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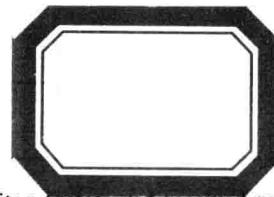
*Sixteenth Edition*



**Editor**

**Christian S e**

**California State University, Long Beach**



Christian S e was born in Denmark, studied in Canada and the United States, and received his doctoral degree in political science from the Free University in Berlin. He is a political science professor at California State University, Long Beach. Dr. S e teaches a wide range of courses in comparative politics and contemporary political theory, and he actively participates in professional symposiums in the United States and abroad. His research deals primarily with developments in contemporary German politics, and he has been a regular observer of party politics and elections in that country, which he visits annually to conduct interviews and gather research materials. At present Dr. S e is observing the shifts in the balance of power within the German party system, with particular attention to their implications for the formation of new government coalitions and changes in policy directions. As the Bonn Republic prepares to become the Berlin Republic, he is completing work as coeditor with Mary N. Hampton on a forthcoming book, *Between Bonn and Berlin: German Politics Adrift?* He also plans to contribute as coeditor and chapter author to a book on the 1998 Bundestag election. Three of his most recent publications are a biographical essay on Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Germany's foreign minister from 1974 to 1992, in *Political Leaders of Contemporary Western Europe*; a chapter on the Free Democratic Party in *Germany's New Politics*; and another chapter on the Danish-German relationship in *The Germans and Their Neighbors*. Dr. S e is also coeditor of the latter two books. He has been editor of *Annual Editions: Comparative Politics* since its beginning in 1983.

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Sixteenth Edition

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Members of the Advisory Board are instrumental in the final selection of articles for each edition of ANNUAL EDITIONS. Their review of articles for content, level, currentness, and appropriateness provides critical direction to the editor and staff. We think that you will find their careful consideration well reflected in this volume.

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# To the Reader

In publishing ANNUAL EDITIONS we recognize the enormous role played by the magazines, newspapers, and journals of the *public press* in providing current, first-rate educational information in a broad spectrum of interest areas. Many of these articles are appropriate for students, researchers, and professionals seeking accurate, current material to help bridge the gap between principles and theories and the real world. These articles, however, become more useful for study when those of lasting value are carefully collected, organized, indexed, and reproduced in a low-cost format, which provides easy and permanent access when the material is needed. That is the role played by ANNUAL EDITIONS. Under the direction of each volume's *academic editor*, who is an expert in the subject area, and with the guidance of an *Advisory Board*, each year we seek to provide in each ANNUAL EDITION a current, well-balanced, carefully selected collection of the best of the public press for your study and enjoyment. We think that you will find this volume useful, and we hope that you will take a moment to let us know what you think.

This collection of readings brings together current articles that will help you understand the politics of foreign countries from a comparative perspective. Such a study not only opens up a fascinating world beyond our borders; it will also lead to greater insights into the American political process.

The articles in unit 1 cover Britain, Germany, France, Italy, and Japan in a serial manner. Each of these modern societies has developed its own political framework and agenda, and each has sought to find its own appropriate dynamic balance of continuity and change. Nevertheless, as the readings of unit 2 show, it is possible to point to some common denominators and make useful cross-national comparisons among these and other representative democracies. Unit 3 goes one step further by discussing the impact of two major changes that are rapidly transforming the political map of Europe. One of them is the irregular, sometimes halting, but nevertheless impressive growth of the European Union (EU). The other is the difficult political and economic reconstruction of Central and Eastern Europe after the collapse of this region's Communist regimes. The continuing political importance of Europe has been underscored by these two developments.

Unit 4 looks at developments in some of the developing countries, with articles on Mexico, sub-Saharan Africa and the Union of South Africa, China, and India. A careful reader will come away with a better understanding of the diversity of social and political conditions in these countries. Additional readings cover the newly industrialized countries of Eastern and Southeastern Asia—the so-called small “dragons,” which have managed to generate an impressive, but also fragile, process of rapid economic modernization. Here the central question concerns the combination of factors that have made such a take-off possible and sustainable. Perhaps the answer will point toward a more promising strategy of development for other developing countries.

Unit 5 considers three major trends in contemporary politics from a comparative perspective. The “third wave” of democratization may already have crested, but it is nevertheless important in having changed the politics of many countries. The widespread shifts toward a greater reliance on markets, in place of centralized planning and heavy governmental regulation, is also of great significance. The move is frequently toward some form of a market-oriented “mixed economy,” and it should not be misunderstood for a sweeping victory of doctrinaire “laissez-faire.” Finally, the surge of what has been called “identity politics,” with particular emphasis on exclusive cultural or ethnic group assertion, is a development that bears careful watching.

There has rarely been so interesting and important a time for the study of comparative politics as now. We have an increasingly clear view of how the political earthquake

of 1989-1991 has altered the landscape with consequences for many years to come. The aftershocks continue to remind us that we are unlikely to ever experience a condition of political equilibrium. Even in a time of political transformation, however, there are important patterns of continuity as well as change. We must be careful to look for both as we seek to gain a comparative understanding of the politics of other countries and peoples as well as of our own condition.

This is the sixteenth edition of *Annual Editions: Comparative Politics*. It is a sobering reminder that the first edition appeared just as the Brezhnev era had come to a close in what was then the Soviet Union. Over the years, the new editions have tried to reflect the developments that eventually brought about the post-cold war world of today. In a similar way, this present edition tries to present information and analysis that will be useful in understanding today's political world and its role in setting the parameters for tomorrow's developments.

A special word of thanks goes to my own past and present students at California State University, Long Beach. They are wonderfully inquisitive and help keep me posted on matters that this anthology must address. Several of my past graduate students have come back to help gather material for this year's collection. I am particularly grateful to Susan B. Mason. She received her master's degree in political science several years ago but continues to serve as a superb research assistant. Another graduate of our M.A. program, Erika Reinhardt, has provided me with some very useful articles from her own collection. Once again I also wish to thank some other past and present students, Linda Wohlman, Jon Nakagawa, Mike Petri, Rich Sherman, and Ali Taghavi, also Perry Olliver and Darell Ten Eyck, who have all helped locate material for this reader. Like so many others, they first encountered this anthology as students in my comparative politics courses. It is a great joy to work with all these present and former students, whose enthusiasm for the project is contagious.

I am very grateful to members of the advisory board and Dushkin/McGraw-Hill as well as to the many readers who have made useful comments on past selections and suggested new ones. I ask you all to help me improve future editions by keeping me informed of your reactions and suggestions for change. Please complete and return the article rating form in the back of the book.



Christian Sørensen  
Editor

## UNIT 1



### Pluralist Democracies: Country Studies

Twenty-one selections examine the current state of politics in Western Europe, the United Kingdom, Germany, France, Italy, and Japan.

