

A·N·N·U·A·L E·D·I·T·I·O·N·S

Comparative Politics 01/02

Nineteenth Edition

EDITOR

Christian Søe

California State University, Long Beach

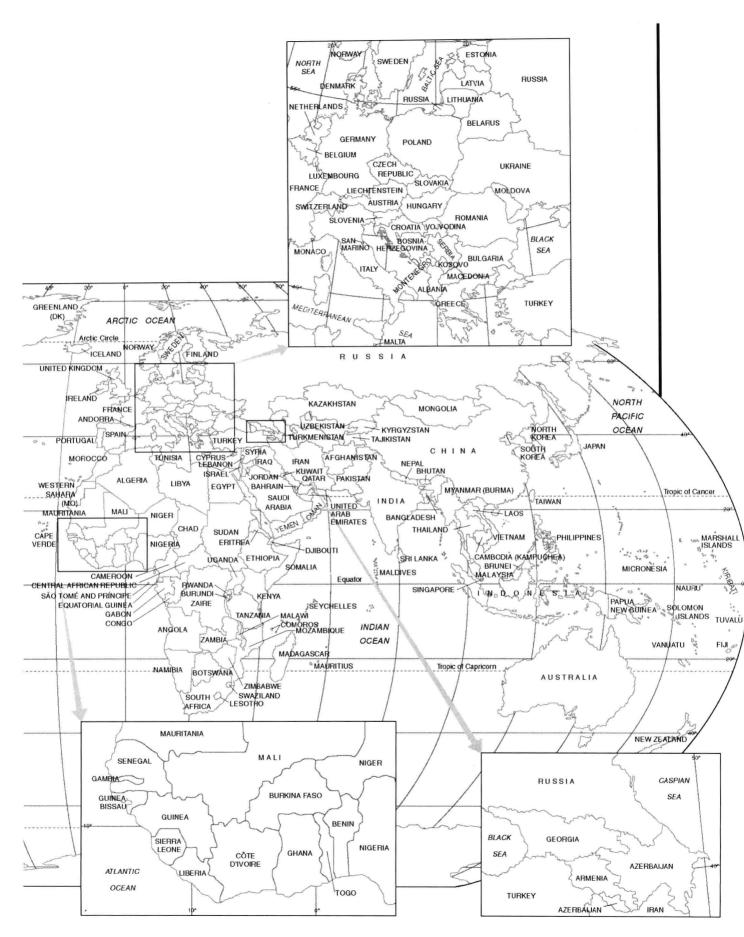
Christian Søe was born in Denmark, studied at universities in Canada and the United States, and received his doctoral degree in political science at the Free University in Berlin. He is a political science professor at California State University, Long Beach. Dr. Søe teaches a wide range of courses in comparative politics and contemporary political theory, and actively participates in professional symposiums here and abroad. His research deals primarily with developments in contemporary German politics. He has been a regular observer of party politics and elections in Germany, which he visits annually to conduct interviews and gather research materials. At present Dr. Søe is observing the shifts in the balance of power and changes in political orientation within the German party system, with particular attention to the new generation of leaders and the debate about "third way" politics. The initial phase of this continuing transition in German politics is a main topic of the 1999 book, which he coedited with Mary N. Hampton, Between Bonn and Berlin: German Politics Adrift? He is coeditor (with David Conradt and Gerald R. Kleinfeld) and chapter author of the forthcoming book, Power Shift in Germany: The 1999 Bundestag Election and the End of the Kohl Era. Three of his other 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. Søe 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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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.





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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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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.

his 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 seeks 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 patterns 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 some of the developing countries, with articles on Mexico and Latin America as a whole, Africa, and China. A careful reader will come away with a better understanding of the diversity of social and political conditions in these countries. An additional reading covers the changing and instability of the Middle East.

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," now also called "third way" politics, and it should not be misunderstood for a sweeping victory of doctrinaire "laissez-faire" capitalism. Finally, the surge of what has been called "identity politics," with the tendency toward an exclusive cultural or ethical group assertion, is a development that bears careful watching.

This is an unusually interesting and important time to study comparative politics. The past decade has seen a major restructuring of politics in many countries and a generational shift in leadership almost everywhere. Even in a time of political transformation, however, there will be significant patterns of continuity as well as change. We must be careful to look for both.

