

THE MIDSOUTH POLITICAL SCIENCE JOURNAL
(ISSN 1051-5054)

Editors

Gary D. Weekin, *University of Central Arkansas*
Donald E. Whistler, *University of Central Arkansas*

Editorial Board

- David N. Atkinson
University of Missouri, Kansas City
- Harold F. Bass, II
Ouachita Baptist University
- Robert A. Bernstein
Auburn University
- Leonard Cardenas, II
Southwest Texas State University
- Diane D. Blair
University of Arkansas, Fayetteville
- Gary W. Copeland
University of Oklahoma
- Robert E. Dewhirst
Northwest Missouri State University
- Charles DeWitt Dunn
Henderson State University
- Mark C. Ellickson
Southwest Missouri State University
- Robert E. England
Oklahoma State University
- Arthur English
University of Arkansas, Little Rock
- David H. Everson
Sangamon State University
- Frank A. Feigert
University of North Texas
- James D. Gingerich
Arkansas Courts Administrator
- Daniel R. Grant
Ouachita Baptist University
- Rodney A. Grunes
Centenary College
- Don F. Hadwiger
Iowa State University
- Norman Hodges, II
Arkansas Claims Commission
- Patricia A. Hurley
Texas A&M University
- Ronald John Hy
University of Arkansas, Little Rock
- John S. Jackson, III
Southern Illinois University
- Donald R. Kelley
University of Arkansas, Fayetteville
- Michael A. Kelley
University of Central Arkansas
- James D. King
Memphis State University
- C. Jeddy LeVar
Henderson State University
- F. David Levenbach
Arkansas State University
- Michael A. Maggiotto
Bowling Green State University
- Thomas R. Marshall
University of Texas, Arlington
- Philip J. Meeks
St. Mary's University
- Julius Nyang'oro
University of North Carolina
- Marcus D. Pohlmann
Rhodes College
- Richard B. Riley
Baylor University
- Robert L. Savage
University of Arkansas, Fayetteville
- Margaret Scranton
University of Arkansas, Little Rock
- Steven A. Shull
University of New Orleans
- G. Ross Stephens
University of Missouri, Kansas City
- Mary E. Stuckey
University of Mississippi
- R. Lawson Veasey
University of Central Arkansas
- Stanley Vanagunas
Arkansas State University
- Jan P. Vermeer
Nebraska Wesleyan University
- Conrad P. Waligorski
University of Arkansas, Fayetteville
- Mark J. Wattier
Murray State University
- Charles W. Wiggins
Texas A&M University
- W. Martin Wiseman
Mississippi State University

Jerome E. Young
University of Arkansas, Monticello

THE MIDSOUTH POLITICAL SCIENCE JOURNAL

Volume 12

Autumn, 1991

CONTENTS

- Contributors* 1
- Václav Havel: Building Beyond Democracy
- James F. Lea*
Edward M. Wheat 3
- The Mainstream Democratic Vision
- Donald E. Whistler* 13
- The Nominating Process: Factionalism as a Force
for Democratization
- Ralph M. Goldman* 42
- Change and Democratization in One-Party Systems
- Harold F. Bass, Jr.* 65
- Republican Strength at the Grass Roots: An Analysis
at the County Level
- Charles S. Bullock, III* 80
- Industrialization and Two-Party Democracy
- Eric M. Mackey* 100

Instructions to Contributors. Manuscripts should conform to the *APSA STYLE MANUAL*, should not exceed 40 pages in length, and should be accompanied by an abstract. Send four copies of the manuscript, three of which have all identifying references deleted, to Editor, *Midsouth Political Science Journal*, Dept. of Political Science, University Of Central Arkansas, Conway AR 72035. Research manuscripts and review essays pertinent to all field of political science are welcome.

Subscription Information. Subscription rates are \$15.00 p.a. for individuals, \$25.00 p.a. for institutions. Subscriptions may be obtained by writing to Marlene LeDuc, *MPSJ* Financial Officer, Dept. of Political Science, University of Central Arkansas, Conway AR 72035. Complete sets of back issues on microfiche may be obtained from the same address for \$20.00.

Indexing. The *Midsouth Political Science Journal* is indexed in the *PAIS Bulletin*. Arrangements for additional indexing are being made.

The *Midsouth Political Science Journal* is a multi-issue journal of political science published at the University of Central Arkansas Press. Formerly the *Arkansas Political Science Journal*, the *Midsouth Political Science Journal* was created by the Arkansas Political Science Association in 1988.

Arkansas Political Science Association Officers, 1990-91

President:	Steven M. Neuse, <i>University of Arkansas, Fayetteville</i>
Vice President:	John N. Short, <i>University of Arkansas, Monticello</i>
Secretary-Treasurer:	C. Jeddy LeVar, <i>Henderson State University</i>
Past President:	Harold F. Bass, Jr., <i>Quachita Baptist University</i>
Program Chair:	Arthur English, <i>University of Arkansas, Little Rock</i>
Executive Committee:	Sherry Dahlstrom, <i>University of Arkansas</i> W. Martin James, <i>Henderson State University</i> Mary Susan Power, <i>Arkansas State University</i> Daryl H. Rice, <i>University of Arkansas, Little Rock</i>

The Editors wish to thank the University of Central Arkansas, in particular President Winfred L. Thompson, Vice President J. William Berry, and Dean James S. Dombek, for unstinting support of the *Midsouth Political Science Journal*. The support of Michael A. Kelley, Chair, and of the members and staff of the UCA Department of Political Science, is also invaluable.