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#### A. CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES TO DEMOCRACY

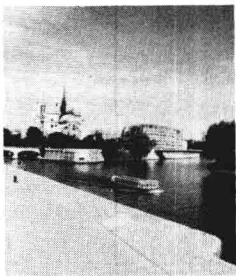
1. **In Government We Don't Trust**, Joseph S. Nye Jr., *Foreign Policy*, Fall 1997. 14  
There is a widespread *decline of confidence in government* in the United States and other well-established democracies, as this American scholar points out. He points to evidence of a link between the declining respect for authority and post-modern values, and goes on to examine several rival explanations and proposed responses to this phenomenon.

#### B. THE UNITED KINGDOM

2. **Britons Back Labor Party; Conservatives Are Routed after 18 Years of Control**, Warren Hoge, *New York Times*, May 2, 1997. 21  
Writing a day after *Britain's 1997 general election*, an American reporter gives a description and analysis of the power shift, along with a portrait of the new prime minister.
3. **Anatomy of a Non-Landslide**, John Curtice, *Politics Review*, September 1997. 25  
The parliamentary *outcome of the British general election* in May 1997 was a resounding victory for Tony Blair's Labour Party. The popular vote for Labour was far less impressive, despite the Conservative disaster. These observations lead a British political scientist to look more closely at the roles played by such factors as the electoral system and tactical voting.
4. **The Roots of New Labour: Liberalism Rediscovered**, Samuel Beer, *The Economist*, February 7, 1998. 31  
Samuel Beer, a prominent American scholar of British politics, gives a historically informed assessment of *the ideas and goals of Prime Minister Tony Blair*. He finds strong links to the social liberalism of Lloyd George, and sets New Labour apart from Margaret Thatcher's more individualist liberalism. Blair impresses Beer as an innovative democratic leader, but he warns that the many proposed constitutional changes could weaken the British system's capacity to govern effectively.
5. **Blair on the Constitution: Democracy's Second Age**, Tony Blair, *The Economist*, September 14, 1996. 34  
The *Labour Party* leader has come out strongly in favor of *constitutional reform*, an issue that used to be a primary domain of the Liberal Democrats. Blair advocates a democratization of the House of Lords, a greater use of referendums and advisory boards, the introduction of regional assemblies and stronger local governments, and the adoption of a bill of rights. Conspicuously, he stops short of supporting *electoral reform*.
6. **Devolving for a Stronger Union**, Vernon Bogdanor, *The World Today*, November 1997. 38  
Britain is now involved in its most profound *constitutional transformation* since the Great Reform Act of 1832, which began the country's evolution toward democratic rule. The Labour government plans a devolution of power that will be based on popular demand and approval and will be serial or "rolling" in its development and asymmetrical rather than uniform in design.
7. **Britons' Honeymoon with Blair Clouds Up**, William D. Montalbano, *Los Angeles Times*, December 26, 1997. 42  
It is hardly surprising that *the new Labour government* has engendered controversy from both the Right and the Left in promoting its reform program. However, some critics now also charge it with displaying an "arrogance of power."
8. **For British Parties, Time to Take Stock**, Warren Hoge, *New York Times*, September 26, 1997. 44  
The annual party conferences in the fall of 1997 give Warren Hoge an occasion to survey each of the three national parties and to reflect on a possible *realignment in British politics*.

9. **The End of the Beginning**, *The Economist*, January 17, 1998. 46  
The framework of a *settlement on Northern Ireland* appears to be in the making. It will be based on three main elements: a new, elected regional assembly to exercise devolved government in Ulster; cross-border bodies to provide administrative links between the Irish Republic and Ulster; and an "inter-governmental council," which would include representatives from London and Dublin as well as from the regional assemblies in Ulster, Scotland, and Wales.
- C. GERMANY**
10. **Life after Kohl? We'll Always Have Germany**, Robert Gerald Livingston, *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 1997. 47  
Chancellor Helmut Kohl has been around for so long that it is hard to imagine German and European politics without him. His skills were essential to the unification of Germany, and they helped promote very good relations with France and closer European unity. However, they are largely irrelevant to the *geopolitical and economic tasks that lie ahead*, according to this U.S. specialist on Germany.
11. **German Coalition Politics** 51  
Every *federal government in Germany* since 1949 has been a coalition of two or more parties, and that seems to be the likely outcome of the 1998 elections as well. The present conservative-liberal coalition could possibly survive, but here *The Economist* explores two realistic alternatives, a "red-green" coalition of socialists and environmentalists, and a conservative-social democratic grand coalition.
- a. **Germany: Red and Green Together?** *The Economist*, October 25, 1997.
- b. **A Grand-Coalition Cure for Germany?** *The Economist*, January 10, 1998.
12. **Loving the Mark**, Amity Shlaes, *The New Yorker*, April 28 and May 5, 1997. 54  
The year 1998 marks the fiftieth anniversary of the Deutsche mark. The author uses this landmark to explore how the mark has come to symbolize economic stability and prowess for many Germans. Their historically reinforced fear of a weak currency will play a role in deciding the *fate of the euro*, which is scheduled to begin replacing the mark in 1999.
13. **Perspectives on the German Model** 59  
*Germany's social-market system*, traditionally a model for delivery stability and prosperity, is currently in worse shape than it looks. The postunification period is over and Germany is now faced with new worker-manager reforms. Unknown still is whether future reforms will produce a new model that is defined differently or whether there will be a collapse of the current system, caused by the strain put on it. Some argue that Germany's political system itself promotes gridlock.
- a. **Is the Model Broken?** *The Economist*, May 4, 1996.
- b. **The German Welfare Model That Still Is**, Peter Ross Range and Robert Gerald Livingston, *Washington Post*, August 11, 1996.
- c. **Bonn's Principal Policy Headache**, Frederick Stüdemann, *Financial Times*, October 21, 1996.
- d. **The German Disease**, Fritz Scharpf, *Prospect*, January 1998.
- D. FRANCE**
14. **The Right Rejected in France**, *The Economist*, June 7, 1997. 65  
*The 1997 parliamentary elections in France* were called almost a year earlier than necessary by Gaullist president Jacques Chirac in what turned out to be a political misjudgment. The result was a victory for the Left and the return to cohabitation in French government, with Socialist Lionel Jospin as prime minister. This article examines the election outcome and its political consequences.
15. **Look Back in Anger**, Stanley Hoffmann, *The New York Review of Books*, July 17, 1997. 68  
The author gives a brilliant survey and analysis of the *political situation in France*. He explains several dilemmas facing the French government as well as the widespread discontents in a country where an attachment to "acquired rights" greatly limits the range of reforms that are driven by economic considerations.

## UNIT 2



### Modern Pluralist Democracies: Factors in the Political Process

Ten selections examine the functioning of Western European democracies with regard to political ideas and participation, ethnic politics, the role of women in politics, and the institutional framework of representative government.

