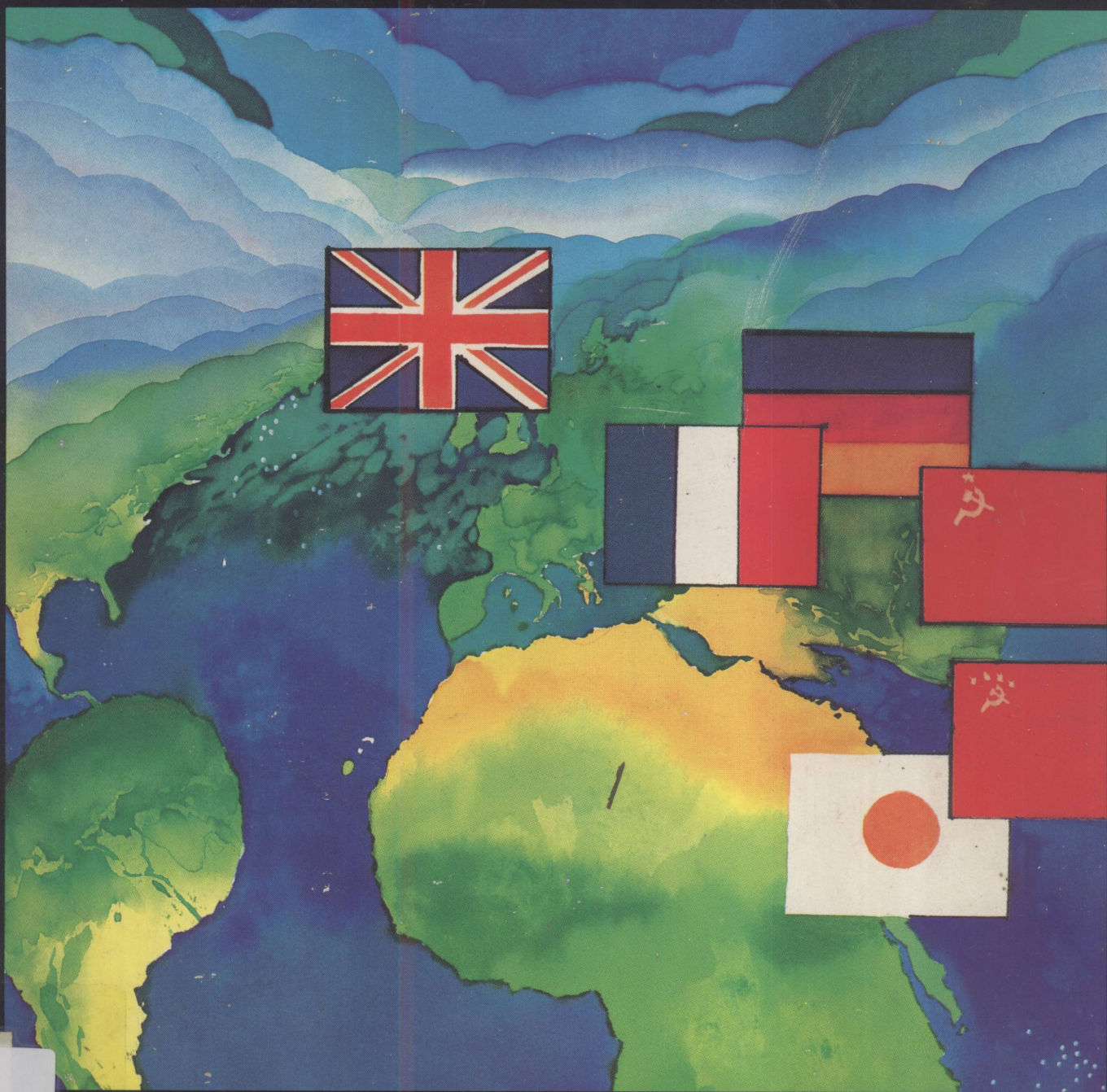


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Editor

Christian Soe

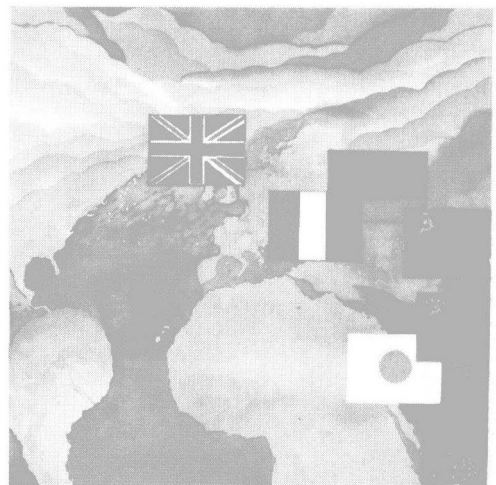
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Topic Guide

This topic guide suggests how the selections in this book relate to topics of traditional concern to comparative politics students and professionals. It is very useful in locating articles which relate to each other 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.

