

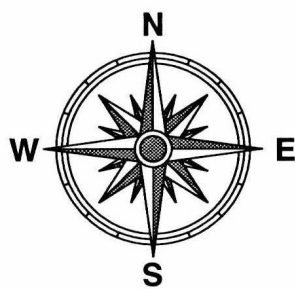
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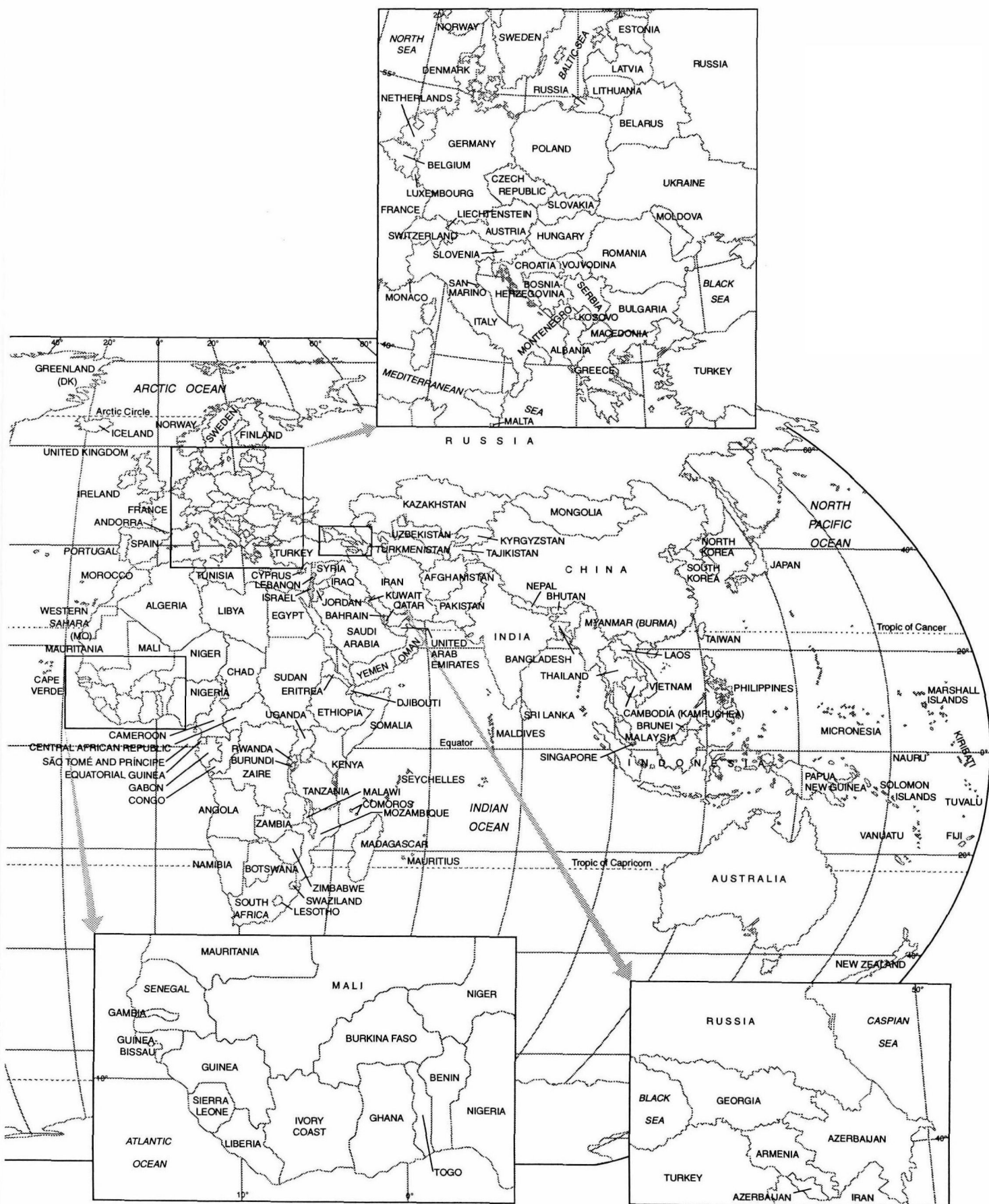
COMPARATIVE POLITICS



96/97

This map has been developed to give you a graphic picture of where the countries of the world are located, the relationship they have with their region and neighbors, and their positions relative to the superpowers and power blocs. We have focused on certain areas to more clearly illustrate these crowded regions.

