DATE: 12th edition | ORIGINATOR: Politics, Geography, Culture

SUBJECT:

Countries and Concepts

DATE	ACTION	INITIAL

Roskin

If you're wondering why you should buy this new edition of *Countries and Concepts,* here are 7 good reasons!

1. Every country case study was updated with coverage of **the latest political developments:**

- *Britain:* Conservative David Cameron became prime minister.
- *France:* President Sarkozy grew deeply unpopular and faces a tough challenge from Socialist candidate François Hollande.
- *Germany:* A new box explores why the German economy recovered quickly from the 2008–2009 recession while the U.S. economy did not.
- *Japan:* The 2011 tsunami and nuclear leak demonstrates how natural disasters can quickly become political problems.
- *Russia:* The return of Putin to the presidency after one term as prime minister showed weak institutions and a stunted democracy.
- *China:* Beijing, in the middle of a leadership turnover, is attempting to rebalance China's economy from exports to domestic consumption.
- *India:* India's economy continues to surge, making it a potential rival to China.
- *Mexico:* Drug wars and a resurgent PRI seem likely to end PAN's 12 years of conservative rule.
- *Brazil:* A politically stable Brazil has emerged as Latin America's economic giant.
- *Nigeria:* Goodluck Jonathan won the 2011 elections but presides over an increasingly unstable Nigeria.
- *Iran:* Populist President Ahmadinejad, trying to seize more power, was rebuked by the country's theocratic leaders.

2. A deeper introductory chapter surveys **the theory behind comparative politics,** including the definition of democracy, the rise of states, and modernization theory.

3. **Brazil,** which appeared in earlier editions, is restored. Its growth from a shaky to a firm democracy shows that a country can modernize out of praetorianism.

4. The Arab Spring prompted inclusion of a **new "Why This Country Matters" section in every chapter;** it tells students how each country contributes to the study of democracy.

5. Our major systems—Britain, France, Germany, Russia, and China—were **shortened and combined into one chapter** each, making them closer in length to the other systems—Japan, India, Mexico, Brazil, Nigeria, and Iran—and easier to assign in the course of one semester.

6. Russia and China are now grouped together as **post-communist systems,** each illustrating different paths out of communism—neither of which has so far led to democracy.

7. The twelth edition is presented in a **new four-color design** to enliven the text.

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COUNTRIES AND CONCEPTS

Politics, Geography, Culture

Twelfth Edition

Michael G. Roskin
Lycoming College

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Brief Contents

Detailed Contents vii
Preface xxvii
MyPoliSciLab xxxi
Supplements xxxiii

Chapter 1 The Uses of Comparative Politics 2

Part I The Democracies 22

Chapter 2 Britain 24
Chapter 3 France 70
Chapter 4 Germany 122
Chapter 5 Japan 176

Part II The Post-Communist Systems 210

Chapter 6 Russia 212
Chapter 7 China 262

Part III The Developing Areas 318

Chapter 8 India 320
Chapter 9 Mexico 352
Chapter 10 Brazil 384
Chapter 11 Nigeria 414
Chapter 12 Iran 444

Epilogue: Lessons of Eleven Countries 477
Glossary 481
Photo Credits 495
Index 497

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Detailed Contents

Preface xxvii
MyPoliSciLab xxxi
Supplements xxxiii

CHAPTER 1 The Uses of Comparative Politics 2

Revolution and Democracy 3
Quarrels Over Time 4
- **COMPARISON:** Comparative Politics Among Political Science Subfields 4
- **PERSONALITIES:** Aristotle 5
- **DEMOCRACY:** Defining Democracy 6

Nations and States 7
- **GEOGRAPHY:** What Made the Modern State 8

The Modern State 9
Nationalism 9
Impact of the Past 10
Key Institutions 12
- **DEMOCRACY:** Waves of Democracy 12

Political Culture 13
- **POLITICAL CULTURE:** What Is “Ideology”? 14

The Politics of Social Cleavages 15
Patterns of Interaction 16
- **GEOGRAPHY:** Fake States 16

What They Quarrel About 18
- **COMPARISON:** Country Experts Versus Comparativists 20

Part I The Democracies 22

Chapter 2 Britain 24

Impact of the Past 25
Magna Carta 26
The Rise of Parliament 26
■ **Geography:** Invadability 26
Henry VIII 28
■ **Comparison:** Common Law 28
Parliament Versus King 29
■ **Geography:** The United Kingdom 29
Cromwell's Commonwealth 30
The "Glorious Revolution" 30
■ **Democracy:** "One Man, One Vote" 30
The Rise of the Prime Minister 31
The Democratization of Parliament 31
■ **Geography:** Seacoast 31
■ **Personalities:** Hobbes, Locke, Burke 32
The Rise of the Welfare State 33
■ **Democracy:** "Power Corrupts" 33
The Key Institutions 34
The Monarch 34
■ **Comparison:** The Origins of Two Welfare States 34
The Cabinet 35
■ **Democracy:** The Queen Chooses a New Prime Minister 36
The Prime Minister 37
■ **Personalities:** David Cameron 38
■ **Democracy:** Prime Ministers into Presidents 40
Commons 41
Lords 42
The Parties 43
Britain's Two-Party System 43
British Political Culture 44
"Public" Schools 45
■ **Geography:** Centers and Peripheries 45
"Oxbridge" 46

Class and Voting 46
■ **Geography:** The 2010 Elections: Region and Class 47
British Civility 48
■ **Political Culture:** The Shape of the British Electorate 48
Pragmatism 49
Traditions and Legitimacy 49
The Ulster Ulcer 50
■ **Political Culture:** Football Hooliganism 50
A Changing Political Culture 51
Patterns of Interaction 51
■ **Democracy:** 2010: A Hung Parliament 52
National and Local Party 53
Politics Within the Parties 54
Parties and Interest Groups 55
The Parties Face Each Other 56
The Cabinet and the Civil Servants 56
■ **Political Culture:** The Utility of Dignity 57
The Civil Service and Interest Groups 58
How Democratic Is Britain? 58
What Britons Quarrel About 59
The Political Economy of Britain 59
Cameron's "Big Society" 60
■ **Democracy:** Pluralistic Stagnation 60
The "British Disease" 61
■ **Comparison:** The Cost of the Welfare State 61
■ **Comparison:** The Productivity Race 62
The Trouble with National Health 63
Britain's Racial Problems 64
■ **Geography:** Devolution for Scotland and Wales 65
Britain and Europe 66

Chapter 3 France 70

Impact of the Past 71
The Roman Influence 71
The Rise of French Absolutism 73
■ **Geography:** Rivers 73
■ **Geography:** Core Areas 74

Why the French Revolution? 75
- **Personalities:** Three French Geniuses: Voltaire, Montesquieu, Rousseau 75

From Freedom to Tyranny 76
- **Geography:** Bound France 76
- **Comparison:** Brinton's Theory of Revolution 77