This is the nineteenth edition of Annual Editions: Comparative Politics. It is a sobering reminder that the first edition appeared in the spring of 1983, just as the Brezhnev era had come to a close in what was then a powerful Soviet Union. Over the years, the new editions have cumulatively reflected 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 are 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 10 years ago, but continues to volunteer 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, Erik Ibsen, Jon Nakagawa, Perry Oliver, Mike Petri, Richard Sherman, and Ali Taghavi. Like so many others, these individuals first encountered the anthology in my comparative politics courses. It is a great joy to have worked with such fine students, whose enthusiasm for the project is contagious.

I am very grateful to members of the advisory board and McGraw-Hill/Dushkin 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

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the back of the book.

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A. THE UNITED KINGDOM	

New Labour in Britain: Avoiding the Past, James
 E. Cronin, Current History, April 1999.
 This article examines the electoral triumph of the Labour Party in May 1997 and the new government's active record since then. It emphasizes the importance of the changes in leadership and programs that are associated with Tony Blair and his "New" Labour strategy.

 Rule Blairtannia, Anthony King, The World in 2001, London.

A British observer concludes that Tony Blair and Labour will win the 2001 election, despite some loss of popularity. The economy is sound, the divisive euro issue postponed, and cultural conflict low (except in Northern Ireland). Inner-city problems and the asylum issue may bring the Conservatives some votes, but not enough to recapture power.

 A Constitutional Revolution in Britain? Donley T. Studlar, McGraw-Hill/Dushkin, 2001.

An American scholar provides an up-to-date review and assessment of Labour's constitutional reforms since 1997.

Bill of Rights or Bill of Goods? Britons Ask, Marjorie Miller, Los Angeles Times, October 2, 2000.

The Human Rights Act has incorporated the European Convention on Human Rights into domestic law and has given Britain what amounts to a modern bill of rights. This is a legal revolution for the country, with far-reaching political implications.

5. Scots Have Their Very Own Parliament to Scold, Warren Hoge, New York Times, September 22, 2000. Scotland's new parliament gets mixed performance reviews. It not only serves to weaken the campaign for full independence, it also functions as a laboratory for an experiment with proportional representation, coalition government, and a stronger committee system.

B. GERMANY

Togetherness: A Balance Sheet, The Economist, September 30, 2000.

Ten years after **German unification**, it is clear that there have been problems in the east-west merger, but this article stresses that the achievements have been considerable and insufficiently recognized.

7. Midterm, Schroeder Seems on a Roll, John Vinocur, International Herald Tribune, November 13, 2000. After a rocky start, the German chancellor has established an impressive political record in a relatively short time. This article examines the red-green government's performance during its first 2 years in office.

8. Civil Society, Gerhard Schröder, *Deutschland*, November 2000.

The **German chancellor** warns against the widespread sense of disillusionment and "retreat from politics" in many advanced countries such as Germany. He calls instead for a "return to politics" as a constructive way of dealing with some very real contemporary social problems.



Pluralist Democracies: Country Studies

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Seventeen selections examine the current state of politics in the United Kingdom, Germany, France, Italy, and Japan.

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9. The Identity Crisis of the German Left, Andrei S. Markovits, Dissent, Summer 1999.
In power since the Bundestag election of 1998, the German Left is faced with its most profound identity crisis since the

In power since the Bundestag election of 1998, the German Left is faced with its most profound identity crisis since the youth uprising of the late 1960s, where most of the "red-green" coalition's leaders have their political roots. They are confronted with challenges to some of the Left's traditional policy orientations in economic and nuclear policy as well as collective security.

C. FRANCE

- 10. Forces of Change in a Conservative Society,
 Robert Graham, Financial Times, June 14, 2000.
 Even though political rhetoric sometimes obscures the fact, the
 French state has reduced its traditional activist role in economic
 and international policy matters. This article reviews some major
 changes that are taking place under a Socialist-led coalition
 aovernment.
- 11. The Pedestal Is Cracking Under an Elite in France, Suzanne Daley, New York Times, July 9, 2000. The prestigious National School of Administration (ENA) has been the professional finishing school for much of France's policy elite in the Fifth Republic. Critics now question both its traditional form of education and its crucial placement role.
- **12. French Deliver a Yawn on Shorter Presidential Term,** John-Thor Dahlburg, *Los Angeles Times,* September 25, 2000.

Less than 31 percent of the **French electorate** bothered to vote on a referendum proposal to cut the presidential term from 7 to 5 years. It passed easily and is expected to increase the role of the president in the complex "dual executive" system set up by Charles de Gaulle.

13. The Corsican Conundrum Ensnares French Politics Anew, Joseph Fitchett, International Herald Tribune, September 6, 2000.