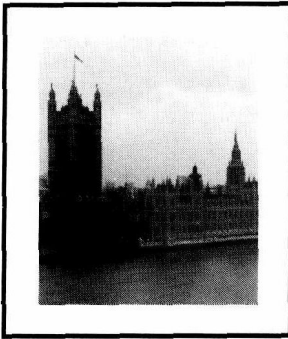




Topic Guide

This topic guide suggests how the selections in this book relate to topics of traditional concern to students and professionals involved with the study of comparative politics. It is useful for locating articles that relate to each other for reading and research. The guide is arranged alphabetically according to topic. Articles may, of course, treat topics that do not appear in the topic guide. In turn, entries in the topic guide do not necessarily constitute a comprehensive listing of all the contents of each selection.

TOPIC AREA	TREATED IN	TOPIC AREA	TREATED IN
Africa's Politics	54. Africa: Falling off the Map? 55. Why Is Africa Eating Asia's Dust? 56. Post-Mandela South Africa	Elections and Parties	1. Next Prime Minister 3. British Third Party Bids 7. Outstripping Adenauer 8. New Leader for the Social Democrats 12. Fifth President of the Fifth Republic 17. Italy's Dirty Linen 18. Unhappy Italy 21. Japan's New Prime Minister 24. Guide to the West European Left 25. Europe's Far Right 28. Women, Power, and Politics 31. What Democracy Is . . . and Is Not 33. Campaign and Party Finance 34. Electoral Reform 43. Ex-Coms 47. Splintering of Russia's Reformers 48. Post-Soviet Politics 52. Common Sense over Charisma 53. Mexico: The Long Haul 62. Dangers and Dilemmas of Democracy 63. Democracy and Growth
Britain's Government and Politics	1. Next Prime Minister 2. Newts Across the Pond 3. British Third Party Bids 4. Revamping Britain's Constitution 5. What Is Scotland's Future 6. After the Talking Stopped 23. Left's New Start 24. Guide to the West European Left 32. Parliament and Congress 33. Campaign and Party Finance 34. Electoral Reform 35. Presidents and Prime Ministers 36. Citizens Immune to Euro-Fever 38. Challenge to EMU 40. Diagnosis: Healthier in Europe 41. Europe and the Underclass 42. Inequalities in Europe	Ethnicity and Politics	5. What Is Scotland's Future? 6. After the Talking Stopped 10. Eastern Germany: The Eagle's Embrace 25. Europe's Far Right 26. Migration Challenge 27. Europeans Redefine What Makes a Citizen 36. Citizens Immune to Euro-Fever 42. Inequalities in Europe 44. Return of the Habsburgs 48. Post-Soviet Politics 54. Africa: Falling off the Map? 56. Post-Mandela South Africa 67. Communal Conflicts and Global Security 68. Debate on Cultural Conflicts 69. Jihad vs. McWorld
Central and Eastern Europe	26. Migration Challenge 27. Europeans Redefine What Makes a Citizen 43. Ex-Coms 44. Return of the Habsburgs and Rich Man, Poor Man 61. New Era in Democracy 62. Dangers and Dilemmas of Democracy 64. Capitalism and Democracy 65. Preserving Prosperity 67. Communal Conflicts and Global Security 68. Debate on Cultural Conflicts	European Union	1. Next Prime Minister 2. Newts Across the Atlantic 4. Revamping Britain's Constitution 7. Outstripping Adenauer 8. New Leader for the Social Democrats 11. Germany's Reckoning 13. Will the Real France Stand Up? 14. Political Strikes and Demonstrations 26. Migration Challenge 27. Europeans Redefine What Makes a Citizen 36. Citizens Immune to Euro-Fever 37. Europe's Parliament on the Move 38. Challenge to EMU 40. Diagnosis: Healthier in Europe 41. Europe and the Underclass 42. Inequalities in Europe
China's Government and Politics	57. China—The End of an Era 61. New Era in Democracy 63. Democracy and Growth 64. Capitalism and Democracy	Federal and Unitary Systems	4. Revamping Britain's Constitution 5. What Is Scotland's Future? 6. After the Talking Stopped 10. Eastern Germany: The Eagle's Embrace 16. Tocqueville in Italy 18. Unhappy Italy 36. Citizens Immune to Euro-Fever 44. Return of the Habsburgs and Rich Man, Poor Man 46. Reform of Russia 56. Post-Mandela South Africa 66. Cyberspace 69. Jihad vs. McWorld
Conservatives and Conservative Parties	1. Next Prime Minister 2. Newts Across the Pond 7. Outstripping Adenauer 12. Fifth President of the Fifth Republic 17. Italy's Dirty Linen 21. Japan's New Prime Minister 34. Electoral Reform		
Developing Countries	50. Let's Abolish the Third World 51. 'Third World' Is Dead, but Spirits Linger 52. Common Sense over Charisma 53. Mexico: The Long Haul 54. Africa: Falling off the Map? 55. Why Is Africa Eating Asia's Dust? 56. Post-Mandela South Africa 57. China—the End of an Era 58. India's Juggernaut of Change 59. Miracles beyond the Free Market 60. Confucius Says: Go East, Young Man 61. New Era in Democracy 67. Communal Conflicts and Global Security 68. Debate on Cultural Conflicts 69. Jihad vs. McWorld		