The Bourbon Restoration 78
- **Democracy:** Left, Right, and Center 78

The Third Republic 79
- **Geography:** A Tale of Two Flags 79

Vichy: France Splits Again 80
- **Political Culture:** The Dreyfus Affair 80

The Fourth Republic 81
- **Political Culture:** France's Political Eras 81

The Key Institutions 82

A Semipresidential System 82
- **Democracy:** France's Presidential Election of 2007 84

Premier and Cabinet 86
- **Personalities:** Sarkozy: Brash, Energetic Outsider 86

The National Assembly 88

The French Multiparty System 89
- **Democracy:** France's Parliamentary Elections of 2007 90
- **Geography:** Decentralizing Unitary Systems 91

The Constitutional Council 92
- **Geography:** Sailing the Mediterranean 92

French Political Culture 93
- **Political Culture:** How to Celebrate a 200-Year-Old Revolution 93

French Patriotism 94

A Climate of Mistrust 95
- **Geography:** The Persistence of Region 95

School for Grinds 96
- **Geography:** "Every Country Has a South" 96

The "Great Schools" 97
- **Political Culture:** How Would You Do on the "Bac"? 97
- **Political Culture:** The French-U.S. Love–Hate Relationship 98

Freedom or Authority? 99

Social Class 99

The Great Calming Down 100

■ **Democracy:** The Centrist French 100

Patterns of Interaction 101

The Fractured French Left 102

The Fractured French Right 104

■ **Political Culture:** The Events of May 1968 105

The Stalemate Cycle 106

Referendum Madness 106

Fragmented Labor Unions 107

Business and the Bureaucracy 109

■ **Comparison:** The Rise of Europe's Angry Right 109

Government by Bureaucracy 110

■ **Comparison:** "Putting on the Slippers" 110

What the French Quarrel About 111

The Political Economy of France 111

Big Guys Versus Little Guys 112

■ **Comparison:** European and U.S. Attitudes on the State 112

The Privatization Question 113

■ **Comparison:** European and U.S. Conservatism 113

Unemployment: The Giant Problem 114

■ **Comparison:** Nuclear Power à la Française 115

France's Racial Problems 116

■ **Geography:** The Geography of Migration 116

■ **Comparison:** Is There a VAT in Our Future? 117

France's Education Problems 118

France and Europe 119

■ **Comparison:** Medical Care and Costs 119

Chapter 4 Germany 122

Impact of the Past 123

Fragmented Germany 123

■ **Geography:** Boundaries: Lines on a Map 125

The Rise of Prussia 126

German Nationalism 126
- **Geography:** Mountains 128
- **Personalities:** Bismarck's Dubious Legacy 129

The Second Reich 130
The Catastrophe: World War I 130
- **Geography:** Bound Germany 130
- **Geography:** Bound Poland 131

Republic Without Democrats 132
- **Geography:** Bound Hungary 132
- **Democracy:** Polarized Pluralism 133

The Third Reich 134
- **Geography:** Another Tale of Two Flags 134

The Occupation 135
- **Political Culture:** Germany's Political Eras 135

The Key Institutions 136
- **Geography:** From Bonn to Berlin 136

The President 137
The Chancellor 137
The Cabinet 138
- **Personalities:** Angela Merkel 138

The Bundestag 139
- **Geography:** Federations 139

The Constitutional Court 140
From "Two-Plus" to Multiparty System 141
The Bundesrat 142
A Split Electoral System 143
- **Comparison:** Germany's Electoral System: An Export Product 143
- **Democracy:** 2009: A Split Electoral System in Action 144

German Political Culture 146
The Moral Vacuum 146
The Remembrance of Things Past 147
The Generation Gap 149
- **Political Culture:** Political Generations in Germany 149
- **Personalities:** Willy Brandt as Turning Point 150
- **Political Culture:** The Ossi-Wessi Split 151

Schooling for Elites 152
The German Split Personality 153
Patterns of Interaction 153
■ **GEOGRAPHY:** Sailing the Baltic 153
Parties and the Electorate 154
■ **POLITICAL CULTURE:** Unhappy on the Left: The Jusos 155
The Chancellor and the Electorate 156
■ **DEMOCRACY:** The "Catchall" Party 156
German Dealignment? 157
■ **POLITICAL CULTURE:** Bavaria's Own Party: The CSU 157
The Bundestag and the Citizen 158
■ **DEMOCRACY:** Germany's Coalitions 159
The Union-Party Linkup 160
The Länder and Berlin 161
German Voting Patterns 161
■ **GEOGRAPHY:** Elections and Maps 162
What Germans Quarrel About 164
The Political Economy of Germany 164
■ **COMPARISON:** Who Wins the Manufacturing Race? 165
■ **COMPARISON:** The German and U.S. Economies 166
Merging Two Economies 167
■ **GEOGRAPHY:** How Germany Unified 168
Bailing Out the Euro 170
The Flood of Foreigners 170
■ **GEOGRAPHY:** Citizenship: Blood or Soil? 171
Is Berlin Weimar? 172
■ **GEOGRAPHY:** Demography as Politics 173

CHAPTER 5 Japan 176

Impact of the Past 177
Japanese Feudalism 177
The European Jolt 179
■ **GEOGRAPHY:** Japan and Britain 179
The Forced Entry 180

The 1868 Meiji Restoration 180
- **Geography:** Cruising the Sea of Japan 180

The Path to War 181
- **Comparison:** A Japanese Model of Industrialization? 181
- **Geography:** Another Tale of Two Flags 182

The Great Pacific War 183
Up from the Ashes 184
- **Political Culture:** Japan's Political Eras 184

The Key Institutions 185
Weak Prime Ministers 185
- **Personalities:** Fill in the Blanks: A Generic Prime Minister 185

The Japanese Diet 186
The Parties 187
Japan's Electoral System 188
The Ministries 189
- **Democracy:** The 2009 Elections: A Hybrid System in Action 189
- **Political Culture:** Why Is Wa? 190

Japanese Territorial Organization 191
- **Political Culture:** The Roots of Nihonjin-Ron 191

Japanese Political Culture 192
- **Political Culture:** Guilt Versus Shame 192
- **Political Culture:** Japan's Critical Christians 193

The Cult of the Group 194
Education for Grinds 194
- **Comparison:** How Would You Do on a Japanese Exam? 194
- **Comparison:** Destined to Misunderstand? 195

Death of a Sarariman 196
The "New Human Race" 196
- **Comparison:** Changing Political Cultures in Germany and Japan 196

Patterns of Interaction 197
- **Democracy:** Japan's Major Interest Groups 197

Bureaucrats in Command 198
- **Comparison:** Bureaucratic Elites in France and Japan 198
- **Democracy:** The Politics of Natural Disasters 199