16. **France vs. U.S.: Warring Views of Capitalism**, Roger Cohen, *New York Times*, October 20, 1997. 75  
France and the United States appear to offer *two very different models of capitalism*. The author explains the French version, but he goes on to show that the differences may be smaller than rhetoric or caricature would have it.
17. **Is There a French Alternative?** Daniel Singer, *The Nation*, October 27, 1997. 77  
The American author of this article examines the possibility that France may pursue a more determinedly left-wing alternative to U.S.-style market capitalism. He emphasizes the obstacles to a *democratic socialist path*, even as he indicates his view that it would be preferable.

#### E. ITALY

18. **Tocqueville in Italy**, David L. Kirp, *The Nation*, November 8, 1993. 80  
David Kirp reviews Robert Putnam's highly praised work on the role of different *civic traditions* in the varying economic and political development of Italy's regions. The findings stress the importance of a community's "stock of *social capital*." They have implications for other countries as well.
19. **Italy: Many Mountains Still to Climb**, Matthew Bishop, *The Economist*, November 8, 1997. 82  
Writing soon after Romano Prodi's coalition government weathered a major parliamentary crisis, the author examines *Italy's politics* along with the country's north-south divide. He concludes with a look at the constitutional reform proposals.

#### F. JAPAN

20. **In Japan, Look for More of a Whimper than a Bang**, Clay Chandler, *Washington Post National Weekly Edition*, January 12, 1998. 87  
Many observers agree that Japan has outgrown the centrally guided economic model on which it has relied since World War II, and must replace it with a more market-oriented approach. But even those Japanese who believe reform is needed to halt current economic stagnation "shudder at the idea of embracing U.S.-style capitalism."
21. **Opposition in Japan?** Nicholas D. Kristof, *New York Times*, December 30, 1997. 90  
The article surveys the political disarray that has accompanied Japan's current economic dislocations. Ichiro Ozawa's New Frontier Party has recently disbanded, but there are signs of a possible realignment that could result in a stronger and more attractive opposition to the ruling Liberal Democrats.

#### Overview 92

#### A. POLITICAL IDEAS, MOVEMENTS, PARTIES

22. **Reassessing Conservative Allure**, Kevin Phillips, *Los Angeles Times*, June 8, 1997. 96  
The author thinks we may be on the threshold of a new nonconservative "megacycle" in politics, citing electoral evidence from several West European countries as well as from Canada. He suggests that conservatives have overplayed their pro-market, anti-welfare state message as well as their regressive tax preferences.
23. **In U.S., Europe, the Left Must Prove It Has Right Stuff to Pursue Change**, Ronald Brownstein, *Los Angeles Times*, June 9, 1997. 98  
The political left has returned to power in several countries, but the center of political debate has moved to the right as compared to a generation ago. In the face of the twin revolution of advancing information technology and globalization, voters resist leaving their fate solely in the hands of market forces. This new situation creates limited opportunities for a left that is willing to redefine the role of government.

#### B. WOMEN AND POLITICS

24. **Women in Power: From Tokenism to Critical Mass**, Jane S. Jaquette, *Foreign Policy*, Fall 1997. 100  
Worldwide there are more women in elected national office than ever before, and their presence is achieving critical mass in some countries. This article gives a historical overview of women's representation and suggests three major reasons for the recent breakthroughs.



## UNIT 3



### Europe—West, Center, and East: The Politics of Integration, Transformation, and Disintegration

Seven selections examine the European continent: the European Union, Western European society, post-communist Central and Eastern Europe, and Russia and the other post-Soviet Republics.

#### C. THE INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

25. **What Democracy Is . . . and Is Not**, Philippe C. Schmitter and Terry Lynn Karl, *Journal of Democracy*, Summer 1991. 107  
The authors point out that *modern representative democracies* vary considerably in their institutions, practices, and values, depending upon their different socioeconomic, historical, and cultural settings.
26. **Constitutions Are the New Writers' Market**, Anthony DePalma, *New York Times*, November 30, 1997. 114  
In his short article, an American political scientist reflects upon the current boom in the writing of new national constitutions. Most of these documents are far longer, more detailed, and less likely to enjoy political longevity than their U.S. counterpart.
27. **Devolution Can Be Salvation**, *The Economist*, September 20, 1997. 116  
A regional parliament in Scotland will link Britain to a wider European experience of political devolution since World War II. This short article looks at some of the Continent's regional trends and problems.
28. **Parliament and Congress: Is the Grass Greener on the Other Side?** Gregory S. Mahler, *Canadian Parliamentary Review*, Winter 1985–1986. 118  
Gregory Mahler examines the arguments advanced by supporters of both the *parliamentary* and the *congressional systems of government*, with particular attention to the legislative-executive relationship in each.
29. **Campaign and Party Finance: What Americans Might Learn from Abroad**, Arthur B. Gunlicks, *Party Line*, Spring/Summer 1993. 122  
Arthur Gunlicks looks at *campaign and party finance* in several Western democracies, with an eye on some possible lessons for the United States.
30. **Electoral Reform: Good Government? Fairness? Or Vice Versa. Or Both** *The Economist*, May 1, 1993. 124  
The article explains the workings of *electoral systems* and compares the British *winner-takes-all system* with one based on *proportional representation*, as is found in many other Western European countries.
31. **Presidents and Prime Ministers**, Richard Rose, *Society*, March/April 1988. 127  
Writing while François Mitterrand was still president of the Fifth Republic, Richard Rose compares the different methods of government in the United States (*presidential*), Great Britain (*prime ministerial*), and France (*combined presidential and prime ministerial*). He points to some resulting differences in the form of *political leadership* and in internal *checks and balances*.

#### Overview 134

#### A. THE EUROPEAN UNION

32. **The United States of Europe**, Tyler Marshall, *Los Angeles Times*, May 20, 1996. 138  
After 20 years of reporting from Europe, a top U.S. reporter reflects on its fitful *efforts at integration*. In the first article, he stresses that cultural diversity remains important, even though it tends to be officially ignored. In the second, he points to the high stakes of the integration effort—for the United States as well.
33. **What Is Europe? The Changing Idea of a Continent**, Richard Rose, *Politics Review*, January 1997. 140  
Any attempt to reduce Europe to a single idea is bound to fail. It is marked by diversity and complexity, with countries that show striking differences in language, religion, economic development, and political traditions. The author explores some politically relevant differences among the countries of Europe.
34. **The Institutional Framework of the EU** 145  
In a series of short articles, *The Economist* presents the major EU institutions and emphasizes the need for reform if the EU is to be successful in its project of eastward expansion.
  - a. **Looking for Legitimacy**, *The Economist*, January 11, 1997.
  - b. **The Big Squeeze**, *The Economist*, February 8, 1997.
  - c. **Doing the Splits**, *The Economist*, March 8, 1997.
  - d. **Biased Referee?** *The Economist*, May 17, 1997.

