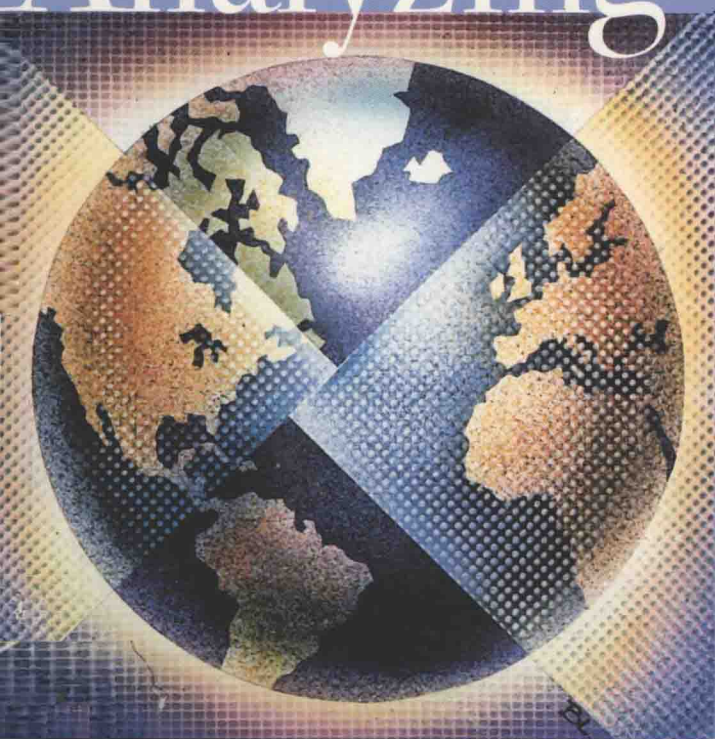


ELLEN GRIGSBY

An Introduction to Political Science

Analyzing Politics





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ELLEN GRIGSBY
University of New Mexico



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Political Science Editor: Clark Baxter
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Print Buyer: Barbara Britton
Permissions Editor: Susan Walters

Production: Matrix Productions, Inc.
Copy Editor: Cheryl Smith
Cover Design: Stephen Rapley
Cover Image: Boris Lyubner/SIS
Compositor: R&S Book Composition
Printer: Webcom Limited

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Printed in Canada
2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

For more information, contact Wadsworth Publishing Company, 10 Davis Drive,
Belmont, CA 94002, or electronically at <http://www.wadsworth.com>

International Thomson Publishing Europe
Berkshire House
168-173 High Holborn
London, WC1V 7AA, United Kingdom

International Thomson Editores
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Hirakawa-cho Kyowa Building, 3F
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Tokyo 102, Japan

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Grigsby, Ellen.

Analyzing politics: an introduction to political science/Ellen Grigsby.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-534-54927-6

1. Political science. I. Title.

JA71.G735 1998

320—dc21

98-34580



This book is printed on acid-free recycled paper.



Preface

Years ago, I taught my first introductory political science course. I was overwhelmed by the range of material I felt an obligation to try to cover, humbled by the recognition that I would never know enough, and exhilarated by an academic process that allowed me to spend my days learning from and talking with diverse groups of students and colleagues on just about any topic imaginable. I still feel this way—every semester when I teach my introductory course and as I write this preface.

In this text, I try to introduce basic political science concepts, link them to contemporary examples, and connect them to larger theoretical issues. I also try to do what many books and people have done so many times for me, and that is to present learning as collaborative and ongoing, to help students see that understanding and knowledge are rarely (if ever) our own solitary accomplishments; instead, learning comes from interaction with multiple viewpoints, people, books, and (increasingly) Internet sites. I've tried to use this text to point students in the direction of seeking out multiple sources and perspectives.

I've learned from my students that introductory political science courses can offer opportunities for spirited debates as well as occasions for presenting basic concepts and definitions within a discipline. From my experience, classes work best when they do both, and this text tries to address both these needs. Each chapter acquaints students with traditional political science terminology and modes of analysis while also seeking to engage them in critical thinking about how these terms might be applied to an examination of controversial political matters. Each chapter includes boxes that summarize key analytical points

and study questions that can help students assess their own understanding of major terms and definitions.