Corruption Scandals 200
No Leadership 201

No Losers 201
- **Democracy:** Who Bribes Whom? 201

Reform Without Change 202
- **Democracy:** Can "Money Politics" Be Broken? 202

What Japanese Quarrel About 203
The Political Economy of Japan 203
From Bubble to Burst 204
- **Geography:** Living Without Lebensraum 204

Should Japan Rearm? 206
- **Comparison:** Japanese and U.S. Economic Problems 206
- **Geography:** Running Out of Japanese 207

Part II The Post-Communist Systems 210

Chapter 6 Russia 212

Impact of the Past 213
The Slavic People 213
- **Geography:** Bound Russia 214

Russian Autocracy 215
Forced Modernization 216
Westernizers and Slavophiles 216
- **Personalities:** Lenin, the Great Revolutionary 217

Marxism Comes to Russia 218
Curtain-Raiser: The 1905 Revolution 219
World War I and Collapse 219
- **Personalities:** Kerensky: Nice Guys Lose 219

The Revolution and Civil War 220
- **Personalities:** Stalin: "One Death Is a Tragedy; A Million Is a Statistic" 221

War Communism and NEP 222
- **Geography:** Another Tale of Two Flags 222

The Key Institutions 223
The Stalin System 223
The New System 226
- **Democracy:** 1991: The Coup That Failed 226
- **Geography:** The Ex-Soviet Republics 228

- ■ **Democracy:** 1993: The Second Coup That Failed 229
- ■ **Democracy:** Russia's Surprising 2011 Parliamentary Elections 230
- ■ **Personalities:** Putin: The KGB President 231
- ■ **Democracy:** Russia's 2008 Presidential Elections 232

A Dominant-Party System 233

Russian Political Culture 233

The Russian Difference 233

The Mask of Legitimacy 234

- ■ **Geography:** Huntington's "Civilizational" Divide in Europe 234
- ■ **Geography:** Bound Serbia 235
- ■ **Political Culture:** The Philosophical Gap 236

The Illusion of Ideology 237

The Rediscovery of Civil Society 237

Natural Egalitarians? 238

- ■ **Political Culture:** The Economics Gap 238
- ■ **Political Culture:** The Moral Gap 239

Russian Racism 240

- ■ **Political Culture:** The Legal Gap 240

A Culture of Insecurity 241

- ■ **Democracy:** Free Media 241
- ■ **Personalities:** Failed Reformers: Nikita Khrushchev 242

Patterns of Interaction 243

Reformers Versus Conservatives 244

President Versus Parliament 244

The Taming of the Oligarchs 245

- ■ **Comparison:** Totalitarian Versus Authoritarian 245
- ■ **Personalities:** Failed Reformers: Mikhail Gorbachev 246
- ■ **Democracy:** Runaway Systems 247

The Two Mafias 248

- ■ **Personalities:** Failed Reformers: Boris Yeltsin 248

The Army 249

- ■ **Comparison:** The Timing of Reforms 249

Transition to What? 250

What Russians Quarrel About 251

The Political Economy of Russia 251

Why Did We Miss It? 252
- **Geography:** Running Out of Russians 252
- **Geography:** Yugoslavia: A Miniature Soviet Union? 253

The Rubble of the Ruble 254
- **Geography:** Fear of Invasion 255

Recover the Lost Republics? 256
- **Geography:** Trouble in the North Caucasus 256
- **Comparison:** A Middle Way for Socialism? 258

Which Way Russia? 259

Chapter 7 China 262

Impact of the Past 263

The Bureaucratic Empire 263
- **Geography:** Bound China 264
- **Political Culture:** Confucianism: Government by Right Thinking 266
- **Political Culture:** Chinese Words in Roman Letters 267

The Long Collapse 268

From Empire to Republic 269
- **Political Culture:** U.S. Involvement in China 269
- **Geography:** Sailing the East China Sea 270

The Communist Triumph 271

The Key Institutions 271

The New Chinese Model 272
- **Geography:** Heavenly Government: Concentrated and Isolated 273

The Importance of the Party 274
- **Comparison:** Indirect Analysis of Authoritarian Systems 274

The Soviet Parallel 275

The Party 276
- **Personalities:** Tandem Power: Mao and Zhou 276
- **Personalities:** The Invisible Puppeteer: Deng Xiaoping 278

The Army 279

A Decentralized Unitary System 281
- **Personalities:** China's Third to Fifth Generations of Rulers 281

Chinese Political Culture 282
Traditional Culture 282
Nationalist China 284
■ **GEOGRAPHY:** Peasants in the Cities 284
Maoism 285
■ **POLITICAL CULTURE:** Beijing Rules 286
Something to Believe In 287
■ **POLITICAL CULTURE:** How China Uses Its Past 288
Crouching Anger, Hidden Dissent 289
■ **POLITICAL CULTURE:** Religion in China 290
"My Father Is Li Gang!" 291
■ **GEOGRAPHY:** Region and Language 291
■ **DEMOCRACY:** Academic Freedom in China 292
A Bourgeois China? 293
■ **GEOGRAPHY:** Ethnic Strife in China 293
Proud China 294
Patterns of Interaction 294
The Great Leap Forward 295
The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution 295
Chinese Left and Right Politics 296
Rice-Roots Democracy? 297
Rule by Engineers 298
■ **DEMOCRACY:** A Chinese Way to Democracy? 298
Coercion in Reserve 299
■ **COMPARISON:** Equality and Growth 300
Trying to Discipline Corruption 302
■ **DEMOCRACY:** The Tiananmen Massacre 302
What Chinese Quarrel About 303
The Political Economy of China 303
It Only Looks Capitalist 304
"Rebalance" China's Economy? 306
Should China Float? 306
■ **COMPARISON:** Big Mac Index 307
A Market Economy for China? 308
Birth Effects 309
■ **DEMOCRACY:** Ten Preliminary Steps to Democracy 310

The Trouble with Markets 311
A Middle Way for the Middle Kingdom? 312
- **Democracy:** Do Markets Lead to Democracy? 312
- **Geography:** The Hong Kong Example 313

China and the World 314

Part III The Developing Areas 318

Chapter 8 India 320

Impact of the Past 322
- **Geography:** Bound India 323
- **Comparison:** The Uniqueness Trap 324

The Arrival of Islam 325
The British Takeover 325
- **Geography:** Turbulent Frontiers 325

Indian Independence 327
- **Personalities:** Gandhi: The Great Soul 327
- **Geography:** Partition 328
- **Personalities:** Manmohan Singh 329

The Key Institutions 330
The Prime Minister 331
A Bicameral Parliament 332
A Fragmented Party System 332
- **Political Culture:** India's Political Eras 332
- **Democracy:** India's 2009 Elections 333

Indian Federalism 334
- **Geography:** India's Languages 334

India's Judiciary 335
Indian Political Culture 335
Religion in India 335
- **Political Culture:** Indian Passivity? 336

India's Castes 337
Patterns of Interaction 338
- **Political Culture:** Anticolonial Rage 338