# UNIT 4



## Political Diversity in the Developing World

Eleven selections review the developing world's economic and political development in Latin America, Africa, China, India, and newly industrialized countries.

### B. THE EURO BATTLE

35. **The High Stakes of the EMU** 150  
These two articles examine the different country settings into which the euro will be introduced. They explore both the risks and the opportunities involved.
- a. **Economics Aside, Europeans Like Their Marks and Francs**, Roger Cohen, *New York Times*, September 18, 1997.
  - b. **The Cries of Welfare States under the Knife**, Roger Cohen, *New York Times*, September 19, 1997.
36. **Britain and Europe: Yes to Europe, No to Federalism**, David Owen, *The Economist*, January 24, 1998. 160  
A former British foreign secretary and prominent political leader, Lord Owen explains how he reconciles his pro-Europeanism with opposition to Britain's joining in the use of a single European monetary unit.

### C. RUSSIA AND THE OTHER POST-SOVIET REPUBLICS

37. **Can Russia Change?** David Remnick, *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 1997. 162  
An American with a deep understanding of *Russia* gives a relatively *hopeful assessment* of the country's long-term prospects. He acknowledges its present disarray in leadership and societal morale, but warns against ignoring the scattered evidence of an embryonic cultural transformation that could overcome the heavy authoritarian legacy.
38. **Democracy Unfolds in Russia**, Michael McFaul, *Current History*, October 1997. 168  
Russia has made the *transition from Communist* rule to an electoral democracy, but it needs to encourage and nurture some crucial components of a liberal democracy. The author points to some institutional features that hamper such a development, including superpresidentialism; an ambiguous federalism; weak political parties, unions, and civic organizations; excessively powerful business interests; and a virtual absence of the rule of law.

### Overview 174

### A. POLITICS OF DEVELOPMENT

39. **Let's Abolish the Third World**, *Newsweek*, April 27, 1992. 178  
The term "*the third world*" has always included too much diversity to be a useful analytical tool. Now that we know much more about the *economic and social problems* of the former "second," or communist, world, there is even less reason for clinging to the categories of "three worlds."
40. **The 'Third World' Is Dead, but Spirits Linger**, Barbara Crossette, *New York Times*, November 13, 1994. 179  
In 1955 the Bandung Conference promoted an *image of a fraternal "third world"* of developing nations, which shared similar problems, interests, and goals in opposition to the West and the developed world. Over the years, some of these countries have forged ahead while many others are mired in economic and social stagnation. In the latter, there are important remnants of the old vision in political rhetoric and resistance against what is seen as interference by the West.

### B. LATIN AMERICA: MEXICO

41. **The Backlash in Latin America: Reforms Lagging, Hopes Dying**, *World Press Review*, March 1997. 181  
There is a resistance gathering in much of Latin America *against the neo-liberal economic reforms* introduced more than a decade ago. The growing discontent results from the persisting poverty and violence in the region. In some countries, challenges to the government have strengthened the hand of the military.
42. **Democratic Transition? The 1997 Mexican Elections**, Joseph L. Klesner, *PS: Political Science and Politics*, December 1997. 184  
The 1997 midterm *elections in Mexico* dealt a major setback to the long-time ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI). This article carefully examines the electoral outcome and comes to the conclusion that there are solid reasons to expect a more democratic political future in the country.

## C. AFRICA

43. **South Africa: The Perils of Normalcy**, Antoinette Handley and Jeffrey Herbst, *Current History*, May 1997. 193  
Writing half a year before president Nelson Mandela stepped down as party leader of the *African National Congress*, the authors survey the political, social, and economic landscape of this new democracy. The country is entering a "post-heroic" phase in its history, where such complex issues of achieving social order, economic reform, and interethnic reconciliation will have a priority on the political agenda.
44. **Why Is Africa Eating Asia's Dust?** Keith B. Richburg, *Washington Post National Weekly Edition*, July 20–26, 1992. 198  
Keith Richburg seeks to explain the sharp contrast between the economic growth of East Asia and the *economic despair of much of Africa*. He addresses a variety of sociocultural and political reasons along with some very different colonial legacies.

## D. CHINA

45. **Will China Democratize? Current Trends and Future Prospects**, Robert A. Scalapino, *Journal of Democracy*, January 1998. 202  
Although democracy is a distant prospect in China, ideological barriers have been lowered and, at all levels, dialogue is occurring. Robert Scalapino believes that, all in all, "the prospects are for a more open and diverse society," but one in which authoritarian features will clearly be in place.
46. **Private Party**, Matt Forney, *Far Eastern Economic Review*, October 2, 1997. 206  
The article examines the outcome of the *Chinese Communist Party's 15th Congress*. It looks back on previous such meetings and suggests that the party is now a less powerful force.

## E. INDIA

47. **India: A New Test Begins**, Gautam Adhikari, *Current History*, December 1997. 209  
It is a great achievement that India has preserved its unity and integrity as a nation and remained a representative democracy for 50 years. The country must now face a long and severe test of resolving a *gathering crisis of governance linked* to an array of mounting problems, such as its institutional decay, lack of public accountability, deteriorating infrastructure, educational decline, health and sanitation problems, and intermingled decay and abuse of authority.

## F. NEWLY INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES

48. **Ignored Warnings**, Keith B. Richburg and Steven Mufson, *Washington Post National Weekly Edition*, January 12, 1998. 215  
*The current financial and economic turmoil in East and South Asia* did not come without some early warning signs, but they were missed or ignored, as this article chronicles.
49. **Asian Values and Socio-Economic Progress: Three Views** 217  
These three articles examine the belief that *neo-Confucian social beliefs* are more conducive to social stability, integration, and harmony than Western individualism. Recent economic disruptions in several Asian countries have directed attention to what some observers condemn as crony capitalism, corruption, and secrecy. It is possible to interpret the crisis as rooted in a cultural clash between an inherited culture and imported Western values of market capitalism.
- a. **Confucius Says: Go East, Young Man**, T. R. Reid, *Washington Post National Weekly Edition*, November 27–December 3, 1995.
- b. **The Stock of 'Asian Values' Drops**, David E. Sanger, *New York Times*, November 23, 1997.
- c. **Asia Fights the Virus of the Capitalism Culture**, William Pfaff, *Los Angeles Times*, December 1, 1997.

# UNIT 5



## Comparative Politics: Some Major Political Trends, Issues, and Prospects

Five selections discuss the rise of democracy, how capitalism impacts on political development, and the political assertion of group identity in contemporary politics.

### Overview

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#### A. THE DEMOCRATIC TREND: HOW STRONG, THOROUGH, AND LASTING?

50. **Is the Third Wave Over?** Larry Diamond, *Journal of Democracy*, July 1996. 226  
Larry Diamond reviews Samuel Huntington's seminal thesis about the "third wave" of democratization which, beginning in 1974, has brought a major political transformation to many countries. He asks whether a "reverse wave" is now setting in, but concludes that we have instead entered a period of stasis, where consolidation of the new democracies should have priority.

