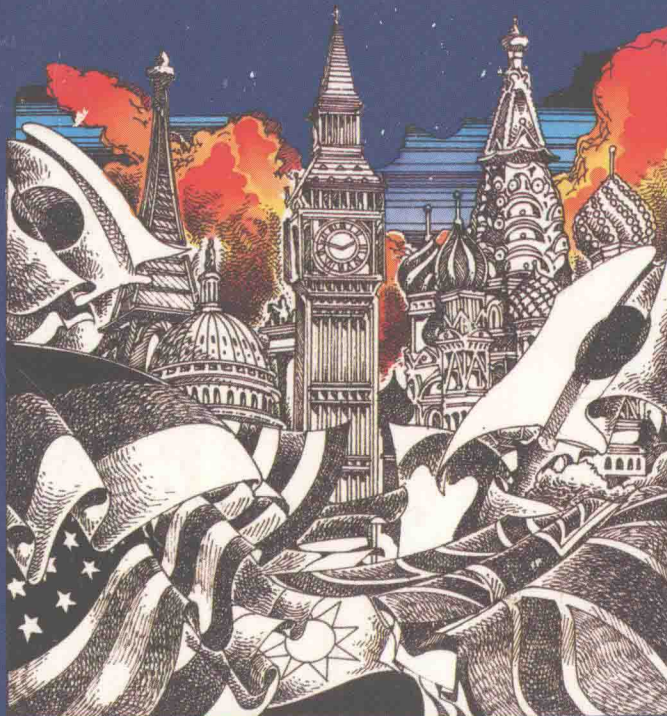


*Annual Editions*

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# COMPARATIVE POLITICS

94/95



# To the Reader

In publishing ANNUAL EDITIONS we recognize the enormous role played by the magazines, newspapers, and journals of the *public press* in providing current, first-rate educational information in a broad spectrum of interest areas. Within the articles, the best scientists, practitioners, researchers, and commentators draw issues into new perspective as accepted theories and viewpoints are called into account by new events, recent discoveries change old facts, and fresh debate breaks out over important controversies.

Many of the articles resulting from this enormous editorial effort are appropriate for students, researchers, and professionals seeking accurate, current material to help bridge the gap between principles and theories and the real world. These articles, however, become more useful for study when those of lasting value are carefully collected, organized, indexed, and reproduced in a low-cost format, which provides easy and permanent access when the material is needed. That is the role played by *Annual Editions*. Under the direction of each volume's Editor, who is an expert in the subject area, and with the guidance of an Advisory Board, we seek each year to provide in each ANNUAL EDITION a current, well-balanced, carefully selected collection of the best of the public press for your study and enjoyment. We think you'll find this volume useful, and we hope you'll take a moment to let us know what you think.

This collection of readings brings together articles that will help you understand the governments and politics of a number of foreign countries from a comparative perspective. You will soon discover that such a study not only opens up a fascinating world beyond our borders, but also leads to greater insights into the American political process.

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

Unit four looks at developments in some of the so-called Third World countries, with articles on Mexico, sub-Saharan Africa, South Africa, China, and India. A careful reader will come away with a better understanding of the diversity of social and political conditions in these countries. Additional readings cover the newly industrialized countries of Eastern and Southeastern Asia—the so-called “tigers” or “dragons,” which have managed to generate a self-sustaining process of industrial modernization.

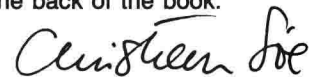
Unit five considers three major trends in contemporary politics from a comparative perspective. The “third wave” of democratization may already have crested, but it is nevertheless important in having changed the politics of many countries. The widespread shifts toward a greater reliance on markets to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

There has rarely been so interesting and important a time for the study of comparative politics as now. We can already see that the political earthquake of 1989–1991 has altered the political landscape with consequences that will be felt for many years to come. The aftershocks continue to remind us that we are unlikely to ever experience a condition of political equilibrium. But even in a time of political transformation, there are important patterns of continuity as well. We must be careful to look for both as we seek to gain a comparative understanding of the politics of other countries and peoples as well as of our own condition.

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

A special word of thanks goes to my past and present students at Long Beach State, who keep me posted on the concerns and needs that this anthology must address. Susan B. Mason, who received her master's degree in political science at my university, continues to be a superb research assistant. Special recognition also goes to another graduate of our M.A. program, Deborah Lancaster, as well as to two of our current graduate students, Linda Wohlman and Raid Khoury. They have all worked hard and reliably in helping me to locate suitable materials for this year's edition.

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

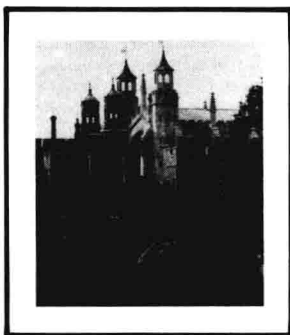
  
Christian Sør  
Editor

# Topic Guide

This topic guide suggests how the selections in this book relate to topics of traditional concern to students and professionals involved with the study of comparative politics. It is useful for locating articles that 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.