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Democratic Industrial Societies: General Assessments

- Britain (Articles 1-5)
- West Germany (Articles 6-10)
- France (Articles 11-14)
- Japan (Articles 15-16)

Great Britain, West Germany, and France are among the most prominent industrial societies and pluralist democracies in Western Europe. Japan takes a similar place in Asia. American students of comparative politics can learn much about representative government by studying these countries more closely, through the articles in this and the following two sections.

Britain has long been regarded as a model of parliamentary government and majoritarian party politics. In the last quarter of a century, however, it has become evident that the British political system does not perform nearly as well as admiring foreign observers once thought. The system, once thought to have had an "inherent" capacity to "govern effectively and responsibly," is now regarded as characterized by economic stagnation, social malaise, and political ineffectiveness.

The first article, whose author is a well-known columnist for the London *Times*, emphasizes the frustration at national decline and poor economic performance that underlies the most important developments in British politics in recent years, including the emergence of Thatcherism, the Labour party's turn to the Left, the rise of the Social Democratic party and its Alliance with the Liberals, the public fervor in the Falklands War, the decline of the trade unions, and the heated controversies over whether American companies should be allowed to control Westland (the only British-owned helicopter manufacturer) and British Leyland (the country's last major home-owned automobile company).

Britain is rent by tremendous social and economic disparities which in turn have distinctive regional and ethnic accentuations. These problems are the subject of William Tuohy's article.

Two articles deal with the political regionalism that is challenging Britain's unitary form of government. While the special ethnic-regional demands in Wales and Scotland appear to have been accommodated relatively well, Northern Ireland continues to be bitterly divided between its Protestant and Catholic communities. The recent agreement between London and Dublin, which gives representatives of the Irish Republic a consultative voice on behalf of the large Catholic minority in Northern Ireland without abrogating British sovereignty over the region, has run into determined opposition from Protestant leaders who fear a "sell-out."

In the case of West Germany, it is common to stress discontinuity rather than continuity with the past. For the last quarter of a century or so, observers have been impressed by the liberal-democratic transformation of the political culture as well as by the institutional consolidation of a representative system of government. Some commentators still call attention to the curious contrast between the objective condition of stability and what sometimes appears to be a subjective insecurity found in that country. Although they generally agree that the West German success story is primarily a political one, some specialists have been disturbed by what they see as a selective rejection of modern or Western values among some members of the West German counterculture.

The article by Nicholas Colchester and Jonathan Carr emphasizes the "normality" and moderation of West German society and politics. They find the country to be well-governed and its citizenry to have become increasingly comfortable with their prosperous, democratic, and pluralistic society. The "angst" or anxiety, which seemed so pervasive in the country a few years ago, is now less pervasive. The West Germans have a "right to smile."

The new self-confidence need not mean that the political horrors of the recent past are conveniently forgotten. The speech by Richard von Weizsacker before the Bundestag on May 8, 1985 was intended for his countrypeople, but American students will find it very enlightening as well. The President of the Federal Republic spoke some unpleasant truths as he sought to draw lessons from the record of the Third Reich. His distinction between the concepts of individual and collective guilt is important. In rejecting collective and intergenerational guilt, Weizsacker emphasized the widespread individual involvement in the Nazi crimes. Speaking especially to the younger generation of Germans, he pleaded for tolerance toward unpopular minorities of today.

It is generally agreed that Helmut Kohl is a less imposing governmental leader than his predecessor, Helmut Schmidt. However, a careful examination of the present political situation in West Germany, provided by the next two articles, makes it clear why Kohl's coalition government had little trouble being reelected in January 1987. As David Conradt points out, it is possible to discern a pattern of long cycles and centrist predominance in West German politics. But there are some major policy problems that will test the mettle of the center-right government in the next few years, such as environmental protection and the pressing need for a reform of the social-welfare system. The latter issue is more fully explored in an article contained in the next section.

France is normally presented as a society that is far less traditional and stagnant than it was assumed to be in the years after World War II. Observers now generally agree that the country has undergone a major economic and social modernization, whose origins antedate the formation and consolidation of the Fifth Republic under de Gaulle. In the 1970s, however, French political debate became increasingly focused on the need to renovate or reform some ailing economic, social, and administrative structures. The country has been transformed in many respects during the last few decades, and it is now struggling with the usual trade-offs that accompany such rapid change. Yet the French have clung to a tradition of social stratification that produces some of the rigidities of a "blocked society." Though the French elites appear to be relatively competent in their exercise of power, they can be fairly impenetrable from below.

