, and enhancing social access and learning on the Internet to more overt political questions, such as how to enrich or even revive civil society and democracy through the technology. Collectively, the contributions are intended to provide a "non-utopian account of digital technology" (p. 7).

Stephanie Perrin argues that the pace and nature of Internet development has meant that governments, businesses, and citizens are all experiencing a sense of loss of control over intellectual property and private transactions. Protection of privacy, contends Perrin, is one of the cornerstones of democracy. The freedom to read, associate, and express are, however, now subject to various forms of commercial and governmental surveillance. Yet, as Ronald Deibert explains in another chapter, legislative measures aimed at balancing privacy and security have so far been overwhelmingly directed toward protecting the interests of governments and business, often at the expense of citizens' rights. Thus, the containment of file sharing/file trading is leading to what Diebert describes as draconian intellectual property laws aimed at protecting the interests of powerful corporations. Meanwhile, the "war on terror" has been accompanied by the radical extension of state powers of electronic surveillance. These powers pose a potential threat to citizen networks and might jeopardize altogether the work of nongovernment organizations such as those in the human rights field that rely on information security to operate under authoritarian regimes.

A number of the book's contributors emphasize the political importance of the design of the Internet and the way in which global communications infrastructure is developed. Coleman dedicates the concluding chapter to a discussion of these concepts, starting by underlining serious limitations to the existing concept and practices of political representation in advanced liberal democracies. He advocates fuller development of the Internet's potential for interactive, public deliberation and more effective means of ensuring responsiveness on the part of business and government to these expressions. Involvement of participants in online deliberations "need[s to] be less preoccupied with representation and more focussed on recruiting a broad range of experience,

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expertise, and interests," according to Coleman (p. 30). Yet, he adds that the e-democracy debate is "about the reinvention of representative democracy" (p. 37). How to reinvent without subverting democratic representation, though, is the question that Coleman's idea will have to address. Questions are emerging about the relationship between functional and democratic representation and about who determines the recruitment of political participants.

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The Politics of Internet Communication *by Robert J. Klotz. Lanham, MD, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2003. 304 pp. Cloth, $60.00; paper, $26.95.*

Robert J. Klotz stakes out a continent of territory in this introductory volume. He surveys what is known about Internet users, online campaigning, e-government, online journalism, the legal and regulatory framework of the Net, and how the new medium has emerged differently in democratic and repressive regimes. As might be expected in a first edition about a sprawling and fast-changing field, the contents vary in quality. Klotz does a fine job of summarizing landmark court decisions, legislation, and governing bodies vis-a-vis the Internet. He provides adequate accounts of early patterns and achievements in online campaigns for office and policy outcomes in the United States and delivers fresh perspective on that history by noting that thanks largely to an absence of regulation, online politics in the United States has been more similar in style to that in other advanced democracies than is the case with broadcast campaigning. He sensibly interprets survey data about Net use through the lens of technological diffusion theory and makes a good start at carrying that chronological framework into the other sections of his book. There are more payoffs to come in contrasting Internet politics and policy during the pioneer years (1983–1994), the years of rapid early adoption (1995–1999), and the years of mainstreaming (2000–present).

Many of the examples and citations in the book come from the second era. That is understandable, but the book could have been of greater use had it supplied a few enduring questions and Web sites at the end of each section, so that students, teachers, and other researchers could update material on their own. The book also relies on a flawed definition of the Internet. Klotz sees it as a computer-enhanced medium for personal and mass communication. That definition illuminates a lot of the "more, faster" effects associated with online politics, but slights the significance of the Internet as an instrument of and inspiration for group communication.

In its unique capacity to put people in sustained yet affordable contact with others whom they know *and* may not know, the Internet dramatizes how crucial the activity of networking is to the success of democratic politics. Just

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