TOPIC AREA	TREATED IN:	TOPIC AREA	TREATED IN:
<b>Africa</b>	49. Africa: Falling Off the Map? 50. South African Parliament Adopts New Constitution	<b>Economics and Politics (cont.)</b>	36. Goodbye to a United Europe? 39. Europe's Recession Prompts New Look at Welfare Costs 40. And Now the Hard Part 43. Hangover 45. Road to Ruin 47. Mexico's Efforts at 'Salinastroika' 49. Africa: Falling Off the Map? 51. In China, Communist Ideology Is Dead 52. Long March from Mao 53. India: Charting a New Course? 54. Miracles Beyond the Free Market 55. Visible Hand 58. Capitalism and Democracy 61. Jihad vs. McWorld
<b>British Government and Politics</b>	1. Europeans Fear 2. Has the Sun Set on Britain? 3. Britain's Constitutional Question 4. Should John Major Go? 5. Parties in Question 6. Ireland Undivided? 30. Parliament and Congress 31. Electoral Reform 32. Presidents and Prime Ministers 35. European Union: Now What? 36. Goodbye to a United Europe? 38. Diagnosis: Healthier in Europe 39. Europe's Recession Prompts New Look at Welfare Costs 56. New Era in Democracy	<b>Elections</b>	1. Europeans Fear 5. Parties in Question 10. Germans Turn Their Backs on Politics 11. Long Year in German Politics 14. France: The Right Triumphs 17. Political Renewal Italian Style 19. Political Revenge in Italy 20. Old Sake in New Bottles 22. Japan: The End of One-Party Dominance 29. What Democracy Is . . . and Is Not 31. Electoral Reform 44. Russian Elections
<b>Central and Eastern Europe</b>	33. As the World Turns Democratic 40. And Now the Hard Part 56. A New Era in Democracy 57. 'Missing Middle' of Democracy 59. New Tribalism 60. Debate on Cultural Conflicts	<b>Ethnicity and Politics</b>	1. Europeans Fear 7. Invisible Wall 8. Dark Winter of Helmut Kohl 13. French Funk 16. Thoughts on the French Nation Today 25. Western Europe Is Ending Its Welcome to Immigrants 41. Nationalism Redux 42. Looking at the Past 43. Hangover 53. India: Charting a New Course? 56. New Era in Democracy 59. New Tribalism 61. Jihad vs. McWorld See European Union
<b>Chinese Government and Politics</b>	51. In China, Communist Ideology Is Dead 52. Long March from Mao 56. New Era in Democracy	<b>European Community</b>	
<b>Conservative Party in Britain</b>	4. Should John Major Go? 5. Parties in Question 31. Electoral Reform	<b>European Union</b>	1. Europeans Fear 4. Should John Major Go? 8. Dark Winter of Helmut Kohl 13. French Funk 16. Thoughts on the French Nation Today 34. Maths of Post-Maastricht Europe 35. European Union: Now What? 36. Goodbye to a United Europe? 38. Diagnosis: Healthier in Europe 39. Europe's Recession Prompts New Look at Welfare Costs
<b>Democracy</b>	1. Europeans Fear 11. Long Year in German Politics 14. France: The Right Triumphs 17. Political Renewal Italian Style 20. Old Sake in New Bottles 23. End of Politics 24. Identity Crisis on the Left 26. Frenchwomen Say It's Time to Be 'a Bit Utopian' 27. Women, Power, and Politics: The Norwegian Experience 28. We the Peoples 29. What Democracy Is . . . and Is Not 31. Electoral Reform 33. As the World Turns Democratic 34. Maths of Post-Maastricht Europe 36. Goodbye to a United Europe? 43. Hangover 44. Russian Elections 56. New Era in Democracy 57. 'Missing Middle' of Democracy 58. Capitalism and Democracy 61. Jihad vs. McWorld	<b>Federal and Unitary Systems</b>	3. Britain's Constitutional Question 6. Ireland Undivided? 12. "Old" and the "New" Federalism in Germany 13. French Funk 16. Thoughts on the French Nation Today 17. Political Renewal Italian Style 33. As the World Turns Democratic 34. Maths of Post-Maastricht Europe 35. European Union: Now What? 36. Goodbye to a United Europe? 42. Looking at the Past 53. India: Charting a New Course?
<b>Eastern Europe</b>	See Central and Eastern Europe		
<b>Economics and Politics</b>	1. Europeans Fear 2. Has the Sun Set on Britain? 4. Should John Major Go? 5. Parties in Question 7. Invisible Wall 8. Dark Winter of Helmut Kohl 13. French Funk 22. Japan: The End of One-Party Dominance 25. Western Europe Is Ending Its Welcome to Immigrants 35. European Union: Now What?		

TOPIC AREA	TREATED IN:	TOPIC AREA	TREATED IN:
<b>French Government and Politics</b>	1. Europeans Fear 13. French Funk 14. France: The Right Triumphs 15. Mr. French 16. Thoughts on the French Nation Today 23. End of Politics 24. Identity Crisis on the Left 25. Western Europe Is Ending Its Welcome to Immigrants 26. Frenchwomen Say It's Time to Be 'a Bit Utopian' 31. Electoral Reform 32. Presidents and Prime Ministers 34. Maths of Post-Maastricht Europe 35. European Union: Now What? 36. Goodbye to a United Europe? 38. Diagnosis: Healthier in Europe 39. Europe's Recession Prompts a New Look at Welfare Costs	<b>Mexican Government and Politics</b>  <b>Parliamentary Politics and Parliamentary Systems</b>	47. Mexico's Efforts at 'Salinastroika' 48. Revolution Continues  3. Britain's Constitutional Question 4. Should John Major Go? 17. Political Renewal Italian Style 18. Godmother 22. Japan: The End of One-Party Dominance 26. Frenchwomen Say It's Time to Be 'a Bit Utopian' 27. Women, Power, and Politics: The Norwegian Experience 28. We the Peoples: A Checklist for New Constitution Writers 29. What Democracy Is . . . and Is Not 30. Parliament and Congress 32. Presidents and Prime Ministers 34. Maths of Post-Maastricht Europe 36. Goodbye to a United Europe? 43. Hangover 45. Road to Ruin
<b>German Government and Politics</b>	1. Europeans Fear 7. Invisible Wall 8. Dark Winter of Helmut Kohl 10. Germans Turn Their Backs on Politics 11. Long Year in German Politics 12. "Old" and the "New" Federalism in Germany 24. Identity Crisis on the Left 25. Western Europe Is Ending Its Welcome to Immigrants 31. Electoral Reform 34. Maths of Post-Maastricht Europe 35. European Union: Now What? 36. Goodbye to a United Europe? 38. Diagnosis: Healthier in Europe 39. Europe's Recession Prompts New Look at Welfare Costs	<b>Presidential Politics and Presidential Systems</b>	13. French Funk 14. France: The Right Triumphs 15. Mr. French 28. We the Peoples 29. What Democracy Is . . . and Is Not 30. Parliament and Congress 32. Presidents and Prime Ministers 43. Hangover 44. Russian Elections 45. Road to Ruin 47. Mexico's Efforts at 'Salinastroika' 48. Revolution Continues
<b>India's Government and Politics</b>	53. India: Charting a New Course? 56. New Era in Democracy 59. New Tribalism 60. Debate on Cultural Conflicts	<b>Russia and Other Post-Soviet Republics</b>	42. Looking at the Past 43. Hangover 44. Russian Elections 45. Road to Ruin 59. New Tribalism
<b>Italy's Government and Politics</b>	1. Europeans Fear 17. Political Renewal Italian Style 18. Godmother 19. Political Revenge in Italy 35. European Union: Now What?	<b>Social Democrats and Democratic Socialists</b>	1. Europeans Fear 5. Parties in Question 8. Dark Winter of Helmut Kohl 11. Long Year in German Politics 13. French Funk 14. France: The Right Triumphs 16. Thoughts on the French Nation Today 17. Political Renewal Italian Style 18. Godmother 19. Political Revenge in Italy 20. Old Sake in New Bottles 22. Japan: The End of One-Party Dominance 23. End of Politics 24. Identity Crisis on the Left 27. Women, Power, and Politics: The Norwegian Experience 58. Capitalism and Democracy
<b>Japan's Government and Politics</b>	20. Old Sake in New Bottles 21. Prince of Politics Ascends 22. Japan: The End of One-Party Dominance	<b>Women in Politics</b>	7. Invisible Wall 26. Frenchwomen Say It's Time to Be 'a Bit Utopian' 27. Women, Power, and Politics: The Norwegian Experience
<b>Less Developed Countries (LDCs)</b>	46. Let's Abolish the Third World 47. Mexico's Efforts at 'Salinastroika' 48. Revolution Continues 49. Africa: Falling Off the Map? 50. South African Parliament Adopts New Constitution 51. In China, Communist Ideology Is Dead 52. Long March from Mao 53. India: Charting a New Course? 54. Miracles Beyond the Free Market 55. Invisible Hand 56. New Era in Democracy 59. New Tribalism 60. Debate on Cultural Conflicts 61. Jihad vs. McWorld		