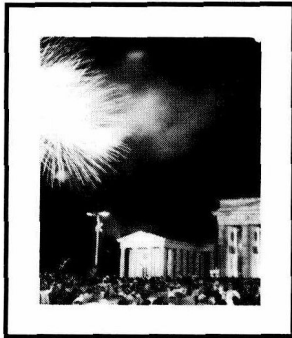


Unit 1

Pluralist Democracies: Country Studies

Twenty-two selections examine the current state of politics in Western Europe, the United Kingdom, Germany, France, Italy, and Japan.

World Map	ii
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A. THE UNITED KINGDOM	
1. The Next Prime Minister , Sidney Blumenthal, <i>The New Yorker</i> , February 5, 1996.	10
After 17 years in the opposition, a reinvigorated Labour Party now seems likely to dislodge the politically divided and fatigued Conservative Party from power after the next general election. Sidney Blumenthal examines the shifts in British party politics , with particular attention to Tony Blair's role as opposition leader in the British cabinet.	
2. Newts Across the Pond Rework the British Right , Alexander MacLeod, <i>Christian Science Monitor</i> , January 16, 1996.	19
In anticipation of a general British election, which must come before May 1997, the ruling Conservative Party remains deeply divided over policy and strategy. On the key question of Europe, the right wing wishes to pull in a Thatcherite direction, while moderates publicly support a united Europe.	
3. British Third Party Bids for Role as Kingmaker , Alexander MacLeod, <i>Christian Science Monitor</i> , January 24, 1996.	20
After the most recent Conservative defections, the Liberal Democrats hold 25 parliamentary seats, slightly less than 4 percent of the total. But they received 18 percent of the popular vote in 1992, and they still hope to become kingmakers after the next general election. In a coalition government with Labour, the Liberal Democrats would then demand electoral reform to solidify their parliamentary position.	
4. Revamping Britain's Constitution	21
In a series of briefs, <i>The Economist</i> developed the case for a thorough reform and codification of Britain's fundamental rules of governance. This British weekly critically examines here the traditionalist opposition to constitutional reform and argues why, where, and how power needs to be more clearly defined , controlled, and redistributed throughout the British political system. These two briefs successively present the arguments for a general reform and for a modern bill of rights.	
a. The Case for Reform , <i>The Economist</i> , October 14, 1995.	
b. Why Britain Needs a Bill of Rights , <i>The Economist</i> , October 21, 1995.	
5. What Is Scotland's Future? Anthony King, <i>The World in 1996</i> , 1995 Issue.	26
A British political scientist reviews the party debate on home rule for Scotland .	
6. After the Talking Stopped , Fred Barbash, <i>The Washington Post National Weekly Edition</i> , February 19-25, 1996.	27
Fred Barbash examines the continuing troubles of Northern Ireland in the wake of the recent resumption of terrorist bombings by the Irish Republican Army (IRA).	
B. GERMANY	
7. Outstripping Adenauer , Jonathan Carr, <i>The World in 1996</i> , 1995 Issue.	29
Jonathan Carr explores reasons for the political longevity of Helmut Kohl , who has headed his Christian Democratic Party since 1973 and the Bonn government since 1982. Opponents have frequently underestimated Kohl's political savvy and ability to recover from setbacks.	
8. A New Leader for the Social Democrats. A New Orientation as Well?	31
At their annual party congress in November 1995, a majority of the Social Democratic Party's delegates made a surprise move by replacing their lackluster leader, Rudolf Scharping, with his flamboyant and controversial rival, Oskar Lafontaine. These three articles review the background and political implications of this sudden shift in the main opposition party.	
a. German Opposition Leader Ousted , Peter Norman, <i>Financial Times</i> , November 17, 1995.	
b. Triumph of the Little Man , Quentin Peel, <i>Financial Times</i> , November 18, 1995.	
c. Lesson of a "Truly Shocking" Meeting in Bonn , Judy Dempsey, <i>Financial Times</i> , December 1, 1995.	
9. Man Who Put Cheer Back in German Greens , Michael Lindemann, <i>Financial Times</i> , October 26, 1995.	35
The German Greens have made an impressive comeback in the past couple of years. Michael Lindemann examines the party and one of its leading figures, Joschka Fischer.	