Corruption and Politics 339

India's Fragmented Politics 340
■ **Democracy:** Indira's "Emergency" 340
■ **Comparison:** India, Mexico, and Colombia 341
Violent India 342
■ **Comparison:** The Three Economic Sectors 342
What Indians Quarrel About 343
The Political Economy of India 343
■ **Comparison:** The India–Pakistan Contrast 344
A Secular or Hindu India? 345
Quotas and Voters 346
Mass or Elite Education? 346
Foreign Policy: Neutral or Aligned? 348
■ **Comparison:** India's and China's Economies 349
The Great Asia Wager 350

Chapter 9 Mexico 352

Impact of the Past 353
New Spain 354
■ **Geography:** Mexico's Mountains 354
Mexican Independence 355
■ **Geography:** Bound Mexico 356
Between Monarchy and Republic 357
The Mexican Revolution 358
■ **Political Culture:** Poor Mexico! 358
The Revolution Institutionalized 359
■ **Political Culture:** Mexico's Political Eras 360
The Key Institutions 361
■ **Democracy:** Mexico's Close 2006 Election 362
The Six-Year Presidency 363
■ **Personalities:** Felipe Calderón 363
Mexico's Legislature 364
Mexico's Three-Party System 365
■ **Comparison:** Term Lengths 365
■ **Democracy:** Mexico's 2009 Legislative Elections 367
Mexican Federalism 368

Mexican Political Culture 368
Mexico's Indian Heritage 369
Imported Ideologies 370
■ **Comparison:** Mexico and America as Colonies 370
■ **Democracy:** Cautious Democrats 371
Patterns of Interaction 372
Clientelism and Co-optation 372
■ **Democracy:** Elections and Democracy 373
Políticos Versus Técnicos 374
Mexican Catholicism 374
■ **Political Culture:** Songs of Drug Dealing 375
Crime and Politics 376
What Mexicans Quarrel About 377
The Political Economy of Mexico 377
The NAFTA Question 378
Drugs: A Mexican or U.S. Problem? 379
Illegal or Undocumented? 380
Modern Mexico? 381

Chapter 10 Brazil 384

Impact of the Past 385
The Portuguese Difference 385
Painless Independence 386
■ **Geography:** Bound Brazil 387
From Empire to Republic 388
■ **Political Culture:** "Order and Progress" 388
The Old Republic 389
Vargas's "New State" 389
The Rise and Fall of Jango Goulart 390
The Key Institutions 391
The Struggle to Stabilize 391
Congress and the Presidency 392
■ **Democracy:** Brazil's 2010 Presidential Elections 392
■ **Personalities:** Lula: "I Changed. Brazil Changed." 393
A Deceptive Party System 394

The Military as Political Institution 394
■ **COMPARISON:** Brazil's School for Praetorians 395
A Lack of Institutions 396
■ **PERSONALITIES:** Dilma Rousseff, Brazil's First Woman President 396
Brazilian Political Culture 397
The Easygoing Image 397
Brazilian Racism 397
Brazil's Poor: Passive or Explosive? 398
■ **GEOGRAPHY:** Shantytowns 399
Uneven Democratic Attitudes 400
■ **POLITICAL CULTURE:** Personalismo and Machismo 400
Dependency Theory 401
Patterns of Interaction 401
An Elite Game 401
The Mobilization-Demobilization Cycle 402
The Inflation Connection 404
■ **DEMOCRACY:** The Economy Connection 404
■ **DEMOCRACY:** The Demagoguery Tendency 405
The Corruption Connection 406
Resurgent Interest Groups 406
The Church as Opposition 407
What Brazilians Quarrel About 407
The Political Economy of Brazil 407
How to Fight Poverty? 410
■ **COMPARISON:** The Addiction of Statism 410
The Population Problem 411
Stable Democracy? 412
■ **GEOGRAPHY:** Developing the Amazon Region 412

CHAPTER 11 Nigeria 414

Impact of the Past 415
The Coming of the Europeans 415
■ **GEOGRAPHY:** The Geography of Imperialism 417

The Scramble for Africa 418
The Colonial Interlude 418
■ **Geography:** Bound Niger 419
Independence 420
■ **Geography:** Boundaries in Africa 420
■ **Geography:** Bound Kenya 421
■ **Geography:** Sahara, Sahel, Savanna 422
The Key Institutions 423
From British to U.S. Model 423
■ **Personalities:** Good Luck, Jonathan! 423
Nigerian Federalism 424
■ **Political Culture:** Nigeria's Political Eras 424
The National Assembly 425
Nigeria's Parties 425
■ **Democracy:** Nigeria's 2011 Elections 426
Nigerian Political Culture 427
Nigerian Fragmentation 427
The Igbo and Biafra 428
■ **Geography:** Bound the Democratic Republic of Congo 429
The Trouble with Nigeria 430
Cross-Cutting Cleavages 431
Democrats Without Democracy 432
■ **Geography:** The Niger Delta 432
Patterns of Interaction 433
The Praetorian Tendency 433
■ **Geography:** Bound Guinea 435
What Nigerians Quarrel About 436
The Political Economy of Nigeria 436
■ **Democracy:** The Developmentalist Impulse 437
The Corruption Factor 438
■ **Comparison:** Corruption International 439
Oil and Democracy 441
■ **Democracy:** Corporate Social Responsibility 441

Chapter 12 Iran 444

Impact of the Past 445

The Arab Conquest 446

■ **Geography:** Bound Iran 446

Western Penetration 447

The First Pahlavi 448

The Last Pahlavi 449

■ **Comparison:** Atatürk and Reza Shah 449

■ **Geography:** Sunni and Shia 451

The Key Institutions 452

A Theocracy 452

Iran's Legislature 453

■ **Geography:** Cruising the Persian Gulf 453

■ **Democracy:** Iran's Rigged 2009 Presidential Election 454

Emerging Parties? 455

■ **Personalities:** Mahmoud Ahmadinejad 456

Iranian Political Culture 457

Islam as a Political Ideology 458

■ **Political Culture:** Is Islam Antimodern? 458

Democracy and Authority 460

■ **Political Culture:** Are Iranians Religious Fanatics? 460

Iranian Nationalism 461

■ **Democracy:** Iran's Angry Students 461

Patterns of Interaction 462

Religion as a Political Tool 462

Moderates and Islamists in Iran 463

■ **Political Culture:** Does Islam Discriminate Against Women? 464

The Revolution Burns Out 465

■ **Comparison:** Is Saudi Arabia Next? 466

What Iranians Quarrel About 467

The Political Economy of Iran 467

■ **Geography:** How Many Iranians? 467

The Veiled Debate on Islam 469

■ **Geography:** Strategic Waterways 469

Iran as a Regional Power 470

■ **Political Culture:** The United States and Iran 471

Do Revolutions End Badly? 472

■ **Geography:** Bound Israel 473

Epilogue: Lessons of Eleven Countries 477

Glossary 481

Photo Credits 495

Index 497

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Preface

Countries and Concepts does not attempt to create young scholars out of college students. Rather, it sees comparative politics as an important but usually neglected grounding in citizenship that we should be making available to our young people. I agree with the late Morris Janowitz (in his 1983 *The Reconstruction of Patriotism: Education for Civic Consciousness*) that civic education has declined in the United States and that this poses dangers for democracy. Our students are often uninformed about the historical, political, economic, geographical, and moral aspects of democracy, and to expose them to professional-level abstractions in political science ignores their civic education and offers material that is largely meaningless to them. An undergraduate is not a miniature graduate student.

