

and UK] by antiterror legislation is significantly greater than it first appears" (p. 3). Donohue articulates this damage in terms of costs—to civil liberties, to the international standing of the states involved, to their economies and, ultimately, to the effectiveness of counter-terrorism.

The characteristic strengths of Donohue's earlier work are present here. Much of the empirical content of the book comprises thick descriptions of legal developments in the United States and the UK. These process-tracing accounts provide a sound basis for critical reflection, especially concerning the administration of George W. Bush, and represent a worthy contribution to the growing literature documenting the waywardness of the "war on terror." Often, the United States–UK comparison is illuminating, confirming the importance of constitutional structure in shaping counter-terrorism law and policy, and illustrating the influence of European institutions on the UK.

If the descriptive, legal-historical account generally succeeds, the effort to specify costs reveals Donohue's normative conviction more than a pattern of causality. The evidence she presents does not always support the view that counter-terrorism law is a one-way street. Rather, she raises examples of effective judicial oversight, legislative action to counter executive overreach, and even restraint by the executive. Similarly, she notes variation between the experiences of the United States and the UK. A survey of other democracies—drawing on the pre- and post-September 11 "comparative counter-terrorism" literature, to which Donohue has contributed—would reveal further variation (a pendulum after all, perhaps). Here, her express focus on costs elides the subtleties of the empirical record. Moreover, Donohue's use of evidence sometimes raises questions, and she cites journalists, commentators, experts, and scholars too often when primary sources are required. Rather than proof that counter-terrorism has diverse and persistent costs, evidence is rendered to fit the argument. It is telling that Donohue tends to use conditional language ("may," "could," etc.) in these passages.

Donohue is correct that the "war on terror" has had harmful effects. It is vitally important that we understand them, and *The Costs of Counter-terrorism* takes us part of the way. But it delivers a survey of risks more often than an accounting of demonstrated costs incurred by individuals, communities, organizations, and states. The latter task warrants further, robust empirical exploration. Hopefully, those studies will find a corrective pendulum, rather than unchecked executive power spiraling out of control.

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**Spanish Politics** by Omar G. Encarnación, Oxford, Polity Press, 2008.  
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Students of comparative politics will find this concise treatment of the main political issues in contemporary Spain to be a well-written, carefully researched,

and interesting contribution to the literature on Spanish politics. Omar G. Encarnación has synthesized much of the available research in order to address the most important questions regarding modern Spanish politics.

If there is a single theme pervading Encarnación's analysis, it is the success of Spain's remarkable transition to democracy after the death of Francisco Franco in 1975. While shedding no new light on this much-studied phenomenon in his first few chapters, the author nicely summarizes the reasons for this success, correctly noting the extraordinary role played by political elites. They learned from Spanish history and collectively crafted a set of compromises (on a whole host of issues ranging from the economy to regionalism) that allowed for a peaceful transition away from authoritarianism.

Encarnación explains how developments in the party system, especially the moderation of the Spanish left and the eventual consolidation of a conservative right, helped to establish and then preserve this "pacted" transition. A carefully documented chapter examines whether Spain's reputedly weak civil society has been a victim of this transition, as is often argued. Encarnación persuasively demonstrates that the weakness of Spanish civil society has many causes other than the transition to democracy. Moreover, he contends that conventional measures of civil society may overlook a vibrant political culture of protest and mobilization that exists outside of formal groups. Indeed, the Spanish case may serve to challenge the conventional wisdom about the link between civil society and democracy.

In examining another area of compromise during the transition, the treatment of Spain's regions, Encarnación is mostly optimistic. The slow process of devolution in Spain has been uneven and costly, and the Basque Country continues to pose major challenges, but the author argues that Spain's system of autonomous communities has generally worked, and has mostly helped to consolidate democracy.

An excellent chapter on Spain's economy examines why post-authoritarian economic restructuring in Spain did not erode support for democratic rule. His answer is that Spain pursued a pragmatic "social democratic" approach to economic liberalization. Spain prudently delayed the most painful economic restructuring until democracy was consolidated, and then combined market-oriented reforms with dramatic increases in social spending to cushion somewhat the associated social costs.

The post-transition political settlement included, among other compromises, a pact of silence regarding Franco-era political repression. By the 1990s, Spaniards began to challenge that pact, the topic of a fascinating chapter on the reawakening of Spain's historical memory. Encarnación first provides a multifaceted explanation for why the pact lasted for almost two decades, and then provides several plausible explanations for why the ghosts of history recently reemerged as political issues. Unlike some observers, Encarnación regards the recent attempts to reexamine history and deal with Franco's abuse of human rights as indicators of the good health of Spanish democracy.

A final chapter examines the radical social policies of Socialist Prime Minister José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, and inquires whether those policies pose a danger to Spanish democracy. The legalization of gay marriage, the liberalization of abortion, and the weakening of the power of the Church, for example, have drawn a harsh reaction from the Spanish right and have contributed to increased tension between Spain's two largest parties. However, Encarnación rejects the notion that the reforms were in any way anti-democratic, arguing that a large majority of Spaniards have supported Zapatero's social policies, a contention that his 2008 reelection would appear to support.

The book's main weakness is its failure to address contemporary Spanish political institutions. For example, the book lacks any systematic treatment of the Spanish legislature, regional political institutions, or the judiciary. But its consistently cogent analysis establishes *Spanish Politics* as an invaluable and welcome addition to the literature on modern Spain.

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