Mitterrand focused on the need for major reforms in his successful campaign for the presidency in 1981, which was followed by a dissolution of the National Assembly and a Socialist sweep in the parliamentary election of that year. The result was the first government of the Left in the history of the Fifth Republic, based on an absolute Socialist majority in the National Assembly. The new government introduced a number of important social, administrative, and legal reforms, but it was soon beset by economic

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Credits/ Acknowledgments

Cover design by Charles Vitelli

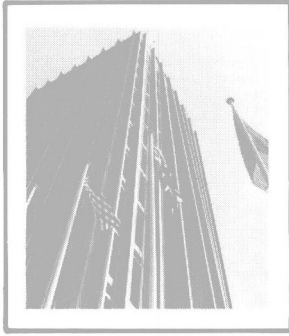
1. Democratic Industrial Societies: General Assessments
 Facing overview—WHO photo.

**2. Democratic Industrial Societies:
 Elements in the Political Process**
 Facing overview—Saab-Scania of America. 117—AP/Wide World
 Photo.

**3. Democratic Industrial Societies: Challenges,
 Controversies, Prospects**
 Facing overview—United Nations photo. 173—The Economist,
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4. The Communist World
 Facing overview—United Nations photo.

5. The Third World
 Facing overview—United Nations photo. 239—United Nations.

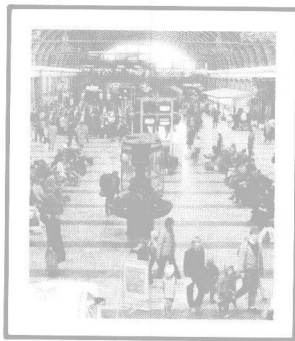


Unit 1

Democratic Industrial Societies: General Assessments

Sixteen selections examine the current state of politics in Britain, West Germany, France, and Japan. The articles discuss British national disunity and electoral stability, West Germany's center-right government and national identity, French socialism and resurgence of the far Right, and the Japanese administrative elite form of government.

World Map	ii
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A. BRITAIN	
1. The British Scene , Geoffrey Smith, <i>Foreign Affairs</i> , 1986.	8
The author, a political columnist for the <i>London Times</i> , emphasizes the frustration at national decline and poor economic performance that underlies important developments in <i>British governmental politics</i> in recent years. He examines changes in the balance of power of the <i>political parties</i> and trade unions, concluding that the mixed record of <i>Margaret Thatcher's</i> government in its attempt to revive the country will be the real issue of the next election.	
2. The Gulf in Society: In Britain, Social Class Still Counts , William Tuohy, <i>Los Angeles Times</i> , July 23, 1985.	15
Despite official advocacy of an "enterprise culture" of individualistic achievement, the <i>British class system</i> remains a pervasive aspect of the country's social, economic, and political life. It is further complicated by an enormous north-south divide in economic prosperity.	
3. The Four Lands , <i>The Economist</i> , December 10-16, 1983.	18
There are considerable cultural and socioeconomic differences among the four lands which comprise the United Kingdom, giving rise to <i>political regionalism</i> in Scotland, Wales, and <i>Northern Ireland</i> . This article examines the varying strengths, strategies, and goals of these movements as well as the impact upon <i>British government and politics</i> .	
4. Northern Ireland: Where Fairness Makes Everyone Complain , <i>The Economist</i> , November 29, 1986.	20
The troublesome province of <i>Northern Ireland</i> is not a popular cause in Britain. It is now clear that the Anglo-Irish agreement of late 1985, which gives Dublin a formal advisory role in matters affecting the Catholic minority of Ulster, is unpopular with many Protestant leaders of the North. The article examines the background as well as some possible alternative scenarios for the future.	
5. British Politics: One Eye on a Third Force , Howell Raines, <i>The New York Times</i> , February 9, 1987.	24
The next general election in Great Britain must be held before July 1988 (most politicians expect it much earlier) and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and her major opponents are struggling for an advantageous position. This article briefly reviews how this election could reshape <i>party politics in Britain</i> .	
B. WEST GERMANY	
6. The Right to Smile: A Survey of West Germany , Nicholas Colchester and Jonathan Carr, <i>The Economist</i> , December 6, 1986.	26
West Germany is becoming more self-confident as a major political and economic power, after having gone through a period of considerable self-doubt and "angst" (anxiety). This survey article on <i>West German politics</i> , written shortly before the 1987 election, emphasizes the predominance of centrist leaders like <i>Helmut Kohl</i> and their preference for moderate reforms in economic and social policy.	
7. West Germany's Fortieth Anniversary: The End of the War in Europe , Richard von Weizsacker, <i>SAIS Review</i> , Summer/Fall 1985.	36
In a widely noted speech to his countrypeople, the president of the Federal Republic challenged Germans to face up to the truth about the atrocities of the <i>Third Reich</i> and the widespread individual involvement in those misdeeds. He insisted that responsibility must be individual rather than collective or intergenerational, but he also underlined the lessons of tolerance, freedom, and peace to be learned by all Germans, whether young or old.	
8. West Germany's Center Coalition , David P. Conradt, <i>Current History</i> , November 1986.	40
<i>West German politics</i> have been characterized by relatively long cycles and the predominance of centrist forces. This article reviews the record of <i>Helmut Kohl's coalition government</i> and the situation of the opposition of Social Democrats and Greens. The author, a noted American specialist on Germany, points to some lingering policy problems such as the "new poverty" amidst plenty or the environmental issue, including nuclear power.	
9. West German Election: Now, At Last, the Battles Begin , <i>The Economist</i> , January 31, 1987.	46
The outcome of the 1987 Bundestag election was not unexpected, but there were some surprises. The liberal Free Democrats did better than expected while <i>Helmut Kohl's</i> Christian Democrats fared worse. Voters clearly did not favor a turn to the Right. A major question in <i>West German politics</i> now becomes what the Social Democrats will do after their consecutive electoral setbacks.	
10. West German Federalism: The Coach That Has 11 Horses Champing at Their Bits , <i>The Economist</i> , July 12, 1986.	48
The <i>federal system</i> is strong in West Germany and seems to serve the country well. <i>Political regionalism</i> is very important as a source of economic competition among the states, as a determinant of the balance of power in the upper house or Bundesrat, and as a training ground for many national politicians. But there are some trade-offs, as the article points out. It pays particular attention to the Bavarian factor.	