Long a trouble spot for the forces of law and order, *Corsica* has also become a *political problem* in connection with *Prime Minister Jospin's plans* for granting limited autonomy to the island. This article reviews the complex situation and its political importance.

D. ITALY

14. Tocqueville in Italy, David L. Kirp, *The Nation*, November 8, 1993.

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.*"

15. The Italian Exception, John Grimond, *The World in 2001*, London.

This article looks at several failed attempts to reform **the political** system of Italy. It concludes that the new government formed after the 2001 parliamentary election is unlikely to bring about the needed institutional renovation.

E. JAPAN

16. Japan's Search for a New Path, T. J. Pempel, *Current History*, December 1998.

Japan is in the middle of a struggle over how to deliver the country's familiar mix of economic dynamism and social equity. It is still unclear how the struggle will play out, but **the pressures for a major economic and political redirection** have become immense.

1 <i>7</i> .	Where Power Brokers Rule, Reform Stands Still, Howard W. French, New York Times, November 11, 2000. In the past, Japan has shown itself capable of extraordinary social mobilization and rapid change, but now it seems ill-suited to resolve its present economic problems. A major part of the		
	problem seems to lie in a faction-ridden political system that is dominated by senior power brokers, who use their control of vast spoils to ensure their own survival.		

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A. PATTERNS OF DEMOCRATIC ATROPHY? COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES

18. Public Opinion: Is There a Crisis? The Economist, July 17, 1999. Advanced democracies differ considerably from each other, but in recent years they share a common pattern of public disillusionment with institutions and politicians. The first in a series of three briefs dealing with this development examines the general de-

19. Political Parties: Empty Vessels, The Economist, July 24, 1999.

The second brief from *The Economist* series examines the **partial** weakening of political parties in modern democracies.

cline in public trust and voter turnout in well-established democracies.

 Interest Groups: Ex Uno, Plures, The Economist, August 21, 1999.

The third brief in *The Economist* series reports on the growth of **special-interest lobbying** in modern democracies.

B. POLITICAL IDEAS, MOVEMENTS, PARTIES

21. Europe's New Left: Free to Bloom, The Economist, February 12, 2000.

West European parties of the left have been adopting policies more friendly to the free market often without admitting it. This article examines the arguments about deregulating Europe's social model, with particular reference to Britain, Germany, and France.

22. The Fascist Response to Globalization, Martin A. Lee, Los Angeles Times, November 28, 1999.
Writing after the electoral gains by Joerg Haider's Freedom Party in Austria. Adapting Los anists out that right in a second

Writing after the electoral gains by Joerg Haider's Freedom Party in Austria, Martin Lee points out that right-wing populist parties have made strong showings elsewhere in Europe and links their growth to an exploitation of the disenchantment and dislocation brought on by unfettered market economics.

C. WOMEN AND POLITICS

23. Women in Power: From Tokenism to Critical Mass, Jane S. Jaquette, Foreign Policy, Fall 1997. Worldwide there are more women in elected national office than ever before. This article gives a historical overview of women's representation and suggests three major reasons for the breakthroughs.

24. Women in National Parliaments, Inter-Parliamentary Union, February 16, 2001.

This table has been compiled as of January 30, 2001, by the Inter-Parliamentary Union on the basis of information provided by national parliaments. 177 countries are classified in descending order of **the percentage of women in the lower or single House.** The "Nordic" or Scandinavian countries and the Netherlands have an impressive lead, but Germany and New Zealand are narrowing the gap. There are good reasons to expect France to improve its position after its 2002 election.



Pluralist Democracies: Factors in the Political Process

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Thirteen 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.

25. French Parties Press for Women in Politics, Suzanne Daley, New York Times, February 4, 2001. France has adopted a new law that obligates all political parties to put up an equal number of male and female candidates in most elections. This article examines the origins and immediate consequences of the new gender parity in a country in which women have long played a marginal role in political leadership.

D. THE INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

What Democracy Is and Is Not, Philippe C.	102
Schmitter and Terry Lynn Karl, Journal of Democracy, Summer	
1991.	

The authors point out that **modern representative democra- cies** vary in their institutions, practices, and values depending upon their socioeconomic, historical, and cultural settings.

27. Congress and the House of Commons: Legislative
Behavior and Legislative Roles in Two Democracies,
Gregory S. Mahler, McGraw-Hill/Dushkin, 2000.
The author carefully compares the role of the legislature in both the parliamentary and the congressional systems of government, using the case of Canada for the parliamentary setting.