Accordingly, *Countries and Concepts* includes a good deal of fundamental vocabulary and concepts, buttressed by many examples. It is dedicated to Kant's injunction that concepts must never be separated from percepts. It is readable. Many students neglect assigned readings; with *Countries and Concepts*, they cannot make the excuse that the reading is long or boring.

Some reviewers note that *Countries and Concepts* contains values and criticisms. This is part of my purpose. The two go together; if you have no values, then you have no basis from which to criticize. Value-free instruction is probably impossible. If successful, it would produce value-free students, and that, I think, should not be the aim of the educational enterprise. If one knows something with the head but not with the heart, then one really does not know it at all.

Is *Countries and Concepts* too critical? It treats politics as a series of ongoing quarrels for which no very good solutions can be found. It casts a skeptical eye on all political systems and all solutions proposed for political problems. As such, the book is not out to "get" any one country. All political systems are flawed; none approaches perfection. Let us simply say so. *Countries and Concepts* rejects absurd theories of smoothly functioning systems or rational calculators that never break down or make mistakes. Put it this way: If we are critical of the workings of our own country's politics—and many, perhaps most, of us are—why should we abandon that critical spirit in looking at other lands?

NEW TO THIS EDITION

Instructor input and the rapid march of events prompted major changes in the twelfth edition of *Countries and Concepts*.

- Country updates include:
  Britain: Conservative David Cameron became prime minister.
  France: President Sarkozy grew deeply unpopular and faced a tough challenge from Socialist candidate François Hollande.

Germany: A new box explores why the German economy recovered quickly from the 2008–2009 recession while the U.S. economy did not.

Japan: The 2011 tsunami and nuclear leak demonstrate how natural disasters can quickly become political problems.

Russia: Putin's plan for a third presidential term plus rigged legislative elections produced unexpected citizen anger.

China: Beijing is attempting to rebalance China's economy from exports to domestic consumption.

India: India's economy continues to surge, making it a potential rival to China.

Mexico: Drug wars and a resurgent PRI seem likely to end PAN's 12 years of conservative rule.

Brazil: A politically stable Brazil has emerged as Latin America's economic giant.

Nigeria: Goodluck Jonathan won the 2011 elections but presides over an increasingly unstable Nigeria.

Iran: Populist President Ahmadinejad, trying to seize more power, was rebuked by the country's theocratic leaders.

- A deeper and more theoretical introductory chapter surveys the theory behind comparative politics, including the definition of democracy, the rise of states, and modernization theory.
- Brazil, which appeared in earlier editions, is restored. Its growth from a shaky to a firm democracy shows that a country can modernize out of praetorianism.
- The Arab Spring prompted inclusion of a new "Why This Country Matters" section in every chapter; it tells students how each country contributes to the study of democracy.
- Our major systems—Britain, France, Germany, Russia, and China—were shortened and combined into one chapter each, making them closer in length to the other systems—Japan, India, Mexico, Brazil, Nigeria, and Iran—and easier to assign in the course of one semester.
- Russia and China are now grouped together as "post-communist systems," each illustrating different paths out of communism—neither of which has so far led to democracy.

FEATURES

The twelfth edition continues the loose theoretical approach of previous editions with the observation that politics, on the surface at least, is composed of a number of conflicts or quarrels. These quarrels, if observed over time, form patterns of some durability beyond the specific issues involved. What I call patterns of interaction are the relationships among politically relevant groups and individuals, what they call in Russian *kto-kovo*, who does what to whom. There are two general types of such patterns: (1) between elites and masses, and (2) among and within elites.

Before we can appreciate these patterns, however, we must study the political culture of a particular country, which leads us to its political institutions and ultimately to its political history. This produces a five-fold division in the study of each country. We could start with a country's contemporary political quarrels and work backward, but it is probably better to begin with the underlying factors as a foundation from which to understand their impact on modern social conflict. This book goes from history to institutions to political culture to patterns of interaction to quarrels. This arrangement need not supplant other approaches. Instructors have had no trouble utilizing this book in connection with their preferred theoretical insights.

Also, political geography gets much-deserved attention. Instructors agree that ignorance of geography is widespread; the subject seems to have been dropped from most school curricula. *Countries and Concepts* tries to fill this gap by combining political with geographical material, and the two fields overlap.

The structure and purpose of *Countries and Concepts* continue as before. The book analyzes four European nations plus China at somewhat greater length and seven other nations a bit more briefly.

I am willing to change this balance in subsequent editions, depending on instructor input. Should, for example, France and Germany shrink some more and India and Nigeria expand? The first part of the book (Chapters 2 through 5) deals with democracies, the second part (Chapters 6 and 7) with post-Communist Russia and China, and the third part (Chapters 8 through 12) with the developing areas.

Our greater coverage of the developing areas is called for by their economic growth and the shift of U.S. interest far beyond Europe. The emerging lands are simply too important, especially on the question of democracy. China, India, Mexico, Brazil, Nigeria, and Iran are not "representative" systems—what developing-area countries are?—but are interesting in their six different relationships to democracy: (1) the suppression of democracy in a rapidly industrializing China; (2) a durable if imperfect democracy in India; (3) democracy struggling in Mexico after a long period of one-party rule; (4) the stabilization of democracy in a thriving Brazil, (5) the difficult founding of a stable democracy in coup-prone Nigeria; and (6) democracy smothered by an Islamic revolution in Iran. These six systems provide a counterpoise to the more settled systems of Europe and Japan. Instructors can and do omit some or all of these systems—for lack of time or to focus more closely on other countries—without breaking the continuity of the text.

The order of studying these countries is not fixed. I find four groupings convenient, each followed by an exam, to facilitate comparisons between countries with similar problems: (1) Britain and France, (2) Germany and Japan, (3) Russia and China, and (4) India, Mexico, Brazil, Nigeria, and Iran. The book may lend itself to other groupings. Some may want to compare China and India, the Asian giants on two very different developmental paths.

Also included are the chapter-opening learning objectives, which prime students for the main points, and the running marginal glossaries, which help students build their vocabularies as they read. The definitions here are those of a political scientist; in other contexts, one might find different definitions. Questions at the end of each chapter will help students review the concepts they've learned. The feature boxes still have poster-heads—Geography, Democracy, Personalities, Political Culture, and Comparison—to give them greater focus and continuity.

