

WORLD POLITICS

Vol. XXXIII

April 1981

No. 3

CONTENTS

Economic Rights and Distributive Justice in Developing Societies	<i>Charles R. Beitz</i>	321
Radical and Conventional Models of U.S. Foreign Economic Policy Making	<i>Pat McGowan and Stephen G. Walker</i>	347
Political Regime and Economic Actors: The Response of Firms to the End of Colonial Rule	<i>Miles Kahler</i>	383
RESEARCH NOTE		
Public Reactions to the Growth of Taxation and Government Expenditure	<i>Douglas A. Hibbs, Jr. and Henrik Jess Madsen</i>	413
REVIEW ARTICLES		
Vietnam Revised	<i>Terry Nardin and Jerome Slater</i>	436
Class, Ethnic Group, and Party in Indian Politics	<i>Paul R. Brass</i>	449
Policy Analysis as a Vocation	<i>Marc Landy</i>	468
The Contributors		ii
Abstracts		iii

THE CONTRIBUTORS

CHARLES R. BEITZ is Assistant Professor of Political Science at Swarthmore College. He has written articles on international distributive justice and human rights theory as well as on other topics in political philosophy, and is the author of *Political Theory and International Relations* (1979).

PAT MCGOWAN is Professor and Chair of the Department of Political Science, Arizona State University. He is a co-editor of *The Sage International Yearbook of Foreign Policy Studies*, and is currently engaged in research on dependence and imperialism from a world-system perspective.

STEPHEN G. WALKER is an Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science, Arizona State University. His current research is concerned with crisis bargaining and social-psychological models of foreign policy.

MILES KAHLER is Assistant Professor of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University. He has published articles on American foreign economic policy and the contemporary international system. He is currently working on a study of the impact of decolonization upon Britain and France.

DOUGLAS A. HIBBS, Jr. is Professor of Government at Harvard University. He has written extensively on statistical modelling of social processes, industrial and political conflict in advanced industrial societies, and the political economies of the capitalist democracies. His publications include *Mass Political Violence* (1973) and, with Heino Fassbender and others, *Contemporary Political Economy* (1981).

HENRIK JESS MADSEN is a doctoral candidate at the Department of Government, Harvard University. He is the author of various articles on electoral factors in macro-economic policy. Currently, he is working on a study of the political consequences of economic policy in the Scandinavian countries.

TERRY NARDIN is Associate Professor of Political Science at the State University of New York, Buffalo. He is the author of *International Law and Moral Conduct* (forthcoming).

JEROME SLATER is Professor of Political Science at the State University of New York, Buffalo. He is the author of a number of works on American foreign policy, and is currently writing a book on the lessons of the Vietnam War.

PAUL R. BRASS is Professor of Political Science and South Asian Studies and Chairman of the Program in Comparative Studies in Ethnicity and Nationality in the School of International Studies, University of Washington, Seattle. His publications include *Radical Politics in South Asia* (1973) and *Language, Religion, and Politics in North India* (1974). He is currently completing work on a project on the value implications and political consequences of the transfer of agricultural technology from the U.S. to South Asia.

MARC LANDY is an Assistant Professor of Political Science at Boston College and a Visiting Assistant Professor of Political Science at the Harvard School of Public Health. He is the author of *The Politics of Environmental Reform: Controlling Kentucky Surface Mining* (1975). Currently he is conducting research on the role of institutional design in the spheres of environmental and safety and health regulation.

The appearance of the code at the bottom of the first page of an article in this journal (serial) indicates the copyright owner's consent that copies of the article may be made for personal or internal use, or for the personal or internal use of specific clients. This consent is given on the condition, however, that the copier pay the stated per-copy fee through the Copyright Clearance Center, Inc., P. O. Box 765, Schenectady, N.Y. 12301, for copying beyond that permitted by Sections 107 and 108 of the U.S. Copyright Law. This consent does not extend to other kinds of copying, such as copying for general distribution, for advertising or promotional purposes, for creating new collective works, or for resale.