28. Campaign and Party Finance: What Americans Might Learn From Abroad, Arthur B. Gunlicks, McGraw-Hill/Dushkin, 2000.

Arthur Gunlicks looks at campaign and party finance in sev-

Arthur Gunlicks looks at *campaign and party finance* in several Western democracies, with an eye on some possible lessons for the United States.

29. The Gavel and the Robe, The Economist, August 7, 118 1999.

Democracies have handed increasing amounts of power to unelected judges. This article examines the **growth and many different forms of judicial review.**

30. The People's Voice, The Economist, August 14, 1999. 121 The referendum, a form of direct democracy, takes many forms. This article examines the different kinds of referendum, examines the experience so far, and reexamines the arguments about letting voters decide policy questions directly.



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

Nine 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.

Overview

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A. THE EUROPEAN UNION

31. A Survey of Europe, Robert Cottrell, The Economist, 130 October 23, 1999.

The European Union has made major strides in recent years and will soon live up to its name, Robert Cottrell writes. His survey examines five recent and **major shifts in the structure of Europe.**

32. European Union Reform: After 5 Days, a Yawn,
Suzanne Daley, New York Times, December 12, 2000.
The December 2000 summit meeting in Nice did not overhaul the cumbersome decision-making machinery of the European Union.
This article examines why and looks at the changes that were made.

B. A CHANGING EUROPE

less on health services.

33. Europe's Love-Hate Affair With Foreigners, Roger Cohen, New York Times, December 24, 2000. In many European countries there has been a nationalist reaction focused against foreign migrants who seek to settle there. Yet Europe cannot survive economically and socially without lowering its bars to immigration.

34. Europe's Cheaper Rx for Health, John-Thor Dahlburg and Richard Boudreaux, Los Angeles Times, October 21, 2000.
Despite flaws such as high taxes or slow-moving bureaucracies, public health care delivery systems in Western Europe are relatively effective. This article examines why countries like France and Italy rank well ahead of the United States although they spend

C. POST-COMMUNIST CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

35. Bridging Europe's Great Divide, Stefan Wagstyl, Financial Times, January 12, 2001.
Central and East European countries have different historical memories that affect their relationship to each other and Western Europe, but the most important criterion shaping their position is their relative success in advancing toward political pluralism and market economics.

36. The Postcommunist Divide, Jacques Rupnik, Journal of Democracy, January 1999.
Postcommunist countries in Central and Eastern Europe have taken very different paths of political development. The author's multifactor analysis helps explain the uneven transition in the region.

D. RUSSIA AND THE OTHER POST-SOVIET REPUBLICS

37. Putin in Power, Michael McFaul, Current History, October 2000.
During his first months in office, President Vladimir Putin demonstrated that the Russian federal state still can exercise tremendous power under a vigorous, ambitious, and popular leader. The question now is how he will deploy his newly consolidated power.

38. Yeltsin's Legacy: Russia's Flawed Reformer, The Economist, January 8, 2000.
Boris Yeltsin, Russia's first democratically elected leader, resigned on the last day of 1999. This article takes a close look at Yeltsin's political accomplishments and failures during an extraordinary period in his country's history.

39. Russia's Population Meltdown, Murray Feshbach, The Wilson Quarterly, Winter 2001.
A veteran U.S. observer of Russia's population development shows how a drastic decline in birth rates and soaring rates of disease now threaten the nation's survival.



Political Diversity in the Developing World

Nine selections review the developing world's economic and political development in Latin America, Africa, China, and the Middle East. Overview 170

A. POLITICS OF DEVELOPMENT

40. Globalization's Double Edge, Robert J. Samuelson, International Herald Tribune, January 4, 2000. Globalization is a powerful vehicle for raising economic growth in rich and poor countries alike, but it erodes local cultures and threatens economic and social instability.

B. LATIN AMERICA

- 41. The Democratic Revelation, Andreas Schedler, Journal of Democracy, October 2000.

 Vincente Fox's victory in Mexico's July 2000 presidential election revealed the fundamental changes taking place under the veil of governmental continuity.
- 42. Roadblocks Right and Left for Mexican President,
 Tim Weiner, New York Times, January 22, 2001.
 The new president is encountering a wall of opposition to his reform plans in Congress and from many powerful groups in Mexican society.

C. AFRICA

43. Africa: The Heart of the Matter, The Economist, May 13, 2000.

A few years ago, there was widespread hope that Africa as a whole was moving toward significant **political and economic improvement.** With a few exceptions, the situation today looks far less promising. This article examines some of the reasons most often cited for this state of affairs.