Unit 2

Democratic Industrial Societies: Elements in the Political Process

Fifteen selections examine the processes of West European democracies with regard to political attitudes and participation, the role of women in politics, political parties and pressure groups, Parliament, and the administrative elites.

C. FRANCE

11. **France's Uncertain Transition**, Michael M. Harrison, *Current History*, November 1986. 50
The *Fifth Republic's* institutions have exhibited both flexibility and legitimacy, as the system adapts to changing political majorities. This article surveys the difficulties of "cohabitation" between Socialist *President Mitterrand* and conservative *Prime Minister Chirac* against the background of five years of Socialist government from 1981 to 1986, followed by the center-right victory in the parliamentary elections of March 1986.
12. **The Odd Couple**, Stanley Hoffmann, *The New York Review of Books*, September 25, 1986. 57
The problem of a "dual executive," inherent in the construction of the *Fifth Republic's* governmental institutions, has become a serious one for the first time. This article probes the ambiguities of the present situation, in which there has been a shrinking of the presidency but also a continuation of some presidential powers that offset the prime minister.
13. **France's Trend Toward Middle-of-Road Politics Is Set Back by Unrest**, William Echikson, *The Christian Science Monitor*, January 20, 1987. 65
France has gone back to school and work, but the repercussions from the *student and labor unrest* in late 1986 and early 1987 may be felt for years. The trend toward pragmatic, centrist, and consensual politics appears to have given way to the old right-left polarization of the past.
14. **French University System—Mess Defies Easy Solution**, Stanley Meisler, *Los Angeles Times*, December 6, 1986. 67
The *student unrest* in France is over, at least for the time being, but the need for reform in the curiously elitist and egalitarian university system remains. This article examines both sides of the issue.

D. JAPAN

15. **Machines and Mandarins**, Robert C. Christopher, from *The Japanese Mind*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1983. 68
An American familiar with *Japanese society and politics* presents a vivid analysis of the country's political culture and governmental system. He is impressed by the system's effectiveness and relative flexibility, due, in part, to the powerful *administrative elite*.
16. **The Barons Ponder the Voice of Heaven**, *The Economist*, July 12, 1986. 78
Mr. *Nakasone's* victory in the parliamentary election of July 1986 resulted in the extension of his term as prime minister for the following year. It is not yet certain whether his party will replace him after that. But it is already clear that his relatively long term of office (five years) and his strong leadership has changed *Japanese politics* by reducing the grip of the *administrative elite* on policymaking and increasing the role of political leaders in the system.

Overview

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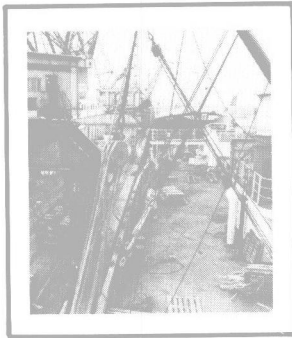
A. POLITICAL ATTITUDES AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

17. **The Color Green: Environmental Leaders in Europe**, Russell Dalton, *Public Opinion*, January/February 1987. 82
The author reports on a survey of *environmental leaders* in Western Europe which indicates considerable diversity of outlook but also the emergence of a distinctly new Left identity among them. They appear to be strongly committed to democratic values and should be understood as social reformers who challenge the status quo in the name of some key values of their own societies.
18. **French Intellectuals Abandon the God That Failed: Communism**, Michael Dobbs, *The Washington Post National Weekly Edition*, March 4, 1985. 85
The article examines the role of *French intellectuals* in politics since the end of World War II, the reasons for their widespread abandonment of Marxist *political ideology*, and the possible consequences of the current counter-revolution in political ideas in France.