Autumn 1991 Issue

Contributors

Harold F. Bass, Jr. (Ph.D., Vanderbilt University, 1978) is Chairman and Professor of Political Science at Ouachita Baptist University. He has served on the APSA annual meeting program committee. He has published articles in the *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, the *Midsouth Political Science Journal*, and the *Arkansas Political Science Journal*, and has contributed chapters to *Presidents and Their Parties* and to *The End of Realignment?*

Charles S. Bullock, III (Ph.D., Washington University, 1968) is the Richard B. Russell Professor of Political Science at the University of Georgia, and has served as president of the Southern Political Science Association. He has authored several books in the areas of civil rights and public policy, and has published in numerous journals, including the *American Political Science Review*, the *Journal of Politics*, the *American Journal of Political Science*, and the *Midsouth Political Science Journal*.

Ralph M. Goldman (Ph.D., University of Chicago, 1951) is Professor Emeritus, San Francisco State University, and Adjunct Professor at Catholic University. He has authored, co-authored, and edited numerous books about party politics, including *The Politics of National Party Conventions*, *Transnational Parties*, *From Warfare to Party Politics*, and *The National Party Chairmen and Committees*.

James F. Lea (Ph.D., Louisiana State University, 1973) is Professor of Political Science at the University of Southern Mississippi. He is the author of *Kazantzakis - The Politics of Salvation* and of *Political Consciousness and American Democracy*, and is the editor of *Contemporary Southern Politics*.

Eric M. Mackey (Ph.D., University of Michigan, 1991) is an Assistant Professor in the department of Afro-American Studies at Eastern Michigan University. His research interests include parties and political behavior and minority politics.

Edward M. Wheat (Ph.D., University of California, Santa Barbara, 1975) is Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Southern Mississippi. His articles have appeared in numerous journals, including the *Public Administration Review*, the *Administrative Law Review*, the *Law and Policy Quarterly*, the *Midwest Quarterly*, and the *Texas Journal of Political Studies*.

Donald E. Whistler (Ph.D., Southern Illinois University, 1972) is Professor of Political Science at the University of Central Arkansas, and editor of the *Midsouth Political Science Journal*, the *Journal of Political Science*, the *Southeastern Political Review*, and the *Arkansas Political Science Journal*, and is working on a book about the Arkansas General Assembly.

Editors' Note

The papers in this issue and the next were presented at the Conference on *Building Democracy in One-Party Systems* held at the University of Central Arkansas, April 14-16, 1991. Co-sponsored by *MPSJ*, the UCA Honors College, the UCA Foundation, and UCA International Programs, the conference was held to explore ways in which the Southern experience of democracy in the absence of partisan competition might provide lessons valuable to builders of democracy in Eastern Europe and emergent nations, and ways in which our own brand of democracy might benefit from the fresher perspectives of those builders. The Conference was organized around four theme panels: (1) "Building Democracy in Theory," (2) "The Southern Experience of Democracy," (3) "Building Democracy in LDCs," and (4) "Building Democracy in Place of Communism."

In this issue, papers from the first two panels are presented. Those from the first panel cover topics that range from the fresh, critical *postdemocratic* views of Havel (James Lea & Edward Wheat) to the mainstream, liberal democratic thought of Dahl, Sartori, and others (Donald Whistler). The institutional or procedural requisites of democracy receive much attention (Whistler; Ralph Goldman), and the case is made that competitive nominations procedures (such as the Southern Democratic primary and run-off) can contribute to democratic accountability even in polities where party-system development cannot yet support interparty competition (Goldman; Hal Bass).

Yet, it is also evident that the prospects for interparty competition are at an all-time high in traditional one-party settings such as the South, Eastern Europe, and the party-states of Africa (Bass). Papers from the second panel focus on evidence and different scenarios of the growth of the Republican Party in the Southern United States, in the hope of drawing inferences from that experience for those currently puzzling through the task of how to build democratic opposition in environments where none previously was permitted. Contrary to expectations, industrial development does not seem related to the growth of interparty competition (Eric Mackey); however, the apparent spread of Republican support from the top of the ticket down in recent Georgia elections (Charles Bullock III) may hold out some hope that interparty competition will follow in similar fashion from the efforts of attractive opposition leaders (such as Presidents Walesa, Havel, and Yeltsin themselves once were) who emerge to challenge the post-totalitarian regimes.

In the next issue, papers from the latter two panels assay the current status and prospects for democracy in Central America (Margaret Scranton), Sub-Saharan Africa (Julius Nyang'oro and Michael Kelley), Eastern Europe (Robin Remington, Goldie Shabad, and Donald Kelley), and in China and the Pacific Rim (John Copper). Comparison of the different democratization experiences of China and Taiwan, and of post-Franco Spain and Eastern Europe, underline the critical distinction between democratic transition from authoritarianism, on the one hand, and democratic transition from totalitarianism, on the other. These comparisons, together with those drawn between Africa and the "Four Tigers" of the Pacific Rim, also illustrate the critical interaction of economic development and of political culture with democratic development. Of further interest is that the essays that deal with the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and Eastern Europe are current, as of January, 1992.