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Spain From Repression to Renewal. by E. Ramon Arango

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Caribbean Sea and the Yucatan channel (possibly by ships traveling from the Panama Canal), the blockage of which by Nicaragua in league with Cuba is one of the Americans' greatest perceived threats from regional revolutionary regimes.

Booth introduces an original notion of "territorialization," a current practice whereby states extend their jurisdiction seaward in a variety of creative ways and directions. UNCLOS III, it is claimed, has gone far to support various national claims to the sea as an extension of the state's territory. The nature of the oceans' seabed has been, at least until UNCLOS III, of concern to ecologists and mining interests. Booth recognizes the economic importance of the imbedded resources for particular nations' economies and underwater detection systems.

With the increase in the use of more sophisticated military technology to detect and interpose, there is a complementary demand for states to assert their sovereignty. Hence, the attention paid by Booth to warships is a refreshing appendix to present-day discussions of arms control in space. Here his concern is essentially of a strategic nature, concentrating on maritime conflict, intervention, and arms control.

Booth concludes that "the revival of a more selective but salient form of naval diplomacy will be one of the more desirable evil necessities in a highly militarized world of diffused power and widespread instability" (p. 209). In view of the dearth of materials dealing specifically with the military aspects of LOS, this book is important.

Sanford R. Silverburg, *Catawba College*

*Spain From Repression to Renewal.* By E. Ramon Arango. (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1985. Pp. 244. \$28.00.)

E. Ramon Arango, a political scientist at Louisiana State University, has written an extremely readable introduction to the Spanish political system. *Spain: From Repression to Renewal*, will be most useful as a text in introductory comparative politics courses or as a summary reference for comparative politics students unfamiliar with Spain. Professor Arango assumes no previous knowledge of the complexities of Spanish politics and society, and takes great care to present his overview in the simplest and clearest terms. Those seeking a more detailed or theoretically sophisticated treatment of Spanish politics would best consult the many recent publications on the topic geared toward a more advanced audience.

The book begins by surveying the geographic and demographic setting of the Spanish political system, followed by a rather touristy collection of black and white photographs. The first section of the book presents an historical overview of Spain, and includes descriptive chapters on the conquest and reconquest, Bourbon Spain, the Second Republic and its

breakdown, and the Franco Regime. Part two covers the transition to democracy after Franco's death. After a brief description of the transition itself, Professor Arango dedicates two very useful chapters to the Spanish Constitution of 1978, and to the nuts and bolts of the political system. Neither of these aspects of Spanish politics has been covered as succinctly or as clearly in similar studies currently available. Spain's constitution is especially interesting for students of comparative politics, given its fascinating ambiguity on a number of potentially divisive issues, and its apparent acceptance of a significant degree of socialization of the means of production.

The two final parts of the book are dedicated to the politics of democratic Spain. Part three looks at two important themes in the politics of the first years of democracy, the collapse of the political center, and the persistence of violence and terrorism. Part four turns to the socioeconomic context of Spanish politics, with chapters on the economy, and the culture and society of Spain. The book concludes with an assessment of the achievements of Spain's democratic regime, and a discussion of problems outstanding.

On the whole, the book is well organized, logically presented, and accurate. Only a couple of Professor Arango's assertions are questionable. The characterization of Spain from 1936 through 1939 as totalitarian (p. 73) is extremely dubious when measured against Friedrich and Brzezinski's six defining features. Their discussion of the role of the single party, especially with regard to control over the armed forces, raises serious doubts about Professor Arango's characterization. On pages 76-77, the author correctly describes Spain's political system after 1942 as authoritarian, but the supporting arguments appear to contradict his characterization of the earlier period. Another disputable point is Professor Arango's assertion that the Spanish Communist Party's (PCE) performance in the June 15, 1977, elections was surprisingly poor (p. 102). Actually, given the fact that the PCE had only been legalized in mid-April of 1977, and considering the diabolical image of the Communists fostered by forty years of Francoism, the PCE's 9.3 percent of the vote was generally regarded as impressive.

Despite these points of contention, Professor Arango's broad survey of Spanish politics should be applauded because it avoids many of the pitfalls plaguing similar analyses, especially when summarizing Spain's extremely complex transition to democracy. He does not, as is commonly the case, simplistically attribute the transition to historical imperatives, mass level pressures, the international environment, or economic change. Rather, he interprets the transition as the result of a sophisticated, and not yet completely understood, interplay of Francoist elites, especially King Juan Carlos and Prime Minister Adolfo Suarez. Moreover, Professor Arango correctly dates the start of the transition with the death of Franco, not

with the economic liberalization of the 1960s, as many observers are prone to do. When discussing the unprecedented "collective suicide" of the Francoist legislature, Arango is careful not to adopt the often employed argument that the Cortes were simply cowed into submission. Rather, he writes quite correctly that "the politics of persuasion that brought about this phenomenal about-face remains in great part hidden. The roles of the King and the Prime Minister were preeminent, but their strategy has yet to be fully revealed" (p. 101).

In short, *Spain: From Repression to Renewal* is a most competent overview of the Spanish political system, from both an historical and contemporary perspective. To date, it is the best available introductory-level text on Spanish politics and society.

Donald Share, *University of Puget Sound*

*When Government Regulates Itself: EPA, TVA and Pollution Control in the 1970s.* By Robert F. Durant. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1985. Pp. 195. \$18.95.)

*When Government Regulates Itself* is primarily a case study of the efforts of the Environmental Protection Agency to apply the Clean Air Act (CAA) and the Federal Water Pollution Control Act (FWPCA) to the Tennessee Valley Authority. Through the study Robert Durant is attempting to contribute to our understanding of the dynamics of intragovernmental regulation and to advance implementation theory. The book is best understood as comprising three main parts. The first part summarizes the provisions of the CCA and FWPCA and examines the EPA's interpretation of the statutes. Durant does a good job of describing problems associated with standard setting in an environment of technical and political uncertainty. The second part, comprising the bulk of the book, describes the interactions of the EPA, TVA, and state governments during implementation of the sulfur dioxide and thermal pollution requirements. These chapters detail the bargaining, negotiating, and interplay of political, economic, and social forces surrounding EPA's regulation of the TVA. At various times both the EPA and TVA mobilized interest groups and other segments of the public, sought the intervention of other federal actors (notably the Justice Department and Atomic Energy Commission), and either sought the assistance of or attempted to avoid the intervention of regulatory officials in Tennessee, Kentucky and Alabama.

Durant often presents the case material from the standpoint of the motivations of the actors involved. Although this approach makes for interesting reading, on occasion it seems to require the author to make assumptions about the participants' motives. (Such assumptions have the potential for being spurious, given that the author relied, to a great extent,