

# WORLD POLITICS

Vol. 43

July 1991

No. 4

## CONTENTS

Public Opinion, Domestic Structure, and  
Foreign Policy in Liberal Democracies *Thomas Risse-Kappen* 479

Bringing Capital Back In, or Social Democracy  
Reconsidered: Employer Power, Cross-Class  
Alliances, and Centralization of Industrial  
Relations in Denmark and Sweden *Peter Swenson* 513

Specific Factors, Capital Markets, Portfolio  
Diversification, and Free Trade:  
Domestic Determinants of the  
Repeal of the Corn Laws *Cheryl Schonhardt-Bailey* 545

### REVIEW ARTICLES

The People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia:  
Masking and Unmasking Tragedy *Forrest D. Colburn* 570

Nuclear Strategy and Nuclear Winter *Theodore Rueter  
and Thomas Kalil* 587

Crisis and Democracy in Latin America *Peter H. Smith* 608

Index to Volume 43 635

The Contributors ii

Abstracts iii

## THE CONTRIBUTORS

THOMAS RISSE-KAPPEN is Assistant Professor of Government at Cornell University, on leave during 1990–91 at International Security Programs, Yale University. The author of *The Zero Option: INF, West Germany, and Arms Control* (1988), he is currently writing a book on intraalliance relations, particularly the European influence on U.S. foreign policy.

PETER SWENSON is Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Pennsylvania and the author of *Fair Shares: Unions, Pay, and Politics in Sweden and West Germany* (1989). He is currently working on a comparative study of employers and politics in Sweden and the United States.

CHERYL SCHONHARDT-BAILEY recently completed her Ph.D. in Political Science at the University of California, Los Angeles. She has been at the London School of Economics and Political Science and has been conducting a research project sponsored by the Economic and Social Research Council. In the fall, she will take up a position as Lecturer in International Relations at the University of Keele, Great Britain.

FORREST D. COLBURN is Assistant Professor of Politics at Princeton University. He is the editor of *Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (1989) and the author of *Managing the Commanding Heights: Nicaragua's State Enterprises* (1990). In 1988 he was a Fulbright Lecturer at Addis Ababa University.

THEODORE RUETER has taught Political Science at Middlebury College, Georgetown University, and Smith College. He is coauthor of *Carter vs. Ford: The Counterfeit Debates of 1976* (1980) and *Teaching Assistant Strategies: An Introduction to College Teaching* (1990). His forthcoming books include an analysis of the Strategic Defense Initiative and an anthology of articles on international economic policy.

THOMAS KALIL is an international economic analyst with the Washington law firm of Dewey Ballantine. He attended the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University, where he was an assistant editor of *Fletcher Forum*. He also worked as an issues analyst for the Dukakis presidential campaign.

PETER H. SMITH is Professor of Political Science and Director of the Center for Iberian and Latin American Studies, and Simón Bolívar Professor of Latin American Studies at the University of California, San Diego. Prominent among his publications are *Argentina and the Failure of Democracy: Conflict among Political Elites, 1904–1955* (1974) and *Labyrinths of Power: Political Recruitment in Twentieth-Century Mexico* (1979). He is also coeditor of a five-volume series entitled *Dimensions of United States-Mexican Relations* (1989–90).

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use, or the internal or personal use of specific clients, is granted by The Johns Hopkins University Press for libraries and other users registered with the Copyright Clearance Center (CCC) Transactional Reporting Service, provided that the fee of .10 per page is paid directly to CCC, 21 Congress St., Salem, MA 01970. 0043-8871/90 \$0.00 + .10

## ABSTRACTS

### PUBLIC OPINION, DOMESTIC STRUCTURE, AND FOREIGN POLICY IN LIBERAL DEMOCRACIES

By THOMAS RISSE-KAPPEN

The paper discusses the role of public opinion in the foreign policy-making process of liberal democracies. Contrary to prevailing assumptions, public opinion matters. However, the impact of public opinion is determined not so much by the specific issues involved or by the particular pattern of public attitudes as by the domestic structure and the coalition-building processes among the elites in the respective country. The paper analyzes the public impact on the foreign policy-making process in four liberal democracies with distinct domestic structures: the United States, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, and Japan. Under the same international conditions and despite similar patterns of public attitudes, variances in foreign policy outcomes nevertheless occur; these have to be explained by differences in political institutions, policy networks, and societal structures. Thus, the four countries responded differently to Soviet policies during the 1980s despite more or less comparable trends in mass public opinion.