B. WOMEN IN POLITICS

19. **Women in Parliament**, *The Economist*, February 28, 1987. 88
Women are, on the whole, better represented in Parliament where the country is to the north and the party to the left. Where *proportional representation* exists, parties also have a greater incentive to include more women on the slate of candidates.
20. **Look: Men Without Women**, Elizabeth Dunn and Anne Spackman, *The Sunday Times (London)*, March 9, 1986. 90
There are twenty-five men for every woman in the House of Commons. These articles discuss the reasons for this discrepancy and the manner in which some *women* have managed to overcome the obstacles to their nomination and election.

21. **Politics an Uphill Fight for Frenchwomen**, Judith Miller, *The New York Times*, March 15, 1986. 93
In France too, politics is largely a man's world. French women, who make up fifty-three percent of the population, held only six percent of the parliamentary seats before the March 1986 election. This article discusses the reasons for the poor representation. In contrast to the experience in some other countries, the use of *proportional representation* in France's 1986 election did not improve upon the situation, because activist women were not placed highly enough on the lists to be elected.
- C. **POLITICAL PARTIES AND PRESSURE GROUPS**
22. **Parties and Power**, *The Economist*, October 22-28, 1983. 95
Even during the period of so-called "consensus politics" in Britain, which lasted into the early 1970s, there were conflicts of interest and ideology within and between the *political parties*. This article examines the structural similarities and differences among the three major parties, points to the different and often rival elements that make up each party, and reviews the main sources of intraparty disagreement.
23. **Conservative Party: No Heir for Margaret**, Sarah Benton, *New Statesmen*, October 3, 1986. 98
Who will succeed *Margaret Thatcher* as head of the Conservatives in Britain? This article from Britain's best known Socialist weekly reviews the factions within the party: the far Right, the Young Conservatives, and the articulate Left. Each has its own ideas and ambitions for the political future of their party, which in turn will have an impact on *British government*.
24. **New Paths for Socialism: Socialists Are Thinking Again**, *The Economist*, December 21, 1985. 103
After a decade of intellectual and political defeats to neoconservatives in Western Europe, *Social Democrats* and other Socialists are beginning to recover their self-confidence. The article explores the improved position, the revamped strategies, and the "new realism" of the "neosocialists" in several West European countries.
25. **The Green Party Comes of Age**, Horst Mewes, *Environment*, June 1985. 110
The author examines the political origins, the social and ideological bases of support, and the present internal divisions of the *Greens*—the only successful environmental party in a major industrial society. He contrasts them with other political parties and concludes that their presence, which may turn out to be temporary, has made a major impact upon *West German politics*.
26. **Sharp Decline by Communists in West Europe**, James M. Markham, *The New York Times*, February 3, 1986. 119
Throughout Western Europe, *Communist parties* have seen an erosion of both traditional blue-collar and intellectual sources of support. The most important exception is the Italian Communist party, but it stresses autonomy from Moscow and is evolving toward something resembling a *Social Democratic* party of reform. This article explores the background to these developments.
27. **France's Communists: The 'Renovateurs' Gatecrash the Party**, Paul Betts, *Financial Times*, June 11, 1986. 122
Party dissidents are trying to reform the declining *Communist party* of France. This article discusses their views and strategies as well as the countermeasures taken by the party leadership in its attempts to smother the rebels and close ranks.
- D. **PARLIAMENT**
28. **Parliamentary and Presidential Government Compared**, Howard A. Scarrow, *Current History*, June 1974. 124
This article discusses the pros and cons of the *parliamentary system* of government and compares it to the separation of the political executive and legislative branches in the US. The arguments are grouped according to whether they relate to the realization of democratic values or of more effective government.
29. **Are Parliamentary Systems Better?** R. Kent Weaver, *The Brookings Review*, Summer 1985. 129
Parliamentary government is compared to the US system of divided powers. While the former may be able to innovate more effectively when slack resources are available, it faces special difficulties when the challenge is one of retrenchment and imposing losses. Measured by three basic criteria, the parliamentary system is unlikely to be superior, but *institutional performance* will always be affected by the underlying political and economic structures of a given societal environment.
- E. **ADMINISTRATIVE ELITES**
30. **The Governors**, *The Economist*, November 12-18, 1983. 138
The article examines the relationship between prime minister and cabinet members, including their respective staff resources, managerial procedures, and conventions. It evaluates the *civil service* by way of a critical review of six major charges frequently levelled against Whitehall, and underscores the pivotal position within the *administrative elite* of the treasury, due to its control of spending.