At the same time, however, each chapter tries to draw student attention to international and domestic political events so they can see why these terms and definitions matter. For instance, Chapter 3 tries to show students that debates over definitions of power are not merely abstract concerns of importance to political science, but are also intimately connected with the daily struggles for life and land of the Ogoni people of Nigeria. Similarly, Chapter 5 tries to show students that an understanding of classical liberalism and traditional Burkean conservatism can help clarify for them what otherwise appears to be an astounding contradiction in contemporary Republican Party politics—namely, how gay rights advocates organized in the Log Cabin Republican group and family values advocates organized in the Christian Coalition can both be proud members of the Republican Party.

I've provided an Instructor's Manual that I hope will be useful in suggesting outside readings and in-class exercises to further prompt spirited exchanges among students and instructors. Each chapter of the Instructor's Manual corresponds to a chapter in the textbook and contains a brief outline of chapter themes, exam essay questions, and exam multiple-choice questions (answers provided outside the margin). In addition, each chapter includes suggested topics for class discussions and/or group debates. These topics were chosen with the intention of focusing student attention on some of the practical and observable implications of the abstract questions raised in the text itself.

What I consider to be potentially most useful about the Instructor's Manual, however, is the link it provides between the text and the larger community of political activists and students. Specifically, the manual seeks to connect students reading *Analyzing Politics* to groups and governments pursuing political objectives over the Internet. In each chapter, instructors are provided with suggested Internet projects that complement the text and call upon students to apply and expand upon textual materials. For example, Chapter 8 includes a suggested Internet assignment on the FEC and campaign contribution regulations in which students can monitor contributions to candidates from their own states. Chapter 11 includes prepared assignments introducing students to the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and its position papers on biological weaponry as well as assignments on the War Resisters League and the U.N.'s World Food Program.

In addition, each chapter includes readings drawn from *InfoTrac College Edition* (provided by Wadsworth), a searchable, online library that gives students access to full-text articles from more than 700 popular and scholarly periodicals. The readings are intended to stimulate discussion and written assignments. In completing these assignments, students are not only exposed to scholarly data related to topics in their textbook, but are given assignments that should help them sharpen their database search and retrieval skills as well as refine their analytical and writing skills. To use InfoTrac, point your browser to <http://www.infotrac-college.com/wadsworth>. The service requires a password that may be obtained from your Wadsworth Publishing representative.

Recognizing that information cycles more quickly on the Internet than in traditional publication venues, I will be updating both Internet projects and InfoTrac assignments for all chapters in the text from my page at Wadsworth. Indeed, updated assignments on the 1998 U.S. congressional elections—as well as the Starr report to Congress—will be available on my web page at Wadsworth. Instructors may find updated materials by consulting my link at <http://www.wadsworth.com>.