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Michael G. Roskin

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COUNTRIES AND CONCEPTS

CHAPTER 1

The Uses of Comparative Politics

Part of the "Arab Spring," Egyptian women pour into Cairo's Tahrir Square demanding ouster of President-for-life Hosni Mubarak in 2011.

REVOLUTION AND DEMOCRACY

Learning Objectives

1.1 Explain how comparative politics analyzes the recent wave of Mideast revolutions.

1.2 Contrast the terms *nation* and *state*.

1.3 Illustrate the impact a country's past has on its present politics.

1.4 List the three main institutional structures most modern countries have.

1.5 Identify the most common social cleavages and explain how they influence political culture.

1.6 Describe how generalizations can lead to theory. Give examples.

1.7 Evaluate the importance of economics as a political quarrel.

Recent events have revived an old question: Can revolution lead to democracy? Previously passive people suddenly demonstrated against corrupt and nepotistic dictators and monarchs. Regime ouster in one country inspired others. What caused these revolutions, and why at that time? Even more important, what would be their likely outcome—democracy or another dictatorship? These are some of the questions **comparative politics** attempts to answer with data and analyses.

Comparativists look at the recent revolutions in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Yemen, and Syria and note that none of the old regimes had much legitimacy; their people did not respect them. Second, most of their population was young, under 30, a "demographic bulge," many of them educated but unemployed or underemployed. Third, corruption, always a problem in these countries, got worse, probably related to economic growth. And fourth, the social media—Internet, cellphones, Twitter, and Facebook—spread worldwide just as these problems were boiling up. If several countries had these four factors and many of them experienced mass unrest, you have the beginnings of a theory of revolution in our time.

Next, a comparativist might attempt to predict how revolutions will end up. Revolutions show a strong tendency to become chaotic and fall under a dictator. Few end well. To head off unhappy endings, a political scientist might suggest that the current regime carry out a gradual, peaceful transition aimed at eventual **democracy**. Unfortunately, by their very nature, **authoritarian** regimes reject advice to give up their wealth and **power**. Then, too late, when some incident has triggered a crisis, the frightened regime promises reforms. But now its opponents sense weakness and demand the regime's ouster. Comparative politics offers the concepts, vocabulary, and case studies that can be useful, especially in tumultuous times.

1.1 Explain how comparative politics analyzes the recent wave of Mideast revolutions.

Is democracy inevitable? The long-term trend is clearly in its favor. From a handful of democracies after World War II, now perhaps half of the world's 193 nations are fully or partially democratic (see the Freedom House rankings in Democracy box). The human thirst for respect and dignity eventually weakens dictatorships. But it is also clear that democracy does not come easily or automatically, as Russia, Iraq, and Afghanistan attest. Here are some questions comparative politics might ask about the recent wave of revolution and democracy:

1. Where, historically, did democracy first appear? Why there? Is it connected with Protestantism?
2. Does democracy require certain philosophical and/or religious roots?
3. The American Revolution led to democracy, so why does this rarely happen elsewhere?
4. Why is democracy so difficult? Why does it often lead to chaos and dictatorial takeover?

comparative politics Subfield of political science focused on interactions *within* other countries.

democracy Political system of mass participation, competitive elections, and human and civil rights.

authoritarian Nondemocratic or dictatorial politics.

power Ability of A to get B to do what A wants.

quarrels As used here, important, long-term political issues.

international relations (IR) Politics *among* countries.

5. Does democracy require a large middle class or certain levels of per capita wealth or education?
6. Which struggles are the most dangerous for the survival of democracy—class, religious, ethnic, or territorial?

Quarrels Over Time

Read and **Listen** to **Chapter 1** at **mypoliscilab.com**

Study and **Review** the **Pre-Test & Flashcards** at **mypoliscilab.com**

There is no single, set way to compare countries. This book takes politics as a series of enduring **quarrels** that define the country's divisions and conflicts. A religious split or civil war long ago, for example, may influence party voting for centuries. Knowing a country's "quarrels over time" launches our analyses of a given political system. This book does not sell any one particular theory or methodology but uses a loose framework of five basic questions, followed up by many detailed questions. These five questions roughly follow the intellectual evolution of political science over a century: from history, to institutions, to political culture, to interactions, to policy.

COMPARISON ■ COMPARATIVE POLITICS AMONG POLITICAL SCIENCE SUBFIELDS

Comparative politics sees itself as the cornerstone of political inquiry (see box about Aristotle), but it is one subfield among several within political science. Comparative politics can and should inform the other subfields. Sometimes failure to do so weakens analyses.

International relations (IR) is often confused with comparative politics—because both deal with foreign events—but they are different. Comparative politics studies political interactions *within* countries, whereas international relations studies what happens *among* countries. IR tends to look at countries like billiard balls colliding with each other on the world pool table; comparative looks inside each ball to see how it works. The two, of course, influence each other.

Policy makers who attempt to apply IR perspectives without analyzing what is going on *inside* the countries involved often err. Knowing little of Afghanistan's, Iraq's, and Libya's tribes, religions, ethnic hatreds, and tumultuous histories, Washington officials trained in IR plunged us into other countries' civil wars, conflicts that were difficult to end or withdraw from. Comparativists, on the other hand, need some IR to explain foreign influences on domestic politics.

U.S. politics, although focused on domestic institutions and processes, sometimes picks a comparative perspective in emphasizing either American exceptionalism or similarities with other countries. Comparisons among U.S. states or over time (such as the powers of the presidency in 1800, 1900, and 2000) can also use techniques of comparative politics.

Political theory, often focused on major thinkers, attempts to define the good polity. Aristotle understood that one of the best ways to do this is by comparing several systems.

Public administration, which studies how bureaucracies function, benefits greatly from a comparative perspective. Does administration depend more on institutions or political culture?

Constitutional law, focused entirely on the U.S. Constitution and legal system, can become myopic in supposing that words on paper alone determine the fate of the country. Some comparison could correct this.

Public policy studies the interaction of politics and economics in order to develop efficient programs. Comparative data on health care, energy policy, education, and much else can help eliminate wishful thinking and supposition in this crucial field.

1. *How has the past impacted current politics?* We pay little attention to the details of history—that's for historians—but ask, "What happened then that matters now?" How has the country's past set up its current problems? The rule of old monarchs and old regional conflicts may echo in present institutions, psychology, and quarrels.

demagogue Manipulative politician who wins votes through impossible promises.