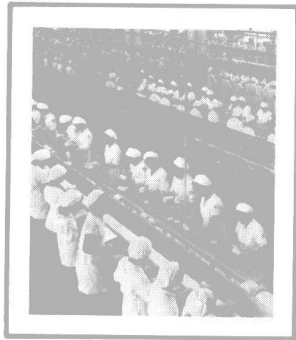


Unit 3

Democratic Industrial Societies: Challenges, Controversies, Prospects

Ten articles discuss Western Europe's current state of economic and social policy problems, immigration issues, civil rights and liberties, environmental problems, transnational economics, and the Western Alliance.

31. **ENA: Grooming France's Best and Brightest**, Charles Vallée, 142
France, 1986.
The author, who is the director of studies at the ENA (National School of Administration), discusses the education and training provided by the school for some highly selected students, who will later join the *administrative elites* in French government and business.
- Overview** 146
- A. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL POLICY PROBLEMS**
32. **Why Europe Needs the Welfare State**, Eric Willenz, *Foreign Policy*, 148
Summer 1986.
The *social welfare states* in Western Europe play an important role in maintaining the social structures of those countries. The author examines some major examples and argues that while the systems may need revamping, their continued existence appears to be a precondition of political and social stability in Western Europe.
33. **Can Welfare States Survive in the Global Economy?** John Logue, 157
Dissent, Summer 1986.
Social welfare states that once were insular now face a more difficult time because their economies are affected by the international economic cycle. Nevertheless, the United States may be able to learn from the relatively successful experiences of the Scandinavian welfare states, particularly Sweden, in weathering economic downturns.
34. **Out of Control: Bonn Now Faces Task of Finding a Solution for Its Welfare Crisis**, Thomas F. O'Boyle and Peter Gumbel, *The Wall Street Journal*, January 28, 1987. 160
West Germany pays out fifty percent more in welfare benefits than the United States, as a proportion of its economic output. West German pensions and medical insurance payments are generous and account for about two-thirds of total welfare spending. Now a looming demographic imbalance threatens the system with insolvency. *Helmut Kohl's* government will be hard pressed to deal with this crucial problem in one of Western Europe's oldest *social welfare states*, but cutbacks will be unpopular.
- B. ETHNIC PROBLEMS**
35. **The Immigrants**, Arnaud Friedlander, *Harvard International Review*, 163
November 1985.
Fifteen million immigrant workers and their dependents are in Western Europe today. The article gives a differentiated survey of these *multiethnic societies* and the social tensions and cultural conflicts that often become sharper during a time of economic difficulties.
- C. CIVIL RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES**
36. **In England, Trials Quick and Efficient**, Tyler Marshall, *Los Angeles Times*, December 20, 1985. 167
Although the American legal system has drawn much from its English counterpart, an American reporter discovers the English judiciary to be far less tied down in time-consuming procedural concerns. The *English court system* faces a major challenge, however, as traditional attitudes toward its authority weaken in a changing *multiethnic society*.
37. **Little Known British Tradition—Secrecy**, David Winder, *The Christian Science Monitor*, December 17, 1986. 169
The Official Secrets Act gives no room for an equivalent to the American "right to know." Official secrecy is a deep-seated and pervasive principle in *British government and politics*, making it more difficult to hold officials accountable for what they do. The article discusses how the system operates and the challenges it faces.
- D. ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS**
38. **How the Atom Splits Europe**, *The Economist*, September 13, 1986. 173
A broad *left-right division* now exists on the question of nuclear-power policy in West European countries, such as West Germany, Britain, France, Italy, and Spain. The European Left worries about the safety problems and environmental damage, while the mostly conservative governments are determined to maintain the atom as the fastest growing source of power.
- E. TRANSNATIONAL ECONOMICS**
39. **Making Sense of Western Economic Policies: The Role of the OECD**, Nicholas Bayne, *The World Today*, February 1987. 175
The *Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)* was instituted in Paris at the end of 1960 and took over the work of the *Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC)* which had been founded in 1947 to stabilize economic chaos caused by World War II. This article reviews the extent and impact of the OECD.



Unit 4

The Communist World

Nine selections examine the Communist world. The topics covered include general assessments of Soviet society and policies, Soviet leadership and policy problems, Communist politics of reform, and China.

F. THE WESTERN ALLIANCE

40. **Disquiet in the Alliance**, James M. Markham, *The New York Times*, February 10, 1987. 179

The *Atlantic Alliance* is suffering because of a cluster of tensions and disputes between the United States and its European partners. The latter are concerned about the Reagan administration's problems with the Iran-contra affair, American anti-missile defense plans, the terrorist problems and countermeasures, and trade problems, to name a few.