### BRINGING CAPITAL BACK IN, OR SOCIAL DEMOCRACY RECONSIDERED:

EMPLOYER POWER, CROSS-CLASS ALLIANCES, AND CENTRALIZATION OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS IN DENMARK AND SWEDEN

By PETER SWENSON

The political domination of Social Democrats in Denmark and Sweden beginning in the 1930s was stabilized by the absence of intense opposition by capital to reformist programs aggressively opposed by business and the Right elsewhere in the world. This quiescence was not a symptom of weakness or dependency; rather, it was a product of a class-intersecting, cross-class alliance behind institutions of centralized industrial relations that served mutual interests of sectoral groupings dominating both union and employer confederations. Well-organized and militant, and backed by Social Democrats, employers in the two countries used offensive multi-industry lockouts to force centralization on reluctant unions. Analysis of these cross-class alliances and their pay-distributional objectives is used to challenge a widely held view that centralization and Social Democratic electoral strength are sources of power against capital. It also occasions a reassessment of conventional understandings of farmer-labor coalitions and the decline of industrial conflict in Scandinavia in the 1930s. According to the alternative view presented here, capital was included rather than excluded from these cross-class alliances, and industrial conflict subsided dramatically in part because employers achieved politically what they had previously tried to achieve with the lockout.

### SPECIFIC FACTORS, CAPITAL MARKETS, PORTFOLIO DIVERSIFICATION, AND FREE TRADE:

DOMESTIC DETERMINANTS OF THE REPEAL OF THE CORN LAWS

By CHERYL SCHONHARDT-BAILEY

Whereas the Ricardo-Viner specific factors model implies that owners of land and capital stood diametrically opposed to one another on the issue of free trade in nineteenth-century Britain, studies in the economic history literature posit that the economic interests of these two groups of factor owners were not mutually exclusive but rather overlapped as a result of rapid economic changes in the 1830s that intensified landowner diversification into nonagricultural ventures. Hence, the former views the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 as capital gaining the political upper hand over the landed elite, whereas the latter implies that landowners with diversified portfolios stood to gain from, or simply became indifferent to, free trade in grain. This paper alters the specific factors model to include the concepts of diversification and investment capital flows. It then tests the political implications of diversification, hypothesizing a positive correlation between constituency diversification and parlia-

mentary voting on repeal of the Corn Laws. Both individual and aggregate sets of data confirm that diversified interests contributed to the free-trade policy outcome.

### THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ETHIOPIA:

#### MASKING AND UNMASKING TRAGEDY

By FORREST D. COLBURN

Recent scholarship on Ethiopia describes the central outline of events in the aftermath of the country's 1974 revolution. But the books that should be the most insightful, because of the theoretical ambitions of the authors, often disappoint because they obfuscate politics with abstract discussions of the "state." Three shortcomings of state theories are evident: they underestimate the impact of individual leaders, discount the content of ideology, and lead, disturbingly, to moral neutrality.

### NUCLEAR STRATEGY AND NUCLEAR WINTER

By THEODORE RUETER and THOMAS KALIL

This essay explores the effect of the "nuclear winter" thesis upon the strategic debate. Both "hawks" and "doves" responded to the nuclear winter thesis in an ideological manner, illustrating the theological nature of the debate on nuclear strategy. Hawks used the nuclear winter data to argue for limited nuclear options, strategic modernization, environmentally sensitive weapons, and strategic defense. Doves used the same information to argue for mutual assured destruction, arms control, and/or global disarmament. Another group of analysts, the "pragmatic Center," exhibited a more flexible, subtle understanding of the nuclear dilemma.

### CRISIS AND DEMOCRACY IN LATIN AMERICA

By PETER H. SMITH

Democratization in Latin America took place throughout the 1980s within a context of acute economic crisis, thus posing a sharp challenge to established theory. This essay examines alternative explanations—economic, political, institutional, international—for this paradoxical outcome. It is argued that the political impact of the debt crisis differs for the short, medium, and long terms. The analysis also devotes considerable attention to the concept of "democratization" and to the quality of Latin American democracies, which tend to contain pervasive authoritarian features. Careful reading of these phenomena can lay the foundation for new and enduring theoretical frameworks about the relationship between macroeconomic transformation and political change.