2. *What are the main institutions?* Institutions are structures of power, sometimes spelled out in constitutions but often the slow buildup of usages evolved over time. Who really has power in this country? Is power divided or concentrated, democratic or dictatorial? How are the parliament and chief executive elected?
3. *How does the political culture influence politics?* Much depends on the customs and psychology of the people, their political culture. Are they trusting or cynical? Does ideology play a major role—if so, which ideology—or are people mostly pragmatic? Is the

Watch the Video "Arab Spring" at mypoliscilab.com

Explore the Comparative "Violence and Civil Wars" at mypoliscilab.com

PERSONALITIES ■ ARISTOTLE

"You cannot be scientific if you are not comparing," UCLA's great James Coleman used to tell his students long ago. He was actually echoing the founder of political science, Aristotle, who recognized that comparing was the basis of this discipline, its cardinal method. Aristotle sent out his students to collect information on Greece's many city-states (*polis*), which he then compared in his *Politics*, the work that gave the study of governance its first empirical database. In contrast, Aristotle's predecessor, Plato, focused almost entirely on Athens and used reason with little data for his *Republic*. As Kant saw centuries ago, reason alone is highly fallible. Reasoning from a factual basis, on the other hand, can be powerful.

One of Aristotle's classifications of Greek city-states, a sixfold table, has endured for centuries and is still useful. Aristotle first counted the number of rulers: one, several, or many. Then he divided each into "rule in the interest of all" and "rule in the interest of self." The first Aristotle called the good, legitimate form of governance; the second he called the bad, corrupt form. Then he named them:

Number of Rulers	Legitimate Form *Rule in Interest of All*	Corrupt Form *Rule in Interest of Selves*
one	monarchy	tyranny
several	aristocracy	oligarchy
many	polity	democracy

For Aristotle, the worst form of government was "democracy," which we would call mob rule. He had seen how **demagogues** swayed mobs to make themselves powerful and destroy ancient Athens. He had good things to say about aristocracy, rule of the best (Greek *aristos*) and the polity, a calm, moderate democracy. But any of the legitimate forms, warned Aristotle, can decay into its corrupt counterpart.

Aristotle also found that the best-governed city-states had large middle classes. A large lower class could be seduced by demagogues into plundering the property of the middle class. A too-powerful rich class, however, could ignore citizen needs and make themselves even richer and more powerful. Either way, the state soon comes to an end. But a large middle class, neither rich nor poor, seeks good, stable governance with limits on power. Notice how both these points help explain the difficulty of establishing democracy in several countries today.

political economy Mutual influence of politics and economy; what government should do in the economy.

country, or regions of it, religious or secular? Could democracy take root in this country?

4. *What are the patterns of interaction?* Here we get to what is conventionally called "politics." Who does what to whom? How do parties win elections? Which are the most powerful interest groups, and how do they make their voices heard? Who tends to prevail? Are things stable or are reforms overdue?
5. *What do they quarrel about?* Here we get to ongoing issues, visible in the country's media or in talking with citizens. The chief issue is usually the **political economy**. Is the economy growing? Why or why not? What reforms are suggested? How did the

DEMOCRACY ■ DEFINING DEMOCRACY

Democracy is not a simple thing or one that automatically grows after *authoritarian* or *totalitarian* regimes have fallen. We were naive about stable democracy soon coming to Russia and Iraq. Democracy is a complex balancing act, requiring a political culture with the right philosophical, moral, economic, and legal underpinnings. Most definitions of democracy include the following:

Accountability. Elected officials must face a real possibility of losing reelection. This induces them to adopt Friedrich's *rule of anticipated reactions*.

Equality. One person, one vote. No citizens can be excluded. All may run for office.

Competition. Several candidates and parties compete in free and fair elections. A one-party system cannot be democratic.

Alternation. Occasional turnovers in power must replace the "in" party with the "out" party.

Representation. "The room will not hold all," so a few fairly represent the many. The electoral system does this, either by single-member districts (as in the United States and Britain) or proportional representation (as in Germany and Sweden).

Free media. Only democracies permit the press—now including the new social media—to criticize the government. This is the quickest check for democracy.

Harvard's Samuel Huntington suggested a "two-turnover test" for stable democracy. Two alternations of government—elections where one party replaces another—indicate a firmly rooted democracy. Since the Polish Communist regime fell in 1989, Poland has had several electoral turnovers from left to right and back again, indicating a well-rooted democracy. Russia has never had a turnover and is not soon likely to. No turnovers, no democracy.

Freedom House (FH) in Washington uses a seven-point scale to annually rank countries on how much they accord citizens political rights and civil liberties. FH calls 1 to 2.5 "free," 3 to 5 "partly free," and 5.5 to 7 "not free." Russia slid lower during the Putin years, but Indonesia advanced with a new democracy. Some of FH's 2011 findings are shown in the table below.

United States	1.0	free
Canada	1.0	free
Britain	1.0	free
Japan	1.5	free
Brazil	2.0	free
Mexico	2.5	free
India	2.5	free
Indonesia	2.5	free
Turkey	3.0	partly free
Nigeria	4.5	partly free
Russia	5.5	not free
Iran	6.0	not free
China	6.5	not free
Cuba	6.5	not free
North Korea	7	not free

government handle the 2008–2009 recession? Should income be redistributed from better- to worse-off citizens? Noneconomic issues sometimes loom: Do the country's regions seek more autonomy or even to break away? Should immigrants be excluded or assimilated? Should touchy parts of the nation's past be covered up or faced?

nation Cultural element of country; people psychologically bound to one another.

state Institutional or governmental element of country.

sovereignty Last word in law in a given territory; boss on your own turf.

constructed Deliberately created but widely accepted as natural.

ethnicity Cultural characteristics differentiating one group from another.

NATIONS AND STATES

1.2

Contrast the terms *nation* and *state*.

The Latin root of **nation** means *birth*, but few nations now define themselves by race (Japan and Korea still try); rather, *nation* now means people with a common sense of identity who often share the same language, culture, or religion. Nation building is not quick, easy, or natural. To build modern France, kings united several regions first by the sword and then by language and culture. The United States is a bizarre mix of peoples, processed over time into a set of common values. India and Nigeria, both mixes of languages and religions, are still engaged in nation building.

State means governmental institutions and laws. Obviously these are not states in the sense of the 50 U.S. states, which lack **sovereignty** because ultimately Washington's laws prevail. Historically, states preceded and often formed nations. Over the centuries, the French government, by decreeing use of a certain dialect and spelling and enforcing nationwide educational standards, molded a French consciousness. The French state invented the French nation. All nations are to a certain degree **constructed**, somewhat artificial.

Watch the Video "State Sovereignty" at mypoliscilab.com

We might settle on the term *country*, which originally meant a rural area where people shared the same dialect and traditions but broadened in meaning until it became synonymous with nation or state. Some used *nation-state* to combine the psychological and structural elements, but the term did not catch on. Nation-states were often defined as having territory, population, independence, government, and other attributes, but none of them are clear-cut.

Territory would seem to be a basic requirement, but what about those who have a strong sense of peoplehood but lack real estate? For example, the Jews turned their sense of nationhood into Israel, and the Palestinians now define themselves as a nation that is ready for statehood. And what happens when territorial claims overlap? History is a poor guide, as typically many tribes and invaders have washed over the land over the centuries. France's Alsatians, on the west bank of the Rhine River, speak German and have Germanic family names. But they also speak French and think of themselves as French. Should Alsace belong to France or Germany? Wars are fought over such questions.