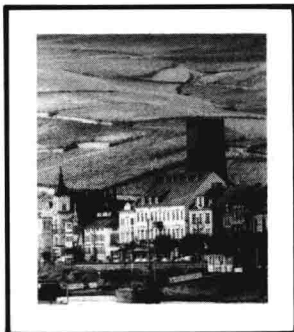
## Unit 1

### Pluralist Democracies: Country Overviews

Twenty-two selections examine the current state of politics in Western Europe, Great Britain, Germany, France, Italy, and Japan.

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Topic Guide	4
Overview	6
<b>A. POLITICAL MALAISE IN WESTERN EUROPE</b>	
1. <b>Europeans Fear That Leaders Are Not Equal to Their Task</b> , Alan Cowell, <i>New York Times</i> , August 11, 1993.	10
After the end of the continent's cold war division, several countries in Western Europe are beset by what appears to be a deep and widespread discontent with the established <b>political parties and leaders</b> . This article examines both the symptoms and causes of political disaffection in <b>Britain, Germany, France, and Italy</b> .	
<b>B. GREAT BRITAIN</b>	
2. <b>Has the Sun Set on Britain?</b> Eugene Robinson, <i>The Washington Post National Weekly Edition</i> , August 16–22, 1993.	15
As a former world power with global interests, <b>Britain</b> finds it difficult to accept a more limited middle power status. Internationally it has been affected by the emergence of a larger and potentially more important Germany. Domestically, it suffers from a <b>loss of public confidence</b> in the country's major institutions.	
3. <b>Britain's Constitutional Question</b> , Alexander MacLeod, <i>The Christian Science Monitor</i> , March 3, 1992.	18
There is growing sentiment in Great Britain for <b>constitutional reform</b> . This article reports on Charter 88 and various constitutional reform proposals now being discussed.	
4. <b>Should John Major Go?</b> <i>The Economist</i> , January 15, 1994.	20
Recently <b>Prime Minister John Major's Conservative Party</b> has undergone a number of "scandals," that by themselves are trivial, but in the aggregate, they have hindered the government from doing its job.	
5. <b>Parties in Question</b>	22
The three key parties in Britain are in a state of political disarray. The exhaustion of the <b>Conservatives</b> has benefited <b>Labour</b> little. The party of <b>Liberal Democrats</b> has profited somewhat, and this keeps alive its hope of winning a balancing position between the two major rivals. <b>Traditional mass parties</b> face decline in Britain, but they still fulfill important electoral and governing functions.	
a. <b>British Political Parties Fail to Set Clear Course</b> , Eugene Robinson, <i>The Washington Post</i> , October 10, 1993.	
b. <b>Seaside Beggars Every One</b> , <i>The Economist</i> , September 25, 1993.	
c. <b>Britain's Tiny Liberal Democrat: Party Gains Clout at Expense of Tories</b> , Kevin Helliker, <i>Wall Street Journal</i> , September 21, 1993.	
6. <b>An Ireland Undivided?</b> James F. Clarity, <i>New York Times</i> , December 8, 1993.	27
The governments of Britain and the Irish Republic agree that a union must rest on a majority decision in Ulster. In a recent survey, only one-third of the Catholics in Ulster favored <b>union with Ireland</b> as their first-choice solution, while slightly more favored <b>joint authority</b> by Britain and Ireland.	
<b>C. GERMANY</b>	
7. <b>The Invisible Wall: The Separate Minds of Two Germanys Defy Reunification and Searching for Identity</b> , Germany Struggles with its History, Marc Fisher, <i>The Washington Post National Weekly Edition</i> , July 5–11, 1993.	29
In these two articles, the author examines the many problems that divide <b>Germany</b> after its unexpected national reunification in 1990. The differences between East and West go very deep and will preoccupy German leaders for many years to come.	
8. <b>The Dark Winter of Helmut Kohl</b> , Tyler Marshall, <i>Los Angeles Times Magazine</i> , January 2, 1994.	36
After more than eleven years in office, <b>Chancellor Helmut Kohl and his Christian Democrats</b> are confounded by a new wall of problems in <b>reunited Germany</b> . This article gives an informed assessment of his political strengths and weaknesses.	