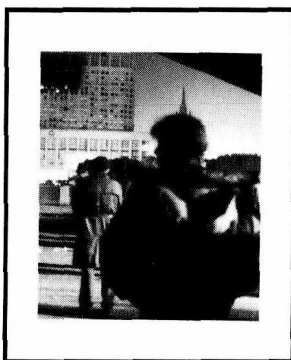


Unit 2

Modern Pluralist Democracies: Factors in the Political Process

Thirteen selections examine the functioning of Western European democracies with regard to political ideas and participation, ethnic politics, the role of women in politics, and the institutional framework of representative government.

21. **Japan's New Prime Minister** 68
In January 1996, *Japan* returned to having a prime minister from the *Liberal Democratic Party*. The first of the two articles examines the new leader, *Ryutaro Hashimoto*, and his coalition government. The second article looks at some deeper evolutionary trends that are gradually changing *Japanese politics*.
 - a. **Vote Puts Japan's Former Ruling Party Back at Helm**, Teresa Watanabe, *Los Angeles Times*, January 12, 1996.
 - b. **Political Survival Is the Name of the New Game**, Norman D. Levin, *Los Angeles Times*, January 14, 1996.
 22. **Intellectual Warfare**, Chalmers Johnson, *The Atlantic Monthly*, January 1995. 71
Chalmers Johnson uses a review article to provoke controversy by reflecting very critically upon what he sees as the roots and manifestations of our *failure to understand Japan and other East Asian countries*.
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- ### Overview
- 74
-
- #### A. POLITICAL IDEAS, MOVEMENTS, AND PARTIES
23. **The Left's New Start**, *The Economist*, June 11, 1994. 78
Amid an apparent revival of the *democratic Left* in some parts of Western Europe, this essay reviews the *political strengths* and *ideological positions* of these social democratic/socialist parties.
 24. **Guide to the West European Left**, Paul Anderson, *New Statesman & Society*, January 5, 1996. 81
Paul Anderson, a British writer that sympathizes with the left-of-center parties, reports on their *current difficulties in several West European countries*: Germany, France, Italy, Spain, and Sweden.
 25. **Europe's Far Right: Something Nasty in the Woodshed**, *The Economist*, October 21, 1995. 84
As fears of inflation, unemployment, immigration, crime, and loss of national identity take root in Western Europe, *the far Right has gained some momentum*. This article examines the political significance of this phenomenon.
- #### B. THE ETHNIC FACTOR IN WEST EUROPEAN POLITICS
26. **The Migration Challenge: Europe's Crisis in Historical Perspective**, James F. Hollifield, *Harvard International Review*, Summer 1994. 86
Immigration has had a profound impact on the politics and societies of contemporary Western Europe. James Hollifield examines *the periodic migrant influxes and subsequent xenophobic reactions* that have occurred in Europe since the 1950s.
 27. **Europeans Redefine What Makes a Citizen**, Craig R. Whitney, *New York Times*, January 7, 1996. 93
At a time of economic slowdown and social tensions, the West European countries have begun to tighten their citizenship *rules to discourage immigration*. Low birthrates will create a long-term demographic dilemma, however, and workers from outside will eventually be needed to help pay the pensions of retired baby boomers.
- #### C. WOMEN AND POLITICS
28. **Women, Power, and Politics: The Norwegian Experience**, Irene Garland, *Scandinavian Review*, Winter 1991. 95
The Scandinavian countries all have very high numbers of *women* in their *parliaments* and other important political positions. In Norway, the prime minister and the leaders of two other parties are women. This article discusses the political reasons for this recent, unparalleled development toward *gender equality*.
 29. **Political Power Is Only Half the Battle**, *U.S. News & World Report*, June 13, 1994. 99
Although *women* hold almost half the seats in both the cabinet and parliament of Norway, they are not doing nearly as well in the private sector. The country is engaged in a debate about the reasons for this *gender inequality*, which still exists despite laws designed to erase it.
 30. **Despite Global Gains, Women's Status Still Suffers**, Robin Wright, *Los Angeles Times*, August 24, 1995. 100
The *women's movement* has made some impressive gains, but there is still widespread *gender inequality* in economic and political opportunities. This article provides a *global perspective on the status of women*.