Many people have helped me with this project. Lynne Hicks approached me about this book and always offered encouragement, kindness, and friendly support in every personal and email interaction we had. Steve Schonebaum helped me get the project started and provided much-needed assistance in its early stages. When Clark Baxter became involved, I had someone who not only offered critical scholarly insights and generous reassurance, but also someone who appreciated baseball examples. Amy Guastello, Melissa Gleason, Sharon Adams-Poore, Hal Humphrey, Susan Walters, Yanna Walters, Abigail Baxter, and Merrill Peterson helped make the editing and production process manageable. Wonderful graduate assistants at the University of New Mexico have helped me grasp new ways of teaching and communicating introductory-level political science concepts: Betts Putnam, Kristin Kenyon, Judy Palier, Mike Ballard, Mark O'Grady, Erik Wibbels, Don Westervelt, Lori Blair, Mary Bellman, Jennifer Mathews, and Bianca Belmonte have worked with me over the semesters. The Research Opportunity Program at the University of New Mexico assisted with funds and two student researchers—Teresa Francis and Ursula Richards—who became valued colleagues. Semester after semester, I have had classes of enthusiastic and challenging students who have pushed me to think in new ways, and these students have influenced me and this book considerably. Moreover, for the past 7 years, my faculty colleagues at UNM have been a source of the type of day-to-day scholarly exchanges that make academic work so enlivening and enjoyable. Special thanks to the following reviewers: Laurie M. Bagby, Kansas State University; Michael Corbett, Ball State University; Thomas Dickson, Auburn University; Larry Elowitz, Georgia College; Simona Goi, Calvin College; Larry Gonzalez, University of Houston; Claus Hofhansel, Rhode Island College; Donald R. Kelley, University of Arkansas; Samuel Schmidt, University of Texas at El Paso; Michael Tegar, Belmont Abbey College; Rolf Theen, Purdue University; Mark R. Weaver, College of Wooster; and T.Y. Yang, Illinois State University. But, most of all, I want to thank my family. My parents have done more for me than I can ever acknowledge, and Tracie, over many years, has made it possible for me to see what endures and to understand what is truly to be treasured. After all this help, errors that remain are mine.



Contents

Preface	x
1 INTRODUCTION	1
Notes	6
2 POLITICAL SCIENCE AND SCIENTIFIC METHODS IN STUDYING POLITICS	7
The Range of Political Science: Historical Developments	8
Thinking Scientifically: Foundations of Scientific Inquiry	12
Thinking Scientifically: Applying the Scientific Method to the Study of Politics	16
<i>Case Studies</i>	16
<i>Survey Research</i>	18
<i>Experiments and Quasi-Experiments</i>	23
<i>Indirect Quantitative Analysis</i>	24
Science: Limitations	25
<i>How Can We Have a Science of Human Behavior When Human Behavior Is Often Unique?</i>	25
<i>How Do We Know Our Findings Are Correct?</i>	26
<i>Does the Pursuit of Science Lead Us to Ignore Important Questions?</i>	27
<i>Does Science Contradict Its Own Logic?</i>	27
<i>Can Science Avoid Coming into Conflict with Ethics?</i>	28

Summing Up	32
Study Questions	32
Following Up Through Internet Sources	33
Notes	33
3 KEY CONCEPTS IN POLITICAL SCIENCE	38
Power	38
<i>Types of Power</i>	40
<i>Debates in the Study of Power</i>	53
States	54
<i>States: State Formation, Development, and Change</i>	57
<i>Debates in the Study of States</i>	58
Nations	63
<i>States-Nations: Relations and Interactions</i>	64
<i>Debates in the Study of Nations</i>	67
Summing Up	69
Study Questions	70
Following Up Through Internet Sources	70
Notes	71
4 POLITICAL THEORY: EXAMINING THE ETHICAL FOUNDATIONS OF POLITICS	76
Analyzing Political Theory: Plato's Allegory of the Cave	77
Some Fundamental Ethical Questions in Politics	80
<i>What Purpose Should the State Serve?</i>	80
<i>Should States Promote Equality?</i>	84
<i>Should States Be Organized to Maximize Their Own Power or Organized to Restrain This Power?</i>	90
<i>Should States Try to Help Us Be Ethical?</i>	93
Summing Up	97
Study Questions	98
Following Up Through Internet Sources	98
Notes	99
5 POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES I: LIBERALISM, CONSERVATISM, AND SOCIALISM	102
Liberalism	102
<i>Classical Liberalism</i>	103
<i>Modern Liberalism</i>	107
<i>Classical and Modern Liberalism Today</i>	110

Conservatism	112
<i>Traditional Conservatives</i>	112
<i>Traditional Conservatism Today</i>	115
<i>Traditional Conservatism and Classical Liberal Conservatism in Conflict</i>	117
Socialism	120
<i>Marxism</i>	121
<i>Marxism-Leninism</i>	126
<i>Social Democracy</i>	128
Summing Up	129
Study Questions	130
Following Up Through Internet Sources	130
Notes	131