Population is obviously essential. But many countries have populations divided by language or **ethnicity**. Sometimes the groups are angry and wish to break away. Like the ex-Soviet Union, ex-Yugoslavia was composed of several quarrelsome nationalities whose departure destroyed the country. All countries, to be sure, are more or less artificial, but over time some, such as France, have psychologically inculcated a sense of common nationhood that overrides earlier regional or ethnic loyalties. Germany has done this more recently, and India and China are still working on it. In Nigeria the process has barely begun.

Independence means that the state governs itself as a sovereign entity. Colonies, such as India under the British, become nation-states when the imperial power departs, as the British did in 1947. Diplomatic recognition by other countries, especially by the major powers, confirms a country's independence and helps its economy. China got a boost when the United States recognized it in 1972. Some countries, however, are more sovereign and independent than others. East

failed state Collapse of sovereignty, essentially no national governing power.

reification Taking theory as reality; from Latin *res*, thing.

secularization Diminishing role of religion in government and society.

European lands during the Cold War were Soviet satellites; Moscow controlled their major decisions. Are Central American "banana republics," under U.S. influence, truly sovereign and independent? Sovereign independence may be a convenient legal fiction.

Government is the crux of being a state. No government means anarchy, with the high probability that the country will fall apart or be conquered. Some call countries such as Afghanistan, the Congo, and Somalia **failed states**. Sometimes government can precede states. The Continental Congress preceded and founded the United States. A government can be in exile, as was de Gaulle's Free French government during World War II. The mere existence of a government does not automatically mean that it effectively governs the whole country. In many of the developing lands, the government's writ falls off as one travels from the capital. In several Mexican states, drug lords fight virtual civil war against the Mexican government and army.

In sum, nation-states are not as clear-cut as supposed; their realities are messy but interesting. This is one reason for using the admittedly vague term "country": It avoids **reification**, a constant temptation in the social sciences but one we must guard against.

GEOGRAPHY ■ WHAT MADE THE MODERN STATE

Europe began to stir in the eleventh century (late Middle Ages), but the Renaissance—starting in the fourteenth century—accelerated growth in art, philosophy, science, commerce, and population across Europe. The political system changed from feudalism to absolutism as monarchs increased and centralized their power over the nobles. By the middle of the fifteenth century, Europe was set for a revolution:

- **1453** The Turks used cannons to crack open the walls of Constantinople. European monarchs quickly acquired the new weapon to subdue nobles and consolidate their kingdoms.
- **1454** Gutenberg printed with moveable type. Printing increased the spread of information, speeding up all other processes and displacing Latin with local tongues. Printed materials helped the national capital govern outlying provinces.
- **1488** The Portuguese rounded Africa in order to reach Asia, soon followed by . . .
- **1492** The New World opened. Countries with access to the sea (Spain, Portugal, England, France, and the Netherlands) rushed to Asia, Africa, and the Americas for trade and colonies.
- **1494** Italian monk Luca Pacioli invented accounting, making it possible to control large businesses, which encouraged growth.
- **1517** Luther nailed his 95 theses to the church door and founded Protestantism. Soon Protestant kings split from Rome and set up national churches, as in England and Sweden.
- **1545** This led to the wars of religion, first the Schmalkaldic War of 1545–1555 and then the devastating Thirty Years War of 1618–1648. These conflicts increased state power and curtailed the church's temporal power, leading to **secularization**.
- **1618–1648** The Thirty Years War forced state administration to greatly improve. Warring monarchs, desperate for money, needed reliable tax bases and tax collectors. France's Richelieu and Sweden's Oxenstierna founded modern, rational administration to control and tax an entire country. The state got its own budget, separate from the royal household budget.

The Modern State

causality Proving that one thing causes another.

feudalism Political system of power dispersed and balanced between king and nobles.

absolutism Royal dictatorship that bypasses nobles.

Whatever we call the modern state—country, state, or nation-state—we must recognize that its current form is relatively recent. To be sure, states appear at the dawn of written history. (Ancient kingdoms, in fact, invented writing in order to tax and control.) But the modern state is only about half a millennium old and traces back to the replacement of old European feudal monarchies with what were called "new monarchies" and subsequently the "strong state." There are many factors in this shift; it is impossible to pinpoint which were the causes and which the consequences. **Causality** is always difficult to demonstrate in the social sciences, but the box on the facing page discusses changes that ushered in the modern state. Notice how they happened about the same time and how each reinforced the others in a package of incredible change.

By the end of the Thirty Years War in 1648, the feudal system had been displaced by the modern state. **Feudalism** had balanced power between monarch and nobles; it was loose and did not tolerate strong national government. It was not oriented to change or expansion. The new monarchies, on the other hand, were **absolutist**, concentrating all power in themselves, disdaining the old medieval constitution in which their powers balanced with nobles and using new economic, administrative, and military tools to increase their power. Royalist philosophers extolled the strong monarch and coined the term *sovereignty*. In consolidating their powers, monarchs had the concept of nation celebrated, giving rise to the notion of nationality, of belonging to a nation rather than merely being the subject of a hereditary ruler.

Nationalism

One can find a sort of nationalism far back in history—Israelites against Philistines, Romans against Carthaginians, Vietnamese against Chinese—but the French Revolution unleashed modern nationalism. As the armies of German princes closed in on the Revolution in 1792, the French people rallied *en masse* to repel the foe, believing they were defending both the Revolution and the *patrie* (fatherland), and the two concepts merged. France, the revolutionaries claimed, was destined to liberate and reform the rest of Europe. The concept of a nation embodying everything good was thus born, and it spread throughout Europe by Napoleon's enthusiastic legions.

By its very nature, nationalism was contagious. The French soldiers turned into brutal and arrogant occupiers, and across Europe local patriots rose up against them with the nationalism brought by the French. French nationalism thus triggered Spanish, German, and Russian nationalism. By the late nineteenth century, with German and Italian unification, most Europeans had either formed nationalistic states or desired to (for example, Poland). Thinkers such as Germany's Hegel and Italy's Mazzini extolled the nation as the highest level of human (or possibly divine) development.

The modern state and its nationalism spread worldwide. Driven to expand, the Europeans conquered Latin America, Asia, and Africa. Only Japan and Turkey kept the Europeans out; Meiji Japan carried out a brilliant "defensive modernization." The European imperialists introduced nationalism to their subject peoples. By integrating and administering previously fragmented territories, the British in India, the French in Indochina, and the Dutch in Indonesia taught "the natives" to think of themselves as a nation that, of right, deserved to be independent. Now virtually the entire globe is populated by national states, each guarding its sovereign independence and many of them ablaze with nationalism.