Unit

3

Europe—West, Center, and East: The Politics of Integration, Transformation, and Disintegration

Fourteen selections examine the European continent: the European Union, Western European society, post-communist Central and Eastern Europe, and Russia and the other post-Soviet Republics.

D. THE INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

31. **What Democracy Is . . . and Is Not**, Philippe C. Schmitter and Terry Lynn Karl, *Journal of Democracy*, Summer 1991. The authors point out that *modern representative democracies* vary considerably in their institutions, practices, and values, depending upon their different socioeconomic, historical, and cultural settings. 102
32. **Parliament and Congress: Is the Grass Greener on the Other Side?** Gregory S. Mahler, *Canadian Parliamentary Review*, Winter 1985/86. Gregory Mahler examines the arguments advanced by supporters of both the *parliamentary and the congressional systems of government*, with particular attention to the legislative-executive relationship in each. 109
33. **Campaign and Party Finance: What Americans Might Learn from Abroad**, Arthur B. Gunlicks, *Party Line*, Spring/Summer 1993. Arthur Gunlicks looks at *campaign and party finance* in several Western democracies, with an eye on some possible lessons for the United States. 113
34. **Electoral Reform: Good Government? Fairness? Or Vice Versa. Or Both**, *The Economist*, May 1, 1993. The article explains the workings of *electoral systems* and compares the British *winner-takes-all system* with one based on *proportional representation*, as is found in many other Western European countries. 115
35. **Presidents and Prime Ministers**, Richard Rose, *Society*, March/April 1988. Writing while François Mitterrand was still president of the Fifth Republic, Richard Rose compares the different methods of government in the United States (*presidential*), Great Britain (*prime ministerial*), and France (*presidential and prime ministerial*). He points to important *differences in the form of political leadership* and in the *checks and balances* involved in effective governing. 117

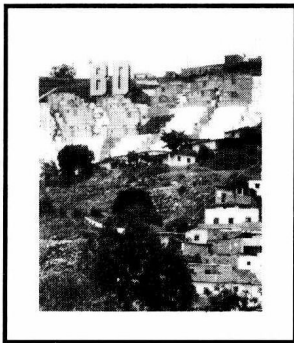
Overview 124

A. THE EUROPEAN UNION: FROM EC TO EU

36. **Citizens Immune to Euro-Fever**, Tyler Marshall, *Los Angeles Times*, April 24, 1996. In daily life, people in Western Europe show little interest in being part of one Europe. Amid the ideal of a *Euro-citizenry*, Tyler Marshall reports, *national identities* are still far stronger, especially among young people. 128
37. **Europe's Parliament on the Move**, Tyler Marshall, *Los Angeles Times*, February 13, 1995. *The European Union's traveling assembly* has long been seen as a "grave train" for second-rate politicians, but it has grown increasingly important over the years. While it is not a full-blown parliament, it performs valuable representative and deliberative functions. 130
38. **The Challenge to EMU: Europe Learns Its Alphabet**, *The Economist*, December 9, 1995. This report examines the most important political motives and arguments that support or oppose national efforts to complete *the final stage of an economic and monetary union (EMU)* by the end of the 1990s, in conformity with the timetable established by the Maastricht Treaty. It will be difficult for several European Union members to meet the economic criteria, and there are additional political obstacles to overcome as well. 133