#### B. THE TURN TOWARD MARKETS: WHAT ROLE FOR THE STATE?

51. **Capitalism and Democracy**, Gabriel A. Almond, *PS: Political Science and Politics*, September 1991. 235  
Gabriel Almond, a leading political scientist, examines the ambiguous relationship between capitalism and democracy. He explores ways in which capitalism supports and subverts democracy as well as ways in which democracy subverts and fosters capitalism.

#### C. ETHNIC AND CULTURAL CONFLICT: THE POLITICAL ASSERTION OF GROUP IDENTITIES

52. **Cultural Explanations: The Man in the Baghdad Café**, *The Economist*, November 9, 1996. 243  
This essay critically reviews several recent scholarly attempts to explain economics and politics in terms of cultural differences, including the views advanced by Samuel Huntington and Benjamin Barber in the articles that follow. He warns that culture is so imprecise and variable a phenomenon that it explains less than is often claimed.

#### 53. A Debate on Cultural Conflicts 247

Harvard professor Samuel Huntington argues that we are entering a new political stage in which the fundamental source of conflict will be neither ideological nor economic but cultural. Josef Joffe, a foreign affairs specialist, argues that there are other important sources of conflict rooted in military buildups, extreme poverty, and global migrations. Then, political scientist Chandra Muzaffar maintains that Western dominance is still the major factor in world politics.

a. **The Coming Clash of Civilizations—Or, the West against the Rest**, Samuel Huntington, *New York Times*, June 6, 1993.

b. **A Clash between Civilizations—or within Them?** Josef Joffe, *World Press Review*, February 1994.

c. **The West's Hidden Agenda**, Chandra Muzaffar, *World Press Review*, February 1994.

54. **Jihad vs. McWorld**, Benjamin R. Barber, *The Atlantic Monthly*, March 1992. 252

Benjamin Barber sees two major tendencies that are shaping much of the political world today. One is a form of tribalism, which pits cultural, ethnic, religious, and national groups against one another. This orientation clashes with globalism, brought about by modern technology, communications, and commerce. Both may threaten democratic politics.

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# Topic Guide

This topic guide suggests how the selections in this book relate to topics of traditional concern to students and professionals involved with the study of comparative politics. It is useful for locating interrelated articles for reading and research. The guide is arranged alphabetically according to topic. Articles may, of course, treat topics that do not appear in the topic guide. In turn, entries in the topic guide do not necessarily constitute a comprehensive listing of all the contents of each selection. In addition, relevant Web sites, which are annotated on pages 6 and 7, are noted in bold italics under the topic articles.

TOPIC AREA	TREATED IN	TOPIC AREA	TREATED IN
Africa's Politics	39. Let's Abolish the Third World 40. 'Third World' Is Dead, but Spirits Linger 43. South Africa: The Perils of Normalcy 44. Why Is Africa Eating Asia's Dust? <i>(1, 2, 4, 6, 23, 30, 31)</i>	Developing Countries (cont.)	45. Will China Democratize? 46. Private Party 47. India: A New Test Begins 48. Ignored Warnings 49. Asian Values and Socio-Economic Progress 50. Is the Third Wave Over? 52. Cultural Explanations 53. Debate on Cultural Conflicts 54. Jihad vs. McWorld <i>(1, 4, 23, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 35, 36, 38, 40)</i>
Britain's Government and Politics	2. Britons Back Labour Party 3. Anatomy of a Non-Landslide 4. Roots of New Labour 5. Blair on the Constitution 6. Devolving for a Stronger Union 7. Britons' Honeymoon with Blair Clouds Up 8. For British Parties, Time to Take Stock 9. End of the Beginning 22. Reassessing Conservative Allure 23. In U.S., Europe, the Left Must Prove It Has Right Stuff to Pursue Change 24. Women in Power 27. Devolution Can Be Salvation 28. Parliament and Congress 29. Campaign and Party Finance 30. Electoral Reform 31. Presidents and Prime Ministers 32. Untied States of Europe 33. What Is Europe? 36. Britain and Europe <i>(1, 2, 6, 8, 12)</i>	Economics and Politics	3. Anatomy of a Non-Landslide 12. Loving the Mark 13. Perspectives on the German Model 15. Look Back in Anger 19. Italy: Many Mountains Still to Climb 35. High Stakes of the EMU 36. Britain and Europe 41. Backlash in Latin America 42. Democratic Transition? 44. Why Is Africa Eating Asia's Dust? 48. Ignored Warnings 49. Asian Values and Socio-Economic Progress 51. Capitalism and Democracy 54. Jihad vs. McWorld <i>(1, 8, 9, 10, 11, 18, 19, 22, 23, 25, 27, 32, 39)</i>
Central and Eastern Europe	37. Can Russia Change? 38. Democracy Unfolds in Russia 50. Is the Third Wave Over? 51. Capitalism and Democracy 53. Debate on Cultural Conflicts <i>(1, 2, 4, 6, 13, 22, 31, 35, 37)</i>	Elections and Parties	1. In Government We Don't Trust 2. Britons Back Labour Party 3. Anatomy of a Non-Landslide 4. Roots of New Labour 8. For British Parties, Time to Take Stock 10. Life After Kohl? 11. German Coalition Politics 14. Right Rejected in France 19. Italy: Many Mountains Still to Climb 21. Opposition in Japan? 22. Reassessing Conservative Allure 23. In U.S., Europe, the Left Must Prove It Has Right Stuff to Pursue Change 24. Women in Power 25. What Democracy Is... and Is Not 29. Campaign and Party Finance 30. Electoral Reform 38. Democracy Unfolds in Russia 42. Democratic Transition? 43. South Africa: The Perils of Normalcy 47. India: A New Test Begins 50. Is the Third Wave Over? <i>(1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 17, 19, 21, 22, 23, 25)</i>
China's Government and Politics	45. Will China Democratize? 46. Private Party 50. Is the Third Wave Over? 51. Capitalism and Democracy 52. Cultural Explanations 53. Debate on Cultural Conflicts <i>(1, 2, 4, 6, 27, 31)</i>		
Conservatives and Conservative Parties	2. Britons Back Labour Party 3. Anatomy of a Non-Landslide 4. Roots of New Labour 8. For British Parties, Time to Take Stock 10. Life after Kohl? 11. German Coalition Politics 14. Right Rejected in France 15. Look Back in Anger 19. Italy: Many Mountains Still to Climb 20. In Japan, Look for More of a Whimper 21. Opposition in Japan? 22. Reassessing Conservative Allure <i>(1, 8, 9, 10, 11)</i>		
Developing Countries	39. Let's Abolish the Third World 40. 'Third World' Is Dead, but Spirits Linger 41. Backlash in Latin America 42. Democratic Transition? 43. South Africa: The Perils of Normalcy 44. Why Is Africa Eating Asia's Dust?	Ethnicity and Politics	6. Devolving for a Stronger Union 9. End of the Beginning 15. Look Back in Anger 33. What Is Europe? 37. Can Russia Change? 38. Democracy Unfolds in Russia 47. India: A New Test Begins 52. Cultural Explanations 53. Debate on Cultural Conflicts 54. Jihad vs. McWorld <i>(1, 5, 8, 9, 10, 13, 19, 21, 22, 35, 39)</i>