6 POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES II: FASCISM, FEMINISM, ENVIRONMENTALISM, AND POSTMODERNISM 135

Fascism	135
<i>The Fascism of Mussolini and Hitler</i>	136
<i>Neofascism</i>	140
Feminism	142
<i>Liberal Feminism</i>	147
<i>Radical Challenges to Liberal Feminism</i>	149
Environmentalism	151
<i>Basic Principles</i>	152
<i>Diversity within Environmentalist Ideology</i>	157
A Note on Postmodernism	158
Summing Up	159
Study Questions	160
Following Up Through Internet Sources	160
Notes	161

7 COMPARATIVE POLITICS I: GOVERNMENTAL SYSTEMS: DEMOCRACY AND NONDEMOCRACY 168

Democracy	169
Democracies Compared	174
<i>Participation: The United States and Switzerland</i>	174
<i>Pluralism: The United States and Germany</i>	176
<i>Developmentalism: The United States and Argentina</i>	179
<i>Protection: The United States and Great Britain</i>	182
<i>Performance: The United States and India</i>	184

Nondemocracy	187
<i>The World's Largest Nondemocracy: China</i>	192
Summing Up	193
Study Questions	195
Following Up Through Internet Sources	196
Notes	196

8 COMPARATIVE POLITICS II: INTEREST GROUPS, POLITICAL PARTIES, ELECTIONS, AND MEDIA 203

Interest Groups	204
<i>Interest Groups in the United States</i>	204
<i>Interest Groups Compared: Democracies</i>	212
<i>Interest Groups Compared: Nondemocracies</i>	216
Political Parties	218
<i>Political Parties in the United States</i>	218
<i>Political Parties Compared: Democracies</i>	223
<i>Political Parties Compared: Nondemocracies</i>	226
Elections	227
<i>Elections in the United States</i>	228
<i>Elections Compared: Democracies</i>	234
<i>Elections Compared: Nondemocracies</i>	235
Media	236
<i>Media in the United States</i>	236
<i>Media Compared: Democracies and Nondemocracies</i>	238
Summing Up	239
Study Questions	241
Following Up Through Internet Sources	242
Notes	243

9 COMPARATIVE POLITICS III: GOVERNING DEMOCRACIES: EXECUTIVES, LEGISLATURES, AND JUDICIARIES 251

Executive–Legislative Relations: Presidential and Parliamentary Systems	251
<i>The U.S. Presidential System: The Executive</i>	252
<i>The British Parliamentary System: The Executive</i>	256
<i>Other Examples of Executive–Legislative Relations</i>	258
<i>The U.S. Presidential System: The Legislature</i>	258
<i>The British Parliamentary System: The Legislature</i>	263

Judicial Review v. Parliamentary Sovereignty	265
Summing Up	267
Study Questions	268
Following Up Through Internet Sources	268
Notes	269

10 INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS I: ANALYZING RECENT AND CONTEMPORARY EVENTS IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS 272

Models of Analysis	274
<i>Idealism</i>	274
<i>Realism</i>	277
International Relations: Out of Bipolarism and into the 21st Century	281
<i>Bipolar Politics</i>	281
<i>After Bipolarism</i>	283
<i>Questions of Security after Bipolarism</i>	284
Summing Up	289
Study Questions	290
Following Up Through Internet Sources	290
Notes	290

11 INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS II: TOPICS IN INTERNATIONAL VIOLENCE AND ECONOMICS 294

Issues of Violence: War and Terrorism	294
Issues of Economics: Population Growth, Technological Expansion, and Resource Inequality	298
<i>Population</i>	298
<i>Technology</i>	298
<i>Economic Resource Inequality</i>	299
Summing Up	303
Study Questions	303
Following Up Through Internet Sources	304
Notes	304

GLOSSARY 307

INDEX 316



Introduction

Studying politics is a formidable task, but also an exciting one. Politics is a world of vast complexities, infinite questions, and endless challenges. Consider the following recent political occurrences. The Soviet Union has disintegrated and split apart, while western Europe has moved toward integration. The generation that saw apartheid finally end in South Africa watched as ethnic cleansing tore apart Yugoslavia. The age of the microchip arrived even while the age of the Nenets, an Arctic nomadic people living mostly as their fifth-century ancestors lived, endured. Nationalism, the basis for xenophobia and fascism in Europe during World War II, has become the inspiration for contemporary liberation movements among the deaf in the U.S. and the French in Canada.