9. **Germany and Its European Environment**, Elizabeth Pond, *The Washington Quarterly*, Autumn 1993. 42  
One of the best U.S. observers of **contemporary Germany** gives a relatively optimistic assessment of the country's political development and its relationship to the rest of Europe. Germany should be able to resolve its many **postunification problems** without major political and social dislocations.
  10. **Germans Turn Their Backs on Politics**, Tony Paterson, *The European*, January 14–20, 1994. 48  
One of the big political questions in **Germany** is whether a widespread public malaise will find electoral expression in the "**super election year**" of 1994. The author cites evidence that German **voter participation** has declined markedly in recent years.
  11. **A Long Year in German Politics**, *The Economist*, January 8, 1994. 50  
The year 1994 has been called a "**super election year**" in **Germany**. This article discusses many of Germany's 1994 elections, ending with the "big one" for the **Bundestag** in October. It examines the party prospects, with particular attention to the most likely **coalition formations**.
  12. **The "Old" and the "New" Federalism in Germany**, Arthur B. Gunlicks, *The Dushkin Publishing Group*, 1993. 52  
An American specialist on **German politics** examines some important changes in the country's **federal system** that have resulted from the political unification of October 1990.
- D. **FRANCE**
13. **The French Funk**, Alan Riding, *New York Times Magazine*, March 21, 1993. 58  
In advance of the March 1993 elections, Alan Riding surveys the multiple problems that have beset **French society and politics**. The issues include the plight of the farmers, ethnic tensions, anxiety about a larger Germany, concerns about the French language and the European Community, and a rejection by many of the "old politics" associated with the political class.
  14. **France: The Right Triumphs**, Jonathan Marcus, *The World Today*, May 1993. 63  
The two-stage **elections** to the National Assembly in March 1993 led to a major setback for the **Socialists**. The electoral system gave a lopsided parliamentary majority to the **parties of the mainstream Right**, which now occupy nearly 80 percent of the seats. The article discusses the outcome and its consequences, including the second bout of **cohabitation**.
  15. **Mr. French**, Kenneth Weinstein, *The New Republic*, January 24, 1994. 65  
**Prime Minister Edouard Balladur**, the Gaullist who heads the new government in **France**, can look back upon a long political career. So far he has been politically adroit and some see him as a possible conservative candidate in the presidential elections of 1995.
  16. **Thoughts on the French Nation Today**, Stanley Hoffmann, *Daedalus*, Summer 1993. 67  
Stanley Hoffmann examines the present condition of the **French nation** in this essay. He looks first at the internal component of the French self-image, namely national identity, which is now being tested more than previously in its capacity to assimilate **immigrants**. Then he turns to the external component in the form of the French nation-state, which is challenged not only by the **European Union** but also by the emerging global system.
- E. **ITALY**
17. **Political Renewal Italian Style**, Mark Gilbert, *Contemporary Review*, November 1993. 75  
An American political scientist gives a succinct analysis of the political developments that have brought to an end the First Republic in **Italy**.
  18. **The Godmother**, Martin Jacques, *The New Republic*, September 20 and 27, 1993. 77  
There is widespread disillusionment with both government and opposition **parties** in most of the democratic world today, but **Italy** has gone one step further by revamping much of the old party system.

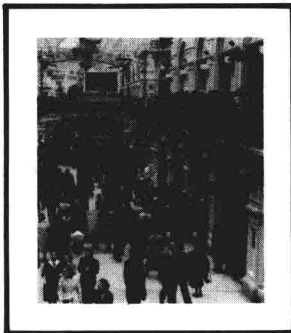


# Unit 2

## Modern Pluralist Democracies: Factors in the Political Process

Eleven 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.

19. **Political Revenge in Italy**, Paul Cook, *The Christian Science Monitor*, December 15, 1993. 81  
The November 1993 local **elections in Italy** advanced the country's political transformation. A leftist coalition led by **the ex-communist social reformers in the Democratic Party of the Left** beat off a powerful challenge from right-wing forces including **the neo-Fascist MSI and the Populist Northern League**.
- F. JAPAN
20. **Old Sake in New Bottles**, *U.S. News & World Report*, August 2, 1993. 83  
The **Liberal Democratic Party (LDP)** was defeated in the parliamentary elections of July 1993, but it remains the largest single party by far. This article examines the election results and the emerging new **party structure** that have made it possible to form a government coalition without the LDP.
21. **A Prince of Politics Ascends**, Teresa Watanabe, *Los Angeles Times*, August 9, 1993. 86  
Teresa Watanabe examines the life of **Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa** for leadership clues and what may be expected of him in **Japan's new government**.
22. **Japan: The End of One-Party Dominance**, Stephen J. Anderson, *Current History*, December 1993. 89  
The author reviews the **Liberal Democratic Party record** and the 1993 political revolt that ended its long dominance. The transfer of power to a **multiparty coalition** does not guarantee a government able to meet the challenge of overdue reforms in domestic and foreign policy.
- Overview 96
- A. **POLITICAL IDEAS, MOVEMENTS, PARTIES**
23. **The End of Politics**, Martin Jacques, *World Press Review*, November 1993. 98  
Throughout much of the democratic world some **major social changes** have contributed to an apparent decline in politics as usual. The author believes that traditional forms of politics will come to play a less important role in society and should be complemented by newer forms of **direct democracy**.
24. **Identity Crisis on the Left**, Norman Birnbaum, *The Nation*, August 23-30, 1993. 101  
An American visitor to the **socialist parties** of Germany, France, and Spain finds them to be prisoners of their own past successes in modifying a capitalist model of consumption by adding social purposes. Norman Birnbaum believes that they still have intellectual resources and moral residues that could attract political support if only they were activated.
- B. **THE ETHNIC FACTOR IN WEST EUROPEAN POLITICS**
25. **Western Europe Is Ending Its Welcome to Immigrants**, John Darnton, *New York Times*, August 10, 1993. 103  
Western European governments are rushing to adopt new laws and strategies to reduce the flow of would-be **refugees and immigrants** who seek entry from Eastern Europe, Africa, and Southeast Asia. Politicians are responding to major shifts in public opinion. The backlash is partly rooted in economic problems, but it is also fueled by sociocultural fears and tensions.
- C. **WOMEN AND POLITICS**
26. **Frenchwomen Say It's Time to Be 'a Bit Utopian'**, Alan Riding, *New York Times*, December 31, 1993. 107  
Alan Riding describes political attempts at increasing the small number of **women in France's National Assembly** and compares the French situation with that of other national legislatures.
27. **Women, Power, and Politics: The Norwegian Experience**, Irene Garland, *Scandinavian Review*, Winter 1991. 109  
The Scandinavian countries all have very high numbers of **women in their parliaments**. In Norway, the prime minister and the leaders of two other parties are women. This article discusses the political reasons for this unparalleled development in recent decades.