TOPIC AREA	TREATED IN	TOPIC AREA	TREATED IN
European Union	12. Loving the Mark 15. Look Back in Anger 19. Italy: Many Mountains Still to Climb 32. Untied States of Europe 33. What Is Europe? 34. Institutional Framework of the EU 35. High Stakes of the EMU 36. Britain and Europe <i>(1, 8, 9, 10, 19)</i>	Latin America	41. Backlash in Latin America 42. Democratic Transition? 50. Is the Third Wave Over? 52. Cultural Explanations <i>(1, 2, 17, 18, 29)</i>
Federal and Unitary Systems	6. Devolving for a Stronger Union 9. End of the Beginning 18. Tocqueville in Italy 19. Italy: Many Mountains Still to Climb 27. Devolution Can Be Salvation 32. Untied States of Europe 33. What Is Europe? 36. Britain and Europe 37. Can Russia Change? 47. India: A New Test Begins 50. Is the Third Wave Over? 54. Jihad v. McWorld <i>(1, 8, 9, 10, 19, 21, 22)</i>	Mexico's Government and Politics	41. Backlash in Latin America 42. Democratic Transition? <i>(1, 2, 17, 18, 29)</i>
France's Government and Politics	14. Right Rejected in France 15. Look Back in Anger 16. France vs. U.S. 17. Is There a French Alternative? 24. Women in Power 30. Electoral Reform 31. Presidents and Prime Ministers 32. Untied States of Europe 33. What Is Europe? 35. High Stakes of the EMU <i>(1, 2, 9, 19)</i>	Parliamentary Politics and Parliamentary Systems	2. Britons Back Labour Party 3. Anatomy of a Non-Landslide 5. Blair on the Constitution 6. Devolving for a Stronger Union 10. Life after Kohl? 11. German Coalition Politics 14. Right Rejected in France 15. Look Back in Anger 19. Italy: Many Mountains Still to Climb 21. Opposition in Japan? 24. Women in Power 25. What Democracy Is . . . and Is Not 27. Devolution Can Be Salvation 28. Parliament and Congress 29. Campaign and Party Finance 30. Electoral Reform 31. Presidents and Prime Ministers 34. Institutional Framework of the EU 37. Can Russia Change? 38. Democracy Unfolds in Russia 47. India: A New Test Begins 50. Is the Third Wave Over? <i>(1, 2, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 22)</i>
Germany's Government and Politics	10. Life after Kohl? 11. German Coalition Politics 12. Loving the Mark 13. Perspectives on the German Model 24. Women in Power 30. Electoral Reform 31. Presidents and Prime Ministers 32. Untied States of Europe 33. What Is Europe? 35. High Stakes of the EMU <i>(1, 2, 10, 19)</i>	Religion and Politics	44. Why Is Africa Eating Asia's Dust? 47. India: A New Test Begins 52. Cultural Explanations 53. Debate on Cultural Conflicts 54. Jihad vs. McWorld <i>(1, 2, 4, 7, 23, 26, 35, 39)</i>
India's Government and Politics	10. Life after Kohl? 11. German Coalition Politics 12. Loving the Mark 13. Perspectives on the German Model 24. Women in Power 30. Electoral Reform 31. Presidents and Prime Ministers 32. Untied States of Europe 33. What Is Europe? 35. High Stakes of the EMU <i>(1, 2, 10, 19)</i>	Russia and Other Post-Soviet Republics	37. Can Russia Change? 38. Democracy Unfolds in Russia 50. Is the Third Wave Over? 51. Capitalism and Democracy 52. Cultural Explanations <i>(1, 2, 13, 22, 35, 39)</i>
Italy's Government and Politics	40. 'Third World' Is Dead, but Spirits Linger 47. India: A New Test Begins 50. Is the Third Wave Over? 52. Cultural Explanations 53. Debate on Cultural Conflicts <i>(1, 2, 35, 36, 38, 39, 40)</i>	Social Democrats and Democratic Socialists	2. Britons Back Labour Party 3. Anatomy of a Non-Landslide 4. Roots of New Labour 5. Blair on the Constitution 7. Briton's Honeymoon with Blair Clouds Up 8. For British Parties, Time to Take Stock 10. Life after Kohl? 11. German Coalition Politics 14. Right Rejected in France 16. France vs. U.S. 17. Is There a French Alternative? 19. Italy: Many Mountains Still to Climb 22. Reassessing Conservative Allure 23. In U.S., Europe, the Left Must Prove It Has Right Stuff to Pursue Change 35. High Stakes of the EMU 51. Capitalism and Democracy <i>(1, 2, 8, 9, 10, 19, 39)</i>
Japan's Government and Politics	18. Tocqueville in Italy 19. Italy: Many Mountains Still to Climb 24. Women in Power 30. Electoral Reform 31. Presidents and Prime Ministers 32. Untied States of Europe 33. What Is Europe? 35. High Stakes of the EMU <i>(1, 2, 19)</i>	Women in Politics	24. Women in Power

# Selected World Wide Web Sites for Annual Editions: Comparative Politics

All of these Web sites are hot-linked through the *Annual Editions* home page:  
<http://www.dushkin.com/annualeditions> (just click on this book's title). In addition, these sites are referenced by number and appear where relevant in the Topic Guide on the previous two pages.

Some Web sites are continually changing their structure and content, so the information listed may not always be available.

## General Sources

1. Central Intelligence Agency—<http://www.odci.gov/cia/ciahome.html>—Use this official home page to learn about many facets of the CIA and to get connections to other sites and resources, such as *The CIA Factbook*, which provides extensive statistical and political information about every country in the world.
2. Government Servers and Information—<http://www.eff.org/govt.html>—This site provides hundreds of links to government bodies and agencies and from countries all over the world.
3. The Heritage Foundation—<http://www.heritage.org/>—This home page offers discussion about and links to many sites of the Heritage Foundation and other organizations having to do with foreign policy and foreign affairs, including regional news and commentary, policy review, events, and a resource bank.
4. National Geographic Society—<http://www.nationalgeographic.com/>—This site provides links to National Geographic's huge archive of maps, articles, and other documents. There is a great deal of material related to political cultures around the world.
5. Social Science Information Gateway—<http://sosig.esrc.bris.ac.uk/>—A project of the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC), this is an online catalogue of thousands of Internet resources relevant to social science education and research. Every resource is selected and described by a librarian or subject specialist. It lists many sites about specific countries.
6. U.S. Information Agency—<http://www.usia.gov/usis.html>—This USIA page provides definition, related documentation, and discussion of topics on global issues. The site addresses today's Hot Topics as well as ongoing issues. Many Web links are provided.
7. World Wide Web Virtual Library: International Affairs Resources—<http://info.pitt.edu/~ian/ianres.html>—Surf this site and its extensive links to learn about specific countries and regions; to research various think tanks and international organizations; and to study such vital topics as international law, development, the international economy, human rights, and peacekeeping.