Indeed, the world's political diversity is seemingly endless. As many U.S. citizens worry about budgets and government spending, many of their Malawi counterparts are trying to build the institutions of democracy in a society long dominated by colonialism and authoritarianism. While China attempts to modernize its economy to support the world's largest population, the small island democracy of New Zealand worries about the environmental and health effects from recent nearby atomic testing by France.

How can we begin to analyze these varied political currents? The difficulty of this question has, at times, threatened to overwhelm the most respected of political scientists.¹ As we confront the enormity of the task and search for insights, it is useful to keep in mind what political scientist David Easton has observed: politics involves *change*.² Politics is a world of flux, tensions, and transitions. Change

BOX 1.1 Change and Politics

What Were U.S. Citizens Concerned About at the Turn of the Last Century?

Studying politics involves studying change—change in governments, laws, and political-social attitudes and opinions. An examination of public attitudes held by U.S. citizens at the turn of the last century reveals that our counterparts one hundred years ago had much to worry about:

- Air pollution. Filthy air seemed an inevitable part of city living. In 1881, New York's State Board of Health found that air quality was compromised by fumes from sulfur, kerosene, manure, ammonia, and other smells producing "an inclination to vomit." The term "smog" would be coined soon after the turn of the century (1905).
- Crowding. Busy city streets were hazardous. Pedestrians risked injury from trolleys and carriages. Indeed, Brooklyn's beloved baseball team (the Trolley Dodgers) took its name from a dangerous, but unavoidable, urban practice of competing for scarce space with speeding trolleys.
- Food Impurities. Americans of the late 19th century often found interesting additives in their basic food-stuffs. Milk, for example, was likely to contain chalk or plaster of Paris, in that both items could improve the appearance of milk produced from diseased cattle. Drunk cows were another problem. Distilleries often used waste products from whiskey production as cattle feed; milk from these cows could contain enough alcohol to intoxicate babies who consumed the milk.
- Epidemics. Smallpox and malaria were two diseases threatening Americans at the turn of the last century. Women and men were vulnerable to these predators and were often fearful of losing their lives to diseases they could neither understand nor be assured of protection against.
- Race relations. Racism was pervasive as the 20th century approached. Violence against African-Americans was widespread. Lynchings of African-Americans reached record numbers in the 1890s and declined with the turn of the century; from 1882 to 1968, however, 4,743 (of whom 3,446 were African-American) Americans were murdered by lynching.

can be global in its consequences, as in the rise and fall of world powers such as the Soviet Union. Change can be primarily domestic, as when one political party defeats another in a country's elections. In an increasingly interdependent world, however, even those changes that appear to be essentially domestic in nature may resonate with international significance.³

Politics also involves decision making over the world's *resources*. While we can look to Easton's comments to appreciate the concept of change as central to politics, we can draw upon the teachings of political scientist Harold Laswell to consider that politics is about deciding who does and does not get access to what the world has to offer.⁴ Laswell's insights are important for us to reflect upon as we begin studying politics, for they point us in the direction of questions both intriguing and disturbing in their complexity, such as: Why is an