## Unit 3

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

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

## D. THE INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

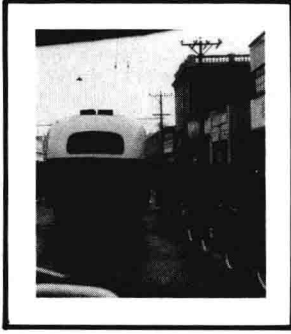
28. **We the Peoples: A Checklist for New Constitution Writers**, Robert A. Goldwin, *The American Enterprise*, May/June 1990. 113  
Of the approximately 160 written national constitutions, more than half are less than 15 years old. This article offers some advice to the writers of **new constitutions**, beginning with two basic propositions, and goes on to enumerate a set of important questions to be considered when drafting new constitutions.
29. **What Democracy Is . . . and Is Not**, Philippe C. Schmitter and Terry Lynn Karl, *Journal of Democracy*, Summer 1991. 117  
The authors point out that **modern representative democracies** vary considerably in their institutions, practices, and values, depending upon their different socioeconomic, historical, and cultural settings. A minimal condition is the holding of regular, open, and competitive **elections** in which citizens can choose their representatives and hold them accountable for their actions in the public realm.
30. **Parliament and Congress: Is the Grass Greener on the Other Side?** Gregory S. Mahler, *Canadian Parliamentary Review*, Winter 1985/86. 124  
Gregory Mahler examines the arguments advanced by supporters of both the **parliamentary and congressional systems of government**, with particular attention to the legislative-executive relationship in each. Drawing upon British, Canadian, and American examples, the author finds strengths and weaknesses in both models.
31. **Electoral Reform: Good Government? Fairness? Or Vice Versa. Or Both**, *The Economist*, May 1, 1993. 127  
The article explains the working of **electoral systems** and compares the British "**winner-takes-all**" system with one based on "**proportional representation**," as found in many Western European countries. It is made clear that electoral rules have very important consequences for both the party system and the resulting form of government.
32. **Presidents and Prime Ministers**, Richard Rose, *Society*, March/April 1988. 129  
Richard Rose compares the different methods of government in the United States (**presidential**), Great Britain (**prime ministerial**), and France (**presidential and prime ministerial**). He points to important **differences in the form of political leadership** and in the **checks and balances** involved in effective governing.
33. **As the World Turns Democratic, Federalism Finds Favor**, Norman Ornstein and Kimberly Coorsen, *The American Enterprise*, January/February 1992. 136  
**Federalism** is a division of power that may be the only institutional remedy for countries that are unstable or that wish to combine the advantages of forming a union with the advantages of remaining separate.

## Overview 140

### A. THE EUROPEAN UNION: FROM EC TO EU

34. **The Maths of Post-Maastricht Europe**, *The Economist*, October 16, 1993. 142  
This article examines the delicate balance of power within the **European Union** and how it may have to be adjusted with the inclusion of new members. With all its problems, the European Union is still a club that others want to join.
35. **European Union: Now What?** Roger Kaplan, *Freedom Review*, January/February 1994. 144  
On November 1, 1993, the European Community officially became the **European Union (EU)**. This article surveys some general and specific political problems that now confront the European Union and its individual members.
36. **Goodbye to a United Europe?** Stanley Hoffmann, *The New York Review of Books*, May 27, 1993. 150  
At a time of economic setbacks, European leaders are concentrating on domestic difficulties as their publics express widespread impatience with the political class. The project of a **United Europe** no longer seems to be moving ahead. The article explores the reasons for the new Euroskepticism, including economic stagnation, the "democratic deficit" in Brussels, and, above all, the tenacity of the traditional **nation-state**.

37. **Reinventing the Politics of Europe**, Anthony Hartley, *The World Today*, November 1993. 156  
Today Western Europe is experiencing a falling GNP and heavy unemployment. Efforts to set European Community states toward monetary union has, in effect, at the least been hindered. The net result has been to upset *the timetable of the Maastricht Accords*.
- B. REVAMPING THE WELFARE STATE**
38. **Diagnosis: Healthier in Europe**, Joel Havemann, *Los Angeles Times*, December 30, 1992. 160  
There is a striking contrast in the *health care systems* of the United States and most of *Western Europe*. The basic principle of collective responsibility underlies each national health care system in Europe, many of which are a mix of public and compulsory government-subsidized private insurance.
39. **Europe's Recession Prompts New Look at Welfare Costs**, Roger Cohen, *New York Times*, August 9, 1993. 164  
The *welfare state* is the crowning achievement of half a century of Social Democratic and Christian Democratic rule in postwar Europe, but it is now under unprecedented strain. Roger Cohen surveys the financing problems and the ways in which different countries and political parties are responding to the crisis.
- C. POST-COMMUNIST CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE**
40. **And Now the Hard Part**, George Zarycky, *Freedom Review*, January/February 1994. 167  
Starting with the political revival of the reform *communists* and their allies in Poland, the author explores a double irony in the recent political history of *Central and Eastern Europe*.
41. **Nationalism Redux: Through the Glass of the Post-Communist States Darkly**, Steven L. Burg, *Current History*, April 1993. 172  
The violent *ethnic hatreds* in some parts of the former Soviet bloc have surprised many who believed such antagonisms belonged to a distant past. Steven Burg emphasizes that *nationalism* in many forms is very much alive and, ironically, in some instances it has been stimulated by the democratic forces that swept away the communist powerholders.
- D. RUSSIA AND THE OTHER POST-SOVIET REPUBLICS**
42. **Looking at the Past: The Unraveling of the Soviet Union**, Adam B. Ulam, *Current History*, October 1992. 177  
Adam Ulam reviews Mikhail Gorbachev's attempt to modernize the Soviet state and society, using *glasnost* and *perestroika*. Gorbachev's insensitivity to the *national strivings* of the non-Russian population proved his undoing.
43. **The Hangover**, David Remnick, *The New Yorker*, November 22, 1993. 185  
Although *President Boris Yeltsin* prevailed in the conflict with the Russian Parliament in October 1993, his chances of building a *democracy and a market economy* are deemed slim by a seasoned American observer. Writing before the December 1993 elections, David Remnick gives an insightful assessment of the rising tide of corruption and anarchy in Russia.
44. **The Russian Elections: Weimar on the Volga**, *The Economist*, December 18, 1993. 190  
The Duma elections of December 1993 resulted in a severe setback for *President Boris Yeltsin's backers in Russia's Choice* and a relatively strong support for the ultranationalists led by *Vladimir Zhirinovsky*. Under the two-ballot system, Russia's Choice did end up with more seats, but it is easily outnumbered in the fragmented parliament. Yeltsin's new *Constitution*, with strong presidential powers, was adopted by a small majority margin (52 percent).
45. **The Road to Ruin**, *The Economist*, January 29, 1994. 193  
*The Economist* provides a useful overview of the achievements and missed opportunities in six distinct phases of the attempt to establish a full-blown *market economy* in Russia. It begins with the legacy inherited by Boris Yeltsin's team of reformers in August 1991 and ends with their apparent political defeat at the end of 1993.