## Pluralist Democracies: Country Studies

8. British Information Service—<http://britain-info.org/>—This site of the British Information Service will lead you to reams of material on Tony Blair and the Labour Party, the European Union, relations with Northern Ireland, and many other topics of importance in the study of the British political system.
9. France.com's Web Directory—<http://www.france.com/cgi-bin/france/linkorama.cgi.test/>—The links in this site will lead you to extensive information about the French government and politics—and much more.
10. GermNews—<http://www.mathematik.uni-ulm.de/de-news/>—Search this site for German political and economic news covering the years 1995 to the present.

## Pluralist Democracies: Factors in the Political Process

11. Japan Ministry of Foreign Affairs—<http://www.mofa.go.jp/>—Visit this official site for Japanese foreign policy statements and press releases, archives, and discussions of regional and global relations.
12. Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs—<http://ksgwww.harvard.edu/csia/>—BCSIA is the hub of Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government's research, teaching, and training in international affairs. This site provides insight into the development of leadership in policy making.
13. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace—<http://www.ceip.org/>—One of the most important goals of this organization is to stimulate discussion and learning among both experts and the public at large on a wide range of international issues. The site provides links to the well-respected journal *Foreign Policy*, to the Moscow Center, to descriptions of various programs—and much more.
14. Communications for a Sustainable Future—[gopher://csf.colorado.edu/](http://gopher://csf.colorado.edu/)—This Gopher site will lead you to information on topics in international environmental sustainability. It pays particular attention to the political economics of protecting the environment.
15. DiploNet—<http://www.clark.net/pub/diplonet/DiploNet.html>—DiploNet is a network uniquely concerned with the needs of diplomats in the post-cold war era. It provides avenues of research into negotiation and diplomacy. It also addresses conflict management and resolution, peacemaking, and multilateral diplomacy.
16. The Henry L. Stimson Center—<http://www.stimson.org/>—Stimson, a nonprofit and (self-described) nonpartisan organization, focuses on issues where policy, technology, and politics intersect. Use this site to find varying assessments of U.S. foreign policy in the post-cold war world and to research many other topics.
17. Inter-American Dialogue—<http://www.iadialog.org/>—This is the Web site for IAD, a premier U.S. center for policy analysis, communication, and exchange in Western Hemisphere affairs. The 100-member organization has helped to shape the agenda of issues and choices in hemispheric relations.
18. The North American Institute—<http://www.santafe.edu/~naminet/index.html>—This is the home page of NAMI, a trinational public-affairs organization concerned with the emerging "regional space" of Canada, the United States, and Mexico and the development of a North American community. It provides links for study of trade, the environment, and institutional developments.

## Europe—West, Center, and East: The Politics of Integration, Transformation, and Disintegration

19. Europa: European Union—<http://europa.eu.int/>—This server site of the European Union will lead you to the history of the EU (and its predecessors such as the European Community and European Common Market); descriptions of EU policies, institutions, and goals; discussion of monetary union; and documentation of treaties and other materials.

20. NATO Integrated Data Service—<http://www.nato.int/structur/nids/nids.htm>—NIDS was created to bring information on security-related matters to the widest possible audience. Check out this Web site to review North Atlantic Treaty Organization documentation, to read *NATO Review*, and to explore key issues in the field of European security and transatlantic cooperation.
21. Research and Reference (Library of Congress)—<http://lcweb.loc.gov/rr/>—This massive research and reference site of the Library of Congress will lead you to invaluable information on the former Soviet Union and other countries attempting the transition to democracy. It provides links to numerous publications, bibliographies, and guides in area studies.
22. Russian and East European Network Information Center, University of Texas at Austin—<http://reenic.utexas.edu/reenic.html>—This is the Web site for information on Russia and the former Soviet Union.

## Political Diversity in the Developing World

23. Africa News Online—<http://www.africanews.org/>—Open this site for extensive, up-to-date information on all of Africa, with reports from Africa's leading newspapers, magazines, and news agencies. Coverage is country-by-country and regional. Background documents and Internet links are among the resource pages.
24. ArabNet—<http://www.arab.net>—This home page of ArabNet, the online resource for the Arab world in the Middle East and North Africa, presents links to 22 Arab countries. Each country Web page classifies information using a standardized system of categories. A search engine is included.
25. ASEAN Web—<http://www.asean.or.id/>—This official site of the Association of South East Asian Nations provides an overview of Asian Web resources, Asian summits, economic and world affairs, political foundations, regional cooperation, and publications.
26. Human Rights Web—<http://www.hrweb.org/>—The history of the human-rights movement, text on seminal figures, landmark legal and political documents, and ideas on how individuals can get involved in helping to protect human rights around the world can be found in this valuable site.
27. Inside China Today—<http://www.insidechina.com/>—Part of the European Internet Network, this site leads you to information on China, including recent news, government, and related sites pertaining to mainland China, Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan.
28. InterAction—<http://www.interaction.org/advocacy/advocacy.html>—InterAction encourages grassroots action and engages government bodies and policymakers on various advocacy issues. The organization's Advocacy Committee provides this site to inform people on its initiatives to expand international humanitarian relief, refugee, and development-assistance programs.
29. The North-South Institute—<http://www.nsi-ins.ca/info.html>—Searching this site of the North-South Institute—which works to strengthen international development cooperation and enhance gender and social equity—will help you find information and debates on a variety of political issues.
30. Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development/FDI Statistics—<http://www.oecd.org/daf/cmifdi/statist.htm>—Explore world trade and investment trends and statistics on this site from the OECD. It provides links to many related topics and addresses global economic issues on a country-by-country basis.
31. Penn Library: Resources by Subject—<http://www.library.upenn.edu/resources/websitest.html>—This vast site is rich in links to information about global politics and economic development. Its extensive population and demography resources address such concerns as migration, family planning, and health and nutrition in various world regions.
32. SunSITE Singapore—<http://sunsite.nus.sg/asiasvc.html>—This site is part of the "Sun Software Information and Technology Exchange." These South-East Asia Information pages provide information and pointers to other online resources about the region and 10 countries in it, including Vietnam, Indonesia, and Brunei.
33. U.S. Agency for International Development—<http://www.info.usaid.gov/>—This Web site covers such broad and overlapping issues as democracy, population and health, economic growth, and development about different regions and countries.
34. World Bank—<http://www.worldbank.org/>—News (e.g., press releases, summaries of new projects, speeches); publications; and coverage of numerous topics regarding development, countries, and regions are provided at this site.
35. Commission on Global Governance—<http://www.cgg.ch/>—This site provides access to *The Report of the Commission on Global Governance*, produced by an international group of leaders who want to find ways in which the global community can better manage its affairs. It pays particular attention to reform of the UN.
36. IISDnet—<http://iisd1.iisd.ca/>—This site of the International Institute for Sustainable Development, a Canadian organization, presents information through links on business and sustainable development, developing ideas, and Hot Topics. Linkages is its multimedia resource for environment and development policymakers.
37. ISN International Relations and Security Network—<http://www.isn.ethz.ch/>—This site, maintained by the Center for Security Studies and Conflict Research, is a clearinghouse for extensive information on international relations and security policy. The many topics are listed by category (Traditional Dimensions of Security, New Dimensions of Security) and by major world regions.
38. United Nations Environment Program—<http://www.unep.ch/>—Consult this home page of UNEP for links to critical topics of concern to students of global issues, including desertification and the impact of trade on the environment. The site will direct you to useful databases and global resource information.
39. Virtual Seminar in Global Political Economy/Global Cities & Social Movements—<http://csf.colorado.edu/gpe/gpe95b/resources.html>—This site of Internet resources is rich in links to subjects of interest in regional studies, covering topics such as sustainable cities, megacities, and urban planning. Links to many international nongovernmental organizations are included.
40. WWW-LARCH-LK Archive: Sustainability—<http://www.clr.toronto.edu/ARCHIVES/HMAIL/larchl/0737.html>—This site gives you the opportunity to read—and respond to—a discourse on sustainability, with many different opinions and viewpoints represented.