BOX 1.1 Continued

- **Family Stability.** In the years around 1900, approximately 20 percent of American children lived in orphanages because their parents were too poor to provide for them. In other families, children worked in factories and mines to supplement unstable family incomes. Almost $\frac{1}{4}$ of the employees in textile mills in the Southern United States were children as the last century turned.
- **Household Budgets.** Some historians have described the last half of the 19th century as the age of the "robber barons," as millionaires like Cornelius Vanderbilt, Andrew Carnegie, and John D. Rockefeller assumed positions of power and influence. As the 19th century closed, the gap between rich and poor was a vast one, as average Americans struggled and saved to pay their bills. Indeed, more than 80 percent of the country's wealth was controlled by just over 10 percent of the nation's households in 1890.
- **Progress.** X-rays, telephones, record players, electric lighting, combustible engines—these and other inventions from the late 19th century promised to change life in the

20th century. Americans had hopes that the changes would be for the good, as seen, for instance, in the optimism surrounding the World Fairs at which many of these inventions were showcased. At the same time, the new inventions could shock and frighten. One wonders, for instance, how many Americans could identify with the character in Thomas Mann's *The Magic Mountain*, when he remarked that looking at an x-ray was like looking into the grave.

SOURCES: Otto Bettmann, *The Good Old Days—They Were Terrible* (New York: Random House, 1974); Stephen Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880–1918* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1983); Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas Beaches & Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989); Stephanie Coontz, *The Way We Never Were: American Families and the Nostalgia Trap* (New York: Basic Books, 1992); Benjamin Schwarz, "American Inequality: Its History and Scary Future," *The New York Times* 19 December 1995, p. A19; Robert L. Zangrando, "Lynching," pp. 684–686 in *The Reader's Companion to American History*, ed. Eric Foner and John Garraty (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1991); Frederick Lewis Allen, *The Big Change, 1900–1950* (New York: Bantam Books, 1965), especially chapters 1–4; Geoffrey C. Ward and Ken Burns, *Baseball: An Illustrated History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994), p. xvii.

American citizen likely to live longer than a Rwandan citizen? Politics, Laswell's insights would tell us, has a lot to do with it. Life expectancy, access to safe water sources, opportunities for jobs paying livable wages—all these areas of our lives are affected enormously by political decisions of the world's governments, as those governments make decisions about how the world's resources are to be distributed. Cosmic ordination and natural predetermination do not control who lives a life of relative security and who does not, according to the perspectives of political science. Medicine, water, food, housing, and jobs are not phenomena over which women and men have no control. To the contrary, the world of politics consists of those governmental decisions that extend life expectancies or shorten them, enhance or reduce access to basic necessities. In other words, politics involves the choices governments and citizens

(in societies in which this freedom is observed) make in shaping the process whereby medicine, water, food, housing, and jobs are made available or unavailable to the world's peoples.

Indeed, politics encompasses all those decisions regarding how we make rules that govern our *common* life. These rules may be made in a democratic or authoritarian manner, may sanction peace or violence, and may empower state or non-state (e.g., trade associations, media representatives, multinational corporations, etc.) actors. Whatever the rules, however, politics is based on the recognition that our lives are shared, as long as we live in common, public spaces such as state territories. If you have traversed a public road, used books at a public library, stopped at a public street sign, or walked across a public university campus today, you have shared space and resources governed by politically made rules implemented by states. Thus, whether we are conscious of it or not, as we go about our days, we are immersed in politics. We are, as the ancient Greek philosopher *Aristotle* taught, in essence, political creatures, inhabiting a world of shared problems and possibilities. Indeed, Aristotle contended, to try to remove ourselves from politics would be to remove ourselves from the world of our common humanity.⁵

In short, as we analyze politics, we will see that politics touches everything, as political scientist Robert Dahl once suggested.⁶ If you doubt Dahl's point, take a moment to think of an issue or topic that seems to have nothing to do with politics—it could be art, love, emotion, or a myriad of topics seemingly personal and apolitical. If Dahl's observations are borne out, by the end of this text, you may well see politics enveloping even these aspects of your life.

This text seeks to introduce to you some of the ways in which political science analyzes politics by exploring different subfields of political science. Chapter 1 examines how political science operates as a field of inquiry. Chapter 2 looks at the ways in which political scientists collect political data. Scientific research processes, as well as the limitations of science, are discussed. Chapter 3 examines key concepts used in political science to classify and analyze political phenomena. Concepts such as power, states, and nations are assessed.