# Unit 4

## The Third World: Diversity in Development

Ten selections review Third World economic and political development in Latin America, Africa, China, India, and newly industrialized countries.

### Overview

196

#### A. POLITICS OF DEVELOPMENT

46. **Let's Abolish the Third World**, *Newsweek*, April 27, 1992. 198

The term "**the Third World**" has always included too much diversity to be a useful analytical tool. Now that we know much more about the economic and social problems of the former "Second" or communist world, there is even less reason for clinging to the categories of "three worlds."

#### B. LATIN AMERICA: MEXICO

47. **Mexico's Efforts at 'Salinastroika' Omit Needed Political Reforms**, David Clark Scott, *The Christian Science Monitor*, January 21, 1994. 200

The peasant rebellion in Chiapas has sparked a debate over the shortcomings of the **Mexican strategy of promoting economic reform** ahead of political reform. Some critics of President Carlos Salinas argue that the revolt is indicative of the failure of the market reforms to reach the poorest areas of the country, while many others blame his lack of attention to democracy.

48. **The Revolution Continues**, *The Economist*, January 22, 1994. 202

In the wake of the bloody Chiapas uprising, *The Economist* argues that **President Carlos Salinas's economic reforms** and free-trade policies are fundamentally sound, but urges the Mexican government to implement political reforms as well.

#### C. AFRICA

49. **Africa: Falling Off the Map?** Thomas M. Callaghy, *Current History*, January 1994. 205

At the end of the cold war, **Africa** has become both marginalized from the world economy and more highly dependent on it. This article explores the complex reasons.

50. **South African Parliament Adopts New Constitution**, Kenneth B. Noble, *New York Times*, December 23, 1993. 211

South Africa has finally approved a new interim constitution that officially ends centuries of white domination. The ratification of the new constitution was met with opposition by both the pro-whites and conservative blacks. This article examines some of **the problems facing South Africa's political future**.

#### D. CHINA

51. **In China, Communist Ideology Is Dead, but Party Shell Lives On**, Sheila Tefft, *The Christian Science Monitor*, December 15, 1993. 213

Ideologically, communism in **China** appears to be dead, but the **Communist Party** lives on because there is no substitute. It has some 52 million members and retains control over patronage and many aspects of daily life. Ironically, the Communist Party may be the only force able to move the country forward into **capitalism**. But not all is well for China as regional leaders push for autonomy and grassroots support is eroded.

52. **The Long March from Mao: China's De-Communization**, Liu Binyan, *Current History*, September 1993. 215

Nobody will officially acknowledge it in China, but everyone knows that the country practices a form of **capitalism** rather than socialism. Liu Binyan believes that successors to **Deng Xiaoping** may try to raise the 'anti-capitalist' banner, but they will be too late to reverse the course taken after Mao's death.

#### E. INDIA

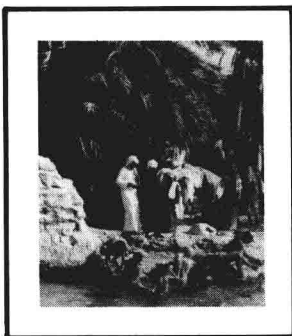
53. **India: Charting a New Course?** Sumit Ganguly, *Current History*, December 1993. 219

**India** has demonstrated that it is possible for a democracy to survive in a country that is poverty-stricken and divided along many cultural lines. Today India faces a multiple challenge as it tries to move toward a **neoliberal market strategy** to deal with its endemic poverty, to maintain its secular tradition in the wake of revived **ethnoreligious conflicts**, and to find a suitable foreign policy.

#### F. NEWLY INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES

54. **Miracles Beyond the Free Market**, Michael Prowse, *Financial Times*, April 26, 1993. 224

The startling economic growth of several countries in Eastern and Southern Asia has puzzled both social scientists and policymakers. After examining the record of the "**Asian miracle**," the author concludes that government policy has played a considerable role in promoting the conditions for economic success.