41. **The United States and West Europe: An Age of Ambivalence**, Norman A. Graebner, *Current History*, November 1986. 181

Since the early 1900s, the United States and Western European relations have gone through some reassessment. This article reviews how mutual interests in peace, security, and economic progress have continued to support the proposition that institutionalized cooperation is still preferable to unbridled national action.

Overview

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A. SOVIET SOCIETY AND POLITICS: LEADERSHIP AND POLICY PROBLEMS

42. **The Soviet Pretense**, Robert G. Kaiser, *Foreign Affairs*, Winter 1986/87. 190

The author argues that the official confidence in the superiority of the Soviet system and its ultimate triumph over capitalism, which he calls "the Soviet Pretense," is now collapsing. While it is too soon to assess the impact of Gorbachev's reform efforts, it is already clear that the Soviet self-image has changed dramatically. The new candor acknowledges some grave problems in *Soviet society and politics* that may thwart Gorbachev's reconstruction efforts.

43. **Dismantling the Stalin Myth: New Effort Under Gorbachev**, Philip Taubman, *The New York Times*, March 15, 1987. 196

Mikhail Gorbachev is considered by many to be the first postwar Soviet leader unencumbered by ties to Stalin. This article discusses some of the reassessments of Stalin and how they indicated that Russia under Gorbachev has become much more open.

44. **The New Leadership and the Soviet Party Congress**, Mark R. Beissinger, *Current History*, October 1986. 198

The twenty-seventh Communist Party Congress met in February 1986 to adopt a new party program and a new party charter. Gorbachev's commitment to a reform of Soviet society and politics was reflected in the speeches and decisions. Evident also was an enormous rate of turnover within the Central Committee, indicating that the long-awaited generational shift in *Soviet politics* is in process.

45. **Party "Democratizing" Bid Shows Gorbachev Is Dedicated Risk-Taker**, Robert C. Toth, *Los Angeles Times*, February 15, 1987. 203

Gorbachev's remarkable call for a "democratization" of the Communist party extends his reform program beyond economics and culture to *Soviet politics*, which has been off-limits to debate since the 1920s. The article evaluates the impact and limitations of this latest reform proposal.

B. COMMUNIST POLITICS OF REFORM: SOVIET AND CHINESE DIFFERENCES

46. **Russia and China: The Young vs. Old Leaders**, Seweryn Bialer, *The Christian Science Monitor*, January 12, 1987. 206

The youthful new leadership in Moscow is changing *Soviet society and politics* more slowly than the much older leadership in Peking is pushing for the *modernization* of China. The author, an authority on the Soviet Union, finds historical and cultural reasons for the difference.

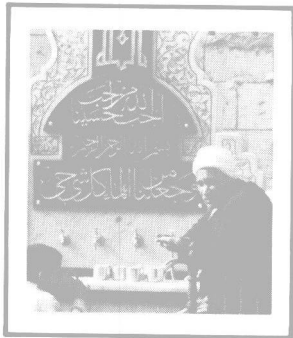
47. **Reform and Intellectuals: USSR and China Take Opposite Tacks**, Julian Baum and Paul Quinn-Judge, *The Christian Science Monitor*, January 27, 1987. 208

A recent crackdown on intellectuals in China points to a major new difference between the *modernization* efforts in *Chinese* and *Soviet society and politics*.

C. CHINA

48. **Revelations of a China Watcher: Interview with John King Fairbank**, Anne Collier, *The Christian Science Monitor*, January 2, 1987. 211

The dean of American scholars on China stresses that the country's historical ethnic heritage and political culture will influence and modify the *modernization* of *Chinese society* pushed by the Communist leadership.



Unit 5

The Third World

Ten selections review Third World economic and political developments in Latin America, South Africa, the Middle East, and India.