B. REVAMPING THE WELFARE STATE

39. **Sweden: A Model Crisis**, Joseph B. Board, *Current Sweden*, September 1995. An American political scientist who is familiar with Sweden's socioeconomic history examines this country's famous *welfare state model* and concludes that it faces a major crisis. 136
40. **Diagnosis: Healthier in Europe**, Joel Havemann, *Los Angeles Times*, December 30, 1992. There is a striking contrast in the *health care systems* of the United States and most of *Western Europe*. The basic principle of collective responsibility underlies each national health care system in Europe, many of which are a mix of public and compulsory government-subsidized private insurance. 142
41. **Europe and the Underclass: The Slippery Slope**, *The Economist*, July 30, 1994. *Western Europe* can no longer claim to be free of the social phenomenon long known in the United States as an "*underclass*." This article acknow- 146



Unit 4

Political Diversity in the Developing World

Eleven selections review the developing world's economic and political development in Latin America, Africa, China, India, and newly industrialized countries.

ledges and explores this serious social problem, looks at its roots, and reviews the political responses.

42. **Inequalities in Europe: Affirmative Laissez Faire**, Richard W. Stevenson, *New York Times*, November 26, 1995. 149
There is an increasingly recognized need in Europe to combat **employment discrimination** based on race, ethnicity, or gender. At the same time, there appears to be a growing consensus on the need to find viable alternative policies to the U.S. model of affirmative action.

C. POST-COMMUNIST CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

43. **Ex-Coms**, Anne Applebaum, *The New Republic*, December 11, 1995. 151
The **Communists** who have returned to power in some **East European countries** have been helped by the survival of social structures, but they no longer represent the past. Instead they are the capitalist future, however corrupt and unfair that future may be. The new president of Poland, Alexander Kwasniewski, is a good example and the focus of this article.
44. **The Return of the Habsburgs and Rich Man, Poor Man**, David Lawday, *The National Times*, February/March 1996. 154
After a long period of politically enforced separation, **Central Europe** is seeking stronger ties to the West. These articles examine some of the obstacles on the road to such a homecoming.
45. **A Cold-War Reality Check: Didn't Communism Die?** George Moffett, *Christian Science Monitor*, December 6, 1995. 158
The author explains that **communism** in the old Soviet bloc has only survived by redefining itself. But there are also important institutional and ideological reasons for its **political tenacity**.

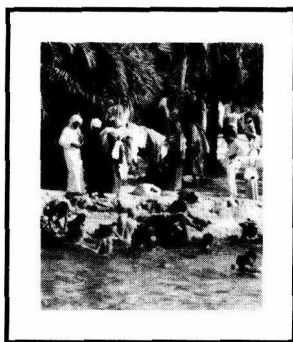
D. RUSSIA AND THE OTHER POST-SOVIET REPUBLICS

46. **The Reform of Russia: For Worse, for Better**, John Lloyd, *Financial Times*, January 24, 1996. 160
On the completion of his fifth year as Moscow correspondent, John Lloyd makes a sober **assessment of politics and society in post-Soviet Russia**. He underscores the many socioeconomic and political problems that paralyze the country, including its weak democratic tradition, but he also investigates some important positive developments.
47. **The Splintering of Russia's Reformers**, Lee Hockstader, *The Washington Post National Weekly Edition*, December 25-31, 1995. 164
Leo Hockstader examines the results of **Russia's parliamentary elections**, held in December 1995, with particular attention to the potentially fatal disunity of the forces for democratic reform.
48. **Post-Soviet Politics: Does the Communists' Rise Augur a 'Weimar' Russia?** Gregory Freidin, *Los Angeles Times*, January 7, 1996. 166
Gregory Freidin examines the frequently drawn parallel between Germany's ill-fated Weimar Republic and post-Soviet Russia. Freidin concedes that the **parliamentary elections resulted in a significant strengthening of the Communists** and a simultaneous weakening of the forces of democratic reform, but he points hopefully to some mitigating factors that make the Weimar metaphor less relevant.
49. **For Russia's Reformers, a Time of Despair**, Lee Hockstader, *The Washington Post National Weekly Edition*, January 8-14, 1996. 168
The Communists and the ultranationalists together attracted about one-third of the vote in Russia's December 1995 elections. This article examines **the political problems of Russia's reformers**, especially the growing gulf between Russia's intelligentsia and its worker class.