# Unit 5

## 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.

55. <b>The Visible Hand: The State and East Asia's Economic Growth</b> , Robert Wade, <i>Current History</i> , December 1993.	226
The " <b>economic miracle</b> " in several East Asian countries has been the subject of intense debate concerning the relative contributions made by market forces, state intervention, and other factors. This article examines the issue at considerable length and considers some lessons that could be relevant to the rest of the developing world.	
<b>Overview</b>	236
A. <b>THE DEMOCRATIC TREND: HOW STRONG, THOROUGH, AND LASTING?</b>	
56. <b>A New Era in Democracy: Democracy's Third Wave</b> , Samuel P. Huntington, <i>Current</i> , September 1991.	238
The number of <b>democratic governments</b> in the world has doubled in less than two decades. This development follows <b>two previous "waves" of democratization</b> in recent history, each of which was followed by a reversal. Samuel Huntington singles out factors that have produced the "third wave" as well as factors that could bring about a new reverse wave.	
57. <b>The 'Missing Middle' of Democracy</b> , Robin Wright, <i>Los Angeles Times</i> , October 12, 1993.	250
<b>Civil society</b> fills what would otherwise be a middle vacuum between the state and its people. Robin Wright explores the growing recognition that a stable, <b>pluralist democracy</b> requires a rich, associational life, both formal and informal.	
B. <b>THE TURN TOWARD THE MARKET: WHAT ROLE FOR THE STATE?</b>	
58. <b>Capitalism and Democracy</b> , Gabriel A. Almond, <i>PS: Political Science and Politics</i> , September 1991.	253
Gabriel Almond, a leading political scientist, examines the ambiguous <b>relationship between capitalism and democracy</b> . He explores ways in which capitalism supports and subverts democracy as well as ways in which democracy subverts and fosters capitalism.	
C. <b>ETHNIC AND CULTURAL CONFLICTS: THE POLITICAL ASSERTION OF GROUP IDENTITY</b>	
59. <b>The New Tribalism: Ethnic Strife Owes More to Present Than to History</b> , Robin Wright, <i>Los Angeles Times</i> , June 8, 1993.	260
The proliferation of <b>ethnic hatred and violence</b> is not simply history's legacy to the post-communist world. The passions flourish on fear and uncertainty, and they have been stimulated by a confluence of diverse factors ranging from modernization and migration to democratization and limited resources.	
60. <b>A Debate on Cultural Conflicts</b>	263
Harvard professor Samuel Huntington argues that we are entering a <b>new political stage</b> in which the <b>fundamental source of conflict</b> will be neither ideological nor economic but cultural. Josef Joffe, foreign affairs specialist, argues that cultural warfare is not a primary threat to world security. Political scientist Chandra Muzaffar maintains that Western dominance continues to be the overriding factor in world politics.	
a. <b>The Coming Clash of Civilizations—Or, the West Against the Rest</b> , Samuel P. Huntington, <i>New York Times</i> , June 6, 1993.	
b. <b>A Clash between Civilizations—or Within Them?</b> Josef Joffe, <i>World Press Review</i> , February 1994.	
c. <b>The West's Hidden Agenda</b> , Chandra Muzaffar, <i>World Press Review</i> , February 1994.	
61. <b>Jihad vs. McWorld</b> , Benjamin R. Barber, <i>The Atlantic</i> , March 1992.	268
Benjamin Barber sees <b>two major tendencies that are shaping much of the political world</b> today. One is a form of tribalism, which pits cultural, ethnic, religious, and national groups against each other. This principle clashes with a tendency toward <b>globalism</b> , brought about by modern technology, communications, and commerce. Both may threaten democracy.	
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# COMPARATIVE POLITICS 94/95

Twelfth Edition

Editor

**Christian S e**

**California State University, Long Beach**

Christian S e was born in Denmark, studied in Canada and the United States, and received his doctoral degree in political science from the Free University in Berlin. He is a political science professor at California State University, Long Beach. Dr. S e teaches a wide range of courses in comparative politics and contemporary political theory, and actively participates in professional symposiums in the United States and abroad. His research deals primarily with developments in contemporary German politics, and he has been a regular observer of elections and party politics in that country. At present Dr. S e is observing the shifts in the balance of power within the German party system, with particular attention to its implications for the formation of new government coalitions and changes in policy directions.

His most recent publications are chapters on the Free Democratic Party in *The New Germany Votes*, and on the Danish-German relationship in *The Germans and Their Neighbors*. He served as co-editor of the latter book, an eighteen-country study of the German question from different external perspectives.

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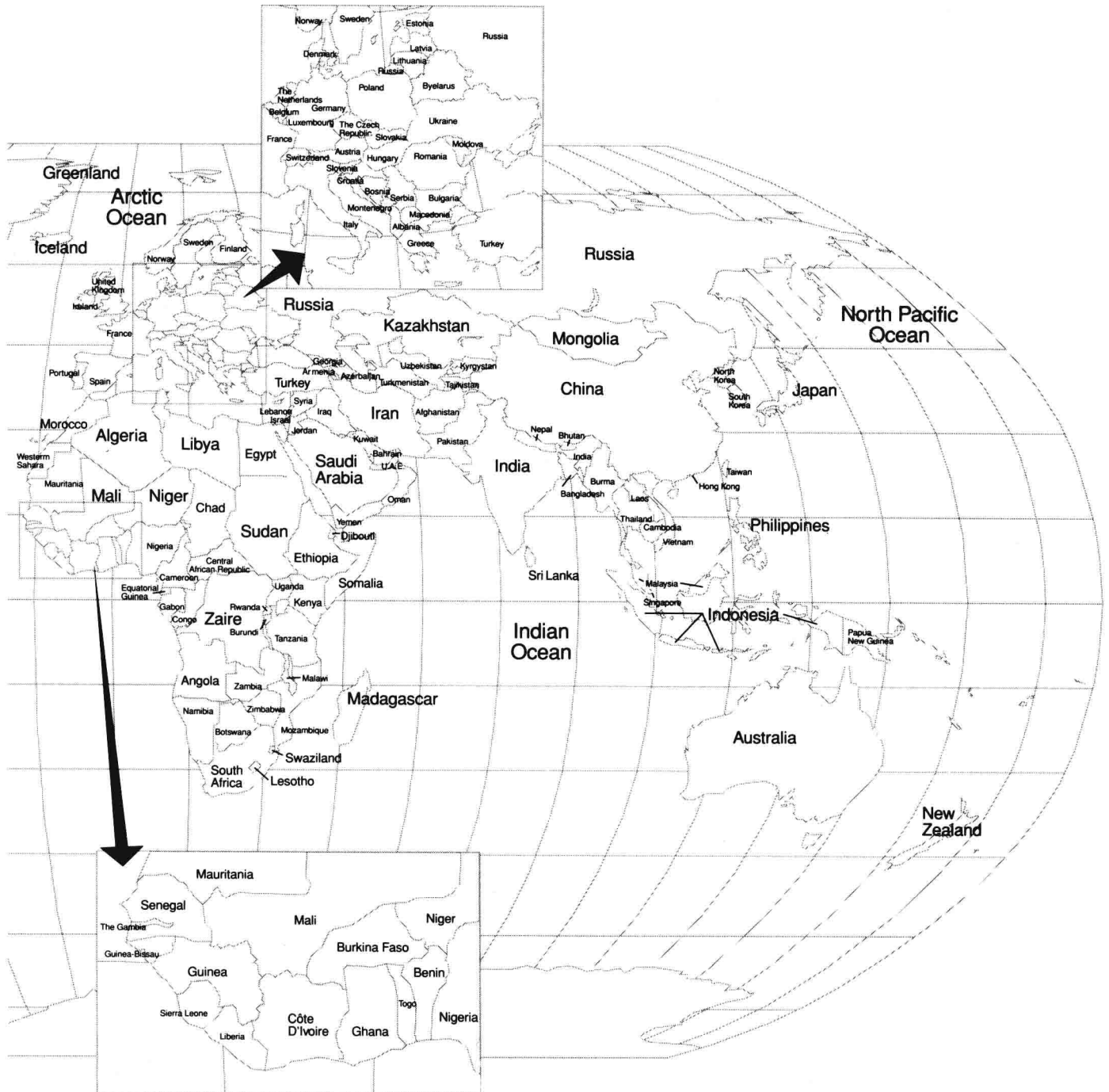