We highly recommend that you review our Web site for expanded information and our other product lines. We are continually updating and adding links to our Web site in order to offer you the most usable and useful information that will support and expand the value of your Annual Editions. You can reach us at: <http://www.dushkin.com/annualeditions/>.

# Pluralist Democracies: Country Studies

- Contemporary Challenges to Democracy (Article 1)
- The United Kingdom (Articles 2-9)
- Germany (Articles 10-13)
- France (Articles 14-17)
- Italy (Articles 18 and 19)
- Japan (Articles 20 and 21)

The United Kingdom, Germany, France, and Italy rank among the most prominent industrial societies in Western Europe. Although their modern political histories vary considerably, they have all developed into pluralist democracies with diversified and active citizenries, well-organized and competitive party systems and interest groups, and representative forms of governments. Japan appears to be considerably less pluralist as a society, but it occupies a similar position of primacy among the few representative democracies in Asia.

The articles in the first unit cover the political systems of these five countries. Each of them has developed its own set of governmental institutions, defined its own political agenda, and found its own dynamic balance of continuity and change. Nevertheless, as later readings will show more fully, it is possible to find some common denominators and make useful cross-national comparisons among these and other representative democracies.

*The United Kingdom* has long been regarded as a model of parliamentary government and majoritarian party politics. In the 1960s and 1970s, however, the country became better known for its chronic governing problems. Serious observers spoke about the spread of a British sickness or "Englanditis," a condition characterized by such problems as economic stagnation, social malaise, political polarization, and a general incapacity of the elected government to deal effectively with such a situation of relative deterioration.

There were several attempts to give a macro-explanation of Britain's problems. Some British political scientists defined their country's condition as one of "governmental overload." According to their diagnosis, British governments had become so entangled by socioeconomic entitlements that the country had reached the threshold of a condition of political paralysis or "ungovernability." In the United States, Professor Mancur Olson developed a more general but similar explanation of political sclerosis in advanced pluralist democracies like Britain, which he traced to the effects of a highly developed interest-group system making excessive demands on governments.

A second explanation of the British governing crisis focused on the unusually sharp adversarial character of the country's party politics, symbolized by the parliamentary confrontation of government and opposition parties. This approach emphasized that Britain's famed "Westminster Model" of government by a single majority party often had more polarizing and disruptive consequences than the power-sharing coalitions found in some other parliamentary systems in Western Europe. Still other interpreters explained Britain's relative decline in terms of socio-

economic and institutional inertia that prevented the country from keeping pace with its European neighbors. Two of the most commonly cited problems were rooted in Britain's heritage as a class-divided society and a former colonial power. Compared to its more modern European neighbors, it was argued, the United Kingdom was hampered by a dysfunctional and outmoded social order at home as well as an equally costly and unproductive legacy of overcommitment in foreign affairs. The latter thesis was advanced in a more general way by the British-American historian, Paul Kennedy, in his widely discussed book on the rise and fall of the great powers.

As if to defy such pessimistic analyses, Britain by the mid-1980s began to pull ahead of other West European countries in its annual rate of economic growth. This apparent turnabout could be linked in part to the policies of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, who had come to power in May of 1979 and introduced a drastic change in economic and social direction for the country.

In foreign affairs, Prime Minister Thatcher combined an assertive role for Britain in Europe and close cooperation with the United States under the leadership of Presidents Reagan and Bush. As a patriot and staunch defender of both market economics and national sovereignty, Thatcher distrusted the drive toward monetary and eventual political union in the European Community. She became known throughout the continent for her unusually sharp attacks on what she pilloried as tendencies toward undemocratic statism or technocratic socialism in Brussels. There were critics in her own party who regarded her Euro-critical position as untenable, because it isolated Britain and deprived it of possible influence on questions of strategic planning for the EU's future.

For the mass electorate, however, nothing seems to have been so upsetting as the introduction of the community charge, a tax on each adult resident that would replace the local property tax or "rates" as a means of financing local public services. Although this so-called poll tax was very unpopular, Thatcher resisted all pressure to abandon the project before its full national implementation in early 1990.

The politically disastrous result was that, as a revenue measure, the poll tax was anything but neutral in its impact. It created an unexpectedly large proportion of immediate losers, that is, people who had to pay considerably more in local taxes than previously, while the immediate winners were people who had previously paid high property taxes. Not surprisingly, the national and local governments disagreed about who was responsible for the high poll tax bills, but the voters seemed to have little difficulty in assigning blame to Margaret Thatcher and the Conservative Party as originators of the unpopular reform. Many voters were up in arms, and some observers correctly anticipated that the tax rebellion would undermine Thatcher's position in her own party and become her political Waterloo.

The feisty prime minister had weathered many political challenges, but she was now confronted with increasing speculation that the Tories might try to replace her with a more attractive leader before the next general election. The issue that triggered such a development was Thatcher's stepped-up attacks on closer European integration during 1990. There followed a leadership challenge in the Conservative Party, which ended with Thatcher's resignation in advance of an expected defeat by her own parliamentary party.

The transition in power was remarkably smooth. John Major, who was chosen by his fellow Conservatives in Parliament to be Thatcher's successor as party leader and prime minister, had