49. **Political Shift Stalls Economic Reform in China**, Jim Mann, *Los Angeles Times*, February 1, 1987. 214
For the last several years, China has attracted attention with its attempt to reduce the role of centralized state planning, to limit the role of the Communist party in industry, to develop a limited private sector, and to give greater freedom to individual incentives and market forces. Now there has been a reaction to this *modernization* strategy as political and ideological resistance develops. It can no longer be assumed that the continuity of reform will be maintained.
 50. **Five-Year Power Struggle Led to Hu Yaobang's Fall**, Jim Mann, *Los Angeles Times*, February 9, 1987. 217
This article emphasizes that the opposition to political reform, including limitations on the Communist party's power, ran into determined resistance from traditional leaders long before the fall of Hu Yaobang in January 1987. The impact on *Chinese society and politics* could be of great significance.
-
- Overview** 220
- A. POLITICS OF DEVELOPMENT**
51. **Second Thoughts About the Third World**, Thomas Sowell, *Harper's*, November 1983. 222
A neoconservative economist, who stresses the crucial role of "human capital" in the rapid creation of wealth, criticizes some common explanations of poverty in many of the *less developed countries*. He also challenges *dependency theory* and some conventional assumptions about foreign aid and multinational corporations.
 52. **We Are Told . . . We Must Have More of the Disease**, Michael Manley, *Harper's*, December 1983. 230
The former prime minister of Jamaica criticizes the previous article. He charges that the *less developed countries* have been left in a condition of structural *dependency*, typically serving the interests of advanced capitalist powers rather than the well-being of their own peoples.
 53. **Countries in Trouble: Who's on the Skids?** *The Economist*, December 20, 1986. 234
This article takes a non-computer-modelled look at fifty *less developed countries* in an effort to determine which ones are at the greatest risk of becoming unstable in the next few years. The study uses a combination of economic, political, and social indicators to calculate the relative stability of each country and explains why these indicators have been chosen.
 54. **Helping the Third World**, George D. Moffett III, *The Christian Science Monitor*, March 6, 1986. 238
Much of the Third World faces the two staggering problems of famine and debt. With particular attention to the *less developed countries of Africa*, this article shows that while there is no agreement on an overall strategy for dealing with the problems of development, there is emerging a consensus on some key tactical approaches that emphasize small-scale agriculture, structural reforms, population growth, and debt relief.
- B. LATIN AMERICA: MEXICO**
55. **Hard Times in Mexico Cause Concern in US**, Robert Pear, *The New York Times*, October 19, 1986. 241
US observers are worried about the possibility of social and political unrest in Mexico. This article surveys the problems facing *Mexican government* leaders, with particular attention to the economic distress and the surging population growth.
 56. **Mexico's Embattled Ruling Party: The Calls for Change Grow Loud**, Alan Riding, *The New York Times*, October 22, 1986. 244
There is widespread indignation over the long-term rule of Mexico's PRI, with its corruption, centralization, and authoritarianism. This article examines the complexities and contradictions of the *Mexican political system* and stresses the hazards of predicting the outcome of the present crisis.
 57. **Mexico at the Brink**, Jorge G. Castaneda, *Foreign Affairs*, Winter 1985/86. 246
Mexico's political stability can no longer be taken for granted, according to one of Mexico's leading political scientists. He examines the economic, social, and political turmoil of the present and concludes by presenting four major changes necessary before Mexico can find a new equilibrium.

C. SOUTH AFRICA

- 58. A Black South Africa?** Xan Smiley, *The Economist*, February 1-7, 1986. **253**

The author examines both the socioeconomic and political forms of *apartheid*, concluding that the latter is far more resistant to change than the former. His article gives up-to-date information and analysis concerning the rival forces in *South Africa*, including their ideologies, leaders, strategies, and relative strengths.

D. THE MIDDLE EAST

- 59. The Middle East: Patterns of Change 1947-1987**, L. Carl Brown, *The Middle East Journal*, Winter 1987. **261**

The article reviews developments over forty years in the *Middle East*. It focuses on the broad, structural aspects of change rather than on the here-and-now problems. Two major and interrelated themes are emphasized: the relative positive results of economic modernization in the region as a whole during the period in question; and the emergence of a relatively strong state system that appears more stable than political rhetoric and ideology would suggest.

E. INDIA

- 60. India: Awakening and Decay**, James Manor, *Current History*, March 1986. **268**

India has been undergoing a democratic awakening among its people at a time of institutional breakdown and decay. As a consequence, *India's* democracy has never shown greater promise nor been faced with greater risks than at present.

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COMPARATIVE POLITICS 87/88

Editor

Christian Soe

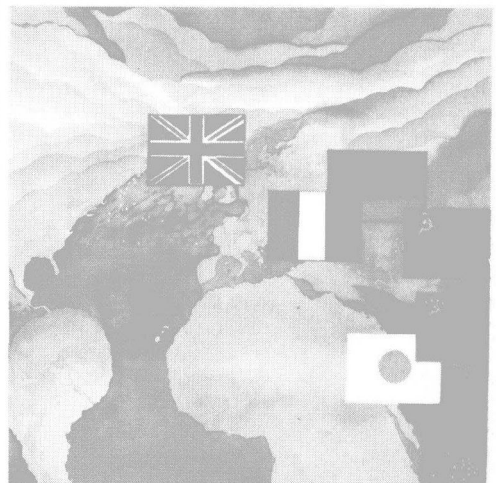
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Christian Soe studied at universities in Canada and the United States and received his Ph.D. from the Free University in West Berlin. He is now a professor of political science at California State University, Long Beach.

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This map has been developed to give you a graphic picture of where the countries of the world are located, the relationship they have with their region and neighbors, and their positions relative to the superpowers and power blocs. We have focused on certain areas to more clearly illustrate these crowded regions.