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This map has been developed to give you a graphic picture of where the countries of the world are located, the relationship they have with their region and neighbors, and their positions relative to the superpowers and power blocs. We have focused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





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# Pluralist Democracies: Country Overviews

- Western Europe (Article 1)
- Great Britain (Articles 2–6)
- Germany (Articles 7–12)
- France (Articles 13–16)
- Italy (Articles 17–19)
- Japan (Articles 20–22)

Great Britain, Germany, France, and Italy rank among the most prominent industrial societies in Western Europe. Although their modern political histories vary considerably, they have all become pluralist democracies with diversified and active citizenries, well-developed and competitive party systems, and representative forms of governments. Japan is less pluralist in sociocultural terms, but it occupies a similar position of primacy among the few industrial democracies in Asia. A study of comparative government can usefully begin by examining the politics of these countries more closely through the articles in this and the following two units.

The articles in the first unit cover the political systems of Britain, France, Germany, Italy, and Japan. Each of these modern societies has developed its own set of governmental institutions, defined its own political agenda and found its own dynamic balance of continuity and change. Nevertheless, as later readings will show more fully, it is possible to find some common denominators and make useful cross-national comparisons among these and other representative democracies. Moreover, the West European countries all show the impact of two major developments that are transforming the political map of the continent: (1) the growth of the European Community (EC), which in November 1993 became the European Union (EU), and (2) the efforts of socioeconomic and political reconstruction in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe after their recent exit from communist rule.

The continuing political importance of Europe has been underscored by both of these developments. The integration of the European Community, which led to the European Union, has been a process of several decades, but it accelerated markedly in the last half of the 1980s as a result of the passage and stepwise implementation of the Single European Act, which set as a goal the completion of a free market among the twelve EC-member countries by the end of 1992. The Maastricht Treaty of 1991 outlined a further advance toward supranational integration by setting up the goal of achieving a common European monetary system and foreign policy toward the end of the decade.

The first article gives a country-by-country overview of the political developments in Western Europe during 1992. It reports that the “Europhoria,” which a few years ago greeted the end of the cold war and the seemingly inexorable onset of European unification, has given way to a new malaise in much of the Continent. The revival of “Europessimism” has been fed by a combination of economic setbacks, sociocultural tensions, political scandals, and a revival of right-wing populist parties and movements. While each country has its own peculiar mix of such problems, the article also points to a common pattern beneath the differences.

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

As if to defy such pessimistic analyses, if only temporarily, Britain by the mid-1980s began to pull far ahead of other West European countries in its annual economic growth. This apparent economic turnabout could be linked in part to the policies of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, who came to power in May of 1979 and introduced a drastic change in economic and social direction for the country. She portrayed herself as a conviction politician, determined to introduce a strong dose of economic discipline by encouraging private enterprise and reducing the role of government, in marked contrast to what she dismissed as the consensus politics of her Labour and Conservative predecessors. Her radical rhetoric and somewhat less drastic policy changes spawned yet another debate about what came to be called the Thatcher Revolution and its social and political consequences.

The concern about ungovernability, which had dominated earlier discussions about British politics, has not ceased, but it has broadened to include questions about the consequences of Thatcher’s economic and social policies. During the last decade, the British debate also extended to some new concerns about the government’s efforts to tighten central controls over education at all levels, its introduction of cost controls into the popular National Health Service, its privatization of electricity and water industries as well as its inroads upon what had long been considered established rights in such areas as local government powers and civil liberties.

For the mass electorate, however, nothing seems to have been so upsetting as the introduction of the community charge, or poll tax, a tax on each adult resident that would replace the local property tax or rates as a means of financing local public services. Although the poll tax was very unpopular, Thatcher resisted all pressure to abandon the project before its full national implementation in early 1990. Not only did such a tax appear inequitable or regressive, as compared to one based on property values, it also turned out to be set much higher by local governments than the national government originally had estimated. The politically disastrous result was that the revenue measure was anything but neutral in its impact. It created an unexpectedly large proportion of immediate losers, that is, people who had to pay considerably more in local taxes than previously, while the immediate winners were people who had previously paid high property taxes. Not surprisingly, the national and local governments disagreed about who was responsible for the high poll tax bills, but the voters seemed to have little difficulty in assigning blame to Margaret Thatcher and the Conservative Party as originators of the unpopular reform. Many voters were up in arms, and some observers correctly anticipated that the tax rebellion would undermine Thatcher’s position in her own party and become her political Waterloo.

John Major, who was chosen by his fellow Conservative Members of Parliament to be Thatcher’s successor as prime minister and leader of the Conservative Party, had long been regarded as one of her closest cabinet supporters. He was thought to support her tough economic strategy, which she often described as dry, but he preferred a more compassionate or wet social policy without indulging in the Tory tradition of welfare