



The Triumph of Democracy in Spain; The Making of Spanish Democracy

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The major weakness of the book is its lack of substantiation. Moore makes sweeping generalizations, and while many of the conclusions appear to be plausible, the premises they are based on appear questionable. The strength of the book lies in the application of an interesting theoretical approach to the topic. Moore's neo-Marxist approach places a great deal of emphasis on the impact of the state on the behavior of the rural smallholders. He does not restrict the focus of his analysis to a simplistic class-based analysis.

Despite its shortcomings, the book is an important contribution to the literature on peasant and South Asian studies and should be read by all scholars interested in these topics. Moore offers scholars of peasant politics a model worth noting and testing in other situations and offers other scholars new insight into the nature of rural politics in Sri Lanka and developing societies.

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The Triumph of Democracy in Spain. By Paul Preston (London: Methuen, 1986. xi, 274 p. \$32.00).

The Making of Spanish Democracy. By Donald Share (New York: Praeger, 1986. xvii, 230 p. \$38.95).

If Preston's study were more dispassionate, more reasonably focused, and less shrill, it would make an interesting companion piece to Share's study, which presents a disinterested, careful exposition and analysis of the transition from dictatorship to democracy in Spain following the death of Franco. Share centers his attention, as he should, on the extraordinary accomplishments of Adolfo Suarez, prime minister from July 1976 to January 1981 and King Juan Carlos, yet never minimizes the threats from the Ultras of the Franco regime and from the regional Basque terrorists, the Euzkadi ta Azkataruma (ETA [Basque Nation and Liberty]), both of which set out to destroy the embryonic democracy. Share keeps in perspective the conspiracies and the violence—which ultimately failed to achieve their purposes—and never loses sight of the long-range democratic goal that was achieved.

Preston, by contrast, centers his attention (his passion, really) on the conspirators and the perpetrators of violence, leading the reader almost to believe that the undemocratic forces were stronger than the democratic ones and that democracy triumphed in spite of itself. Preston simply cannot forgive Suarez for having emerged from the Franco regime, and only rarely does he mention the prime minister's name without adjectives that mock his pragmatism and his manipulative skills, which—while not necessarily immaculate—sought to offer something to almost every group in order to insinuate as many as possible into the consensus that brought about the miracle of the transition to democracy. Preston is the leftist romantic who judges all such accommodative behavior to be impure and who really would have preferred to see Spanish democracy emerge from a clean break with the past, a *ruptura*, as the Spaniards call it. Preston's preferences, which he might believe do not show, contort his evaluation of the transition. His heart runs away with his head, and he exhausts the thesaurus (and the reader) with words that act like leitmotifs, trumpeting contempt for those he sees as the villains and approbation for those he accepts as the heroes—just in the event that the readers might choose to think for themselves and draw their own conclusions.

Preston's most serious shortcoming, of his own making, is the failure to take his readers where, early in the monograph, he implies he will take them: into the smoke-filled rooms where, away from public scrutiny, the deals were cut by Suarez and his colleagues with both the Right and the Left opposition. Preston whets the readers' curiosity, for as yet no outsiders (read: scholars interested in the transition) have been in those rooms. But Preston takes us as far as the door and no further, along paths whose outlines are already familiar to careful students of Spanish politics. There is an almost total and glaring omission of even an attempt to analyze the labyrinthine maneuvers that produced the constitution, the centerpiece of the new political order. Nor does Preston take the readers into the rooms with the Ultras or the ETA, not an unreasonable expectation given the focus of the book. Thus, his study does not measurably further our knowledge of either the mainstream of Spanish politics from 1975 and 1982 (when the book ends) or of the

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undercurrents of conspiracy and violence, which still, for the most part, lie hidden to research.

Share does not take us inside the rooms either. He never claims or implies that he will. But he examines the largely familiar paths to them with such clarity, freshness, and detail that the reader is swept into the mainstream of Spanish transitional politics by his vigor and rigor. Share accepts without lamentation the reality that the transition was the creation of political elites from the moderate Right to the moderate Left who, of necessity, operated largely out of view of an expectant, but politically unsophisticated and unpracticed, public. Share understands with the mind of a non-ideologue that the only transition to democracy that was possible without risk of provoking the military would be one led by moderates from the Right like Suarez with ties to Francoism who, while acting within the laws of the Franco regime, could both ally with the moderates from the Left (and even some not so moderate like the Socialists and Communists before the two parties publicly shed their more extreme identity) and finesse all but the Ultras on the Right. The diehards would be unable to stop the transition without the support of the majority of the military elite, who were carefully nurtured, but kept in tether, by Juan Carlos. The king's extraordinary efforts paid off in February 1981, when a coup d'état was put down before it could spread. The "transition through transaction" had survived its baptism by fire.

Surely no one is so naive as not to believe that the moderate Right got more out of the transition than the moderate Left and that many who profited under Franco still profit today. But profound socioeconomic change was simply not a viable option in the years following Franco's death. Those who, like Preston, sincerely and deeply feel that a great opportunity to restructure Spain was missed can take hope and pride in the fact that after the debacle of the Union de Centro Democrático (UCD [Union of the Democratic Center]) the Socialists came into power in Spain in 1982 under the brilliant leadership of Felipe Gonzalez and still govern as this review is written, a phenomenon that in itself is revolutionary for Spain.

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Japanese Prefectures and Policymaking. By Steven R. Reed (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1986. ix, 197 p. \$26.95).

This study evaluates the distribution of influence in Japanese intergovernmental relations through detailed case studies of three policy areas (pollution control, housing, and high-school education) in three of Japan's forty-seven prefectures. Reed presents six hypotheses drawn from the comparative literature in this field. His major findings are that neither legal nor financial authority is necessarily related to influence; that control over information does, on the other hand, make a difference; that the substantive merits of a case can provide effective leverage in intergovernmental negotiating; that the least-interested party in a venture often exerts the greatest influence; but that, in the end, the single most important factor accounting for influence is politics.

Having taken the analysis this far, in a succinct and closely argued manner, Reed then makes the astounding statement that he "cannot give Japan high marks for local democracy" (p. 168). The basis for this conclusion is the perceived weakness of partisanship at the local level, the relative passivity of local assemblies, the tendency toward noncompetitive elections, and the lack of ideological fervor in debating local issues. Does this then mean that local residents are not free to choose their leaders, that their interests are not adequately represented in local administration, or that elected officials cannot establish local priorities reflecting the will of the people? By these measures, the evidence of above-average performance and responsiveness on the part of local authorities, even when compared to their counterparts in such democratic bastions as England or the United States, suggests otherwise. And this, in turn, points to the need for other, more contextually derived, indicators of democracy and local autonomy than those normally found in the literature on the Western democracies.

In the end, Reed's somewhat overdrawn and weakly substantiated hypotheses serve to underscore the depressing hollowness of much cross-national analysis. To simply say that "Japan is more centralized than the United States or Canada, but less centralized than France" (p. 163) leaves us groping in the dark,