ABSTRACTS

ECONOMIC RIGHTS AND DISTRIBUTIVE JUSTICE IN DEVELOPING SOCIETIES

By C. R. BEITZ

This essay seeks to answer an important question of normative political theory concerning the developing countries: What claims to economic benefits are people justified in pressing against governments that are preoccupied with the development of their economies? Two alternative principles of distributive justice—the principle of maximizing growth and the principle of minimizing poverty—are examined with special reference to the circumstances of developing societies. An attempt is made to bring intergenerational considerations systematically to bear on the problem of economic rights in the present. It is concluded that there is an absolute minimum level of welfare to which everyone is entitled, and that this level is usefully conceived in terms of “basic needs.”

RADICAL AND CONVENTIONAL MODELS OF U.S. FOREIGN ECONOMIC POLICY MAKING

By P. MCGOWAN and S. G. WALKER

Two radical models of economic foreign policy making are summarized: instrumentalist and structuralist. By means of an issue-based policy paradigm, the views of several leading conventional scholars are described. The contrasting radical and conventional models are shown to be related—radicals providing useful insights into the setting of policy and conventional scholars being strongest regarding the policy process. Cautious synthesis is recommended to students of U.S. foreign economic policy making.

POLITICAL REGIME AND ECONOMIC ACTORS:

THE RESPONSE OF FIRMS TO THE END OF COLONIAL RULE

By M. KAHLER

The relationship between economic system and political regime has recently re-emerged as a central issue in social science. An examination of the political perceptions and actions of individual firms and of sectors during the uncertainties of decolonization permits a new approach to this question, using the concept of political exposure. The firm or sector characteristics that are associated with greater political exposure are assessed. Political preferences cannot be equated with either political action or outcomes, however. The links between capitalism and political regime require further refinement and qualification.

PUBLIC REACTIONS TO THE GROWTH OF TAXATION AND GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURE

By D. A. HIBBS, Jr. and H. J. MADSEN

Opinion poll and behavioral evidence indicates that public resistance to the growth of taxation and state expenditure has increased significantly during the last decade in many advanced industrial democracies. This paper examines trends in the magnitude, composition, and consequences of taxation and government spending in relation to cross-national patterns of popular opposition to the expansion of the welfare state in five European industrial societies. The evidence suggests that the politically optimal system of taxation and expenditure relies heavily on indirect and programmatic taxes rather than on direct, general-revenue levies, and channels state resources toward cash transfers to households rather than into labor-intensive public consumption.

VIETNAM REVISED

By T. NARDIN and J. SLATER

Several recent studies of the Vietnam War challenge the generally accepted view that American policy in the war was a political and moral failure. It is now argued that "the system worked" because U.S. policy reflected a democratically formulated consensus, and that the military conduct of the war does not warrant the moral condemnation it has received. Each of these arguments is vitiated by factual and logical errors. The first reveals a failure to grasp the importance of constitutionalism and the rule of law in the American democracy. The second—that U.S. military methods were morally defensible—confuses morality with expediency, and rests on a mistaken understanding of the distinction between intentional and unintentional injury to noncombatants. If there is a case against the accepted view, it has yet to be made.

CLASS, ETHNIC GROUP, AND PARTY IN INDIAN POLITICS

By P. R. BRASS

Several recent books on India have focused on issues of nationalism and ethnic conflict, policy and ideological differences, parties and elections, and the stability of Indian democracy. The most useful contributions to the understanding of Indian politics and to social science theory have come from works that use analytical categories that have proven themselves cross-culturally (namely, those of class, status group, and power), and that lay bare through case studies the sources of the conflicts and cleavages in Indian society that both threaten and sustain democracy. Less useful are works that impose on Indian political behavior explanatory frameworks, political ideals, and methodologies derived from Western political history and culture-bound social science, such as political divisions between Left and non-Left, the two-party system, citizenship, and survey research.

POLICY ANALYSIS AS A VOCATION

By M. LANDY

Three recent works provide the point of departure for assessing the performance of the new profession of policy analysis. Both the scope of the enterprise and the standards it adopts for evaluating policy are found to be excessively narrow. A revised framework for policy analysis is proposed whose scope is broadened to encompass the design of policy-making procedures as well as substantive policy outcomes. Such procedures have a vital impact upon how policy problems are defined and how preferences concerning them are formed. The standards for evaluating policy are expanded to include an explicit consideration of citizenship. All policies and policy-making procedures directly or indirectly affect the capacity for self-government. Therefore they must be judged, at least in part, in terms of how they influence the capabilities of citizens to participate in public life and the willingness of citizens to do so.