44. Rainbow Nation in Search of Self-Assurance, Victor Mallet, Financial Times, October 6, 2000.
Six years after apartheid ended, democracy appears to be strong and the economy is growing, but South Africa faces a crisis of confidence fed in part by a resurgence of racial bitterness.

D. CHINA

- 45. Jiang Zemin: On the Right Side of History? Bruce Gilley, Current History, September 1999.
 As political head of China, Jiang Zemin is hardly a charismatic figure, but he has surprised observers with his political strength, flexibility, and even vision.
- 46. Rising Giant 'Enters the World,' James Kynge, Financial Times, November 13, 2000.
 As the world's most populous country prepares for entry into the World Trade Organization, China faces some momentous challenges to its foreign policy, its political and legal system, and its economic structure. The result, if successful, will be a remarkable transformation of what was once a poor, isolationist nation.
- 47. In March Toward Capitalism, China Has Avoided Russia's Path, Henry Chu, Los Angeles Times, September 16, 1998. This article points out that China has managed so far to avoid economic collapse as it moves from a centrally planned to a more market-oriented economy.

E. THE MUSLIM WORLD

48. Arab World Undermined by Crisis, Confusion, 206
Robin Wright, Los Angeles Times, February 24, 2001.
The Arab world is mired in political instability, economic stagnation, and growing social ferment, accelerated by the collapse of the Mideast peace process. The author examines the roots of these problems and points to their potential international consequences.

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

49. The Global State of Democracy, Larry Diamond, Current History, December 2000.
Larry Diamond reviews the remarkable advance of democratization in the last quarter of the twentieth century. He distinguishes among the varied states of democracy, and warns that many of the new popular regimes are highly vulnerable.

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

50. Serial Utopia, Christian Tyler, Financial Times, March 21/22, 1998.
The author points out that economic models come and go. There is no economic model that "fits all." Pragmatic pluralism would seem to be the sensible answer.

51. Capitalism and Democracy, Gabriel A. Almond, PS: 220 Political Science and Politics, September 1991. Gabriel Almond, a leading political scientist, examines the ambiguous relationship between capitalism and democracy.

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

52. Cultural Explanations: The Man in the Baghdad 227 Cafe, The Economist, November 9, 1996.
This essay reviews recent scholarly attempts to explain economics and politics in terms of cultural differences.

53. Jihad vs. McWorld, Benjamin R. Barber, The Atlantic 231 Monthly, March 1992.
Benjamin Barber sees two major tendencies that are shaping much of the political world today: tribalism and globalism. Both may threaten democratic politics.

 Other People, Alan Wolfe and Jytte Klausen, Prospect, 236 December 2000.

The authors concentrate on an increasingly multicultural Britain and some other *immigrant societies* in their discussion of the need to find an appropriate balance between civic solidarity and diversity. They stress the importance of the bonds of citizenship.

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Comparative Politics: Some Major Trends, Issues, and Prospects

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

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50. Serial Utopia, Christian Tyler, Financial Times, March 21/22, 1998.
The author points out that economic models come and go. There is no economic model that "fits all." Pragmatic pluralism would seem to be the sensible answer.

51. Capitalism and Democracy, Gabriel A. Almond, PS: 220 Political Science and Politics, September 1991. Gabriel Almond, a leading political scientist, examines the ambiguous relationship between capitalism and democracy.

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

52. Cultural Explanations: The Man in the Baghdad 227 Cafe, The Economist, November 9, 1996.
This essay reviews recent scholarly attempts to explain economics and politics in terms of cultural differences.

53. Jihad vs. McWorld, Benjamin R. Barber, The Atlantic 231 Monthly, March 1992.
Benjamin Barber sees two major tendencies that are shaping much of the political world today: tribalism and globalism. Both may threaten democratic politics.

54. Other People, Alan Wolfe and Jytte Klausen, Prospect, December 2000.

The authors concentrate on an increasingly multicultural Britain and some other *immigrant societies* in their discussion of the need to find an appropriate balance between civic solidarity and diversity. They stress the importance of the bonds of citizenship.

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Comparative Politics: Some Major Trends, Issues, and Prospects

Six selections discuss the rise of democracy, how capitalism impacts on political development, and the political assertion of group identity in contemporary politics. This topic guide suggests how the selections in this book relate to the subjects covered in your course.

The Web icon () under the topic articles easily identifies the relevant Web sites, which are numbered and annotated on the next two pages. By linking the articles and the Web sites by topic, this ANNUAL EDITIONS reader becomes a powerful learning and research tool.

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