Overview 170

A. POLITICS OF DEVELOPMENT

50. **Let's Abolish the Third World**, *Newsweek*, April 27, 1992. 174
The term "**Third World**" has always included too much diversity to be a useful analytical tool. Now that we know much more about the **economic and social problems** of the former "Second," or communist, world, there is even less reason for clinging to the categories of "three worlds."
51. **The 'Third World' Is Dead, but Spirits Linger**, Barbara Crossette, *New York Times*, November 13, 1994. 176
In 1955 the Bandung Conference promoted an **image of a fraternal "third world"** of developing nations, which shared similar problems, interests, and goals in opposition to the West and the developed world.



Unit 5

Comparative Politics: Some Major Trends, Issues, and Prospects

Nine selections discuss the rise of democracy, how capitalism impacts on political development, and the political assertion of group identity in contemporary politics.

B. LATIN AMERICA: MEXICO

52. **Common Sense over Charisma**, William R. Long, *Los Angeles Times*, July 5, 1995. 178
William Long detects a trend toward a more sober and **pragmatic approach to politics in Latin America**. Gone is the romantic excitement sparked by charismatic leaders of the past, but the modern reformers could also use some personalist appeal.
53. **Mexico: The Long Haul**, *The Economist*, August 26, 1995. 181
The PRI (the Institutional Revolutionary Party) has ruled Mexico for two-thirds of a century, the current world record for a political party's electoral hold on power. This article asks whether that political dominance is finally eroding as a result of **Mexico's current economic crisis**.

C. AFRICA

54. **Africa: Falling off the Map?** Thomas M. Callaghy, *Current History*, January 1994. 184
In the post-cold war era, **Africa** has become both marginalized from the world economy and more highly dependent on it. This article explores the complex reasons for this dilemma.
55. **Why Is Africa Eating Asia's Dust?** Keith B. Richburg, *The Washington Post National Weekly Edition*, July 20-26, 1992. 190
Keith Richburg seeks to explain the contrast between the economic growth of East Asia and the **economic despair of much of Africa**.
56. **Post-Mandela South Africa: Slow but Steady Progress**, Michael Clough, *Los Angeles Times*, September 24, 1995. 195
Nelson Mandela has been an outstanding national leader, without whom his country could hardly have moved swiftly and successfully from apartheid toward a multiracial democracy. There are now new challenges on the agenda, including the need to promote economic growth, establish effective local governments, and combat an epidemic of crime in **South Africa**.

D. CHINA AND INDIA

57. **China—the End of an Era**, Orville Schell, *The Nation*, July 17-24, 1995. 197
A longtime American observer of China critically examines **the legacy of the last "great leader," Deng Xiaoping**, who presided over the country's hasty and makeshift economic takeoff. Because there is little institutional stability in China, there is little that appears to be fixed or certain about its future. There will be a succession crisis, and Orville Schell suggests several possible scenarios that could ensue.
58. **India's Juggernaut of Change**, Mark Nicholson and Peter Montagnon, *Financial Times*, February 14, 1996. 207
Writing two months before India's April 1996 election, the authors explain the latest political scandal in terms of the upheaval brought about by the painful passage from **a system of widespread patronage and corruption**. As **India** modernizes, there is a need for moving to better managerial methods and less corrupt politics. That goal will also require changes in the expectations of voters.

E. NEWLY INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES

59. **Miracles beyond the Free Market**, Michael Prowse, *Financial Times*, April 26, 1993. 209
The startling economic growth of several countries in **Eastern and Southern Asia** has puzzled both social scientists and policy makers. After examining the record