Chapter 4 looks at a number of theoretical debates that have intrigued students of politics. For example, we will examine debates about whether governments should try to promote equality, and evaluate philosophical disagreements over whether governments should try to enforce a public morality. In Chapters 5 and 6 we will analyze different political ideologies and see how liberalism, conservatism, socialism, fascism, feminism, and environmentalism differ in their views of politics, government, and citizenship.

Chapter 7 looks at differences in democratic and nondemocratic governments. Chapters 8 and 9 focus on comparisons of different aspects of citizen participation (e.g., voting) and government decision making (e.g., judicial review). This section discusses U.S. politics and government within the context of comparative analysis. By thinking about U.S. political issues from a comparative perspective, we can, perhaps, better view the United States as other countries might. We can assess U.S. government and political decision making as

BOX 1.2 What Is Political About That?

Many parts of our lives may, at first, appear to be apolitical. Very rarely is this true, however. Political decision making can include almost everything in its reach. Consider how politics touches the following ostensibly “non-political” issues:

- *Art.* Robert Mapplethorpe is one of several artists whose work has elicited debate between conservatives and liberals. Mapplethorpe’s portfolio includes photographs of gay men. Critics have often described these works as pornographic, while many supporters have countered that they are representations of gay erotica. Should public dollars be used to subsidize and promote such art? Politics involves making such decisions.
- *Love.* Two people in love may not believe that politics has anything to do with their relationship. However, politics greatly influences the ways in which love may be expressed. At what age may couples get married, for instance? Why can some couples (heterosexual) get married while others (gay) cannot? Those are political questions answered by governments.
- *Emotion.* What could be more personal than emotions? How can our emotions have anything to do with politics? Our emotions are very political if, for instance, we are accused of committing what the government defines as a crime. A person’s “state of mind” may be one of the variables considered when the state brings charges and makes recommendations for sentencing in criminal cases.

part of the larger political world, not in isolation from this world. For example, we can view U.S. election laws as but one of many legal alternatives for societies. By comparing how the United States and other countries make governing choices, we can begin to see, for instance, that U.S. executive–legislative relations are anything but the most obvious way to set up government offices. Part III’s comparative analysis will examine how the U.S. governing system is but one choice among many.

In Chapter 10, models of analysis and post-bipolar politics are analyzed. Realist and idealist debates on the nature of international affairs are scrutinized, as are questions concerning the place of the United Nations and NATO in the post-bipolar age. In Chapter 11, two topics—violence and economics—are presented for analytical consideration. These topics will bring us back to the subject of this introduction, insofar as they raise again the connection between politics, change, resources, and public decision making.

At the end of each chapter, related Internet sites are listed. As readers of this text are probably well aware, the Internet is an invaluable resource for political data, and I hope that you will use this text as a starting point for your own investigations of politics through the Internet and other sources. As you explore the questions in this text, feel free to email me directly with comments and/or questions; I will respond and we can engage in a dialogue about the political

issues raised in the pages that follow. My email address is egrigsby@unm.edu and you may also reach me through my web page, which is accessible at <http://politicalscience.wadsworth.com>.

NOTES

1. Robert Dahl, *Modern Political Analysis* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1963), p. vii.
2. David Easton, *The Political System: An Inquiry into the State of Political Science* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1971), p. 42; see also Howard J. Wiarda, *Introduction to Comparative Politics* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1993), p. 12.
3. John McCormick, *Comparative Politics in Transition* (New York: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1995), p. 3.
4. Harold D. Laswell, *Politics: Who Gets What, When, How* (New York: Meridian Books, 1958), p. 13; see also p. 167.
5. Aristotle, *Politics of Aristotle*, trans. and introd. Ernest Barker (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 6.
6. Dahl, p. 6. See also E. E. Schattschneider, *Two Hundred Million Americans in Search of a Government* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969), p. 4 for a discussion of the universality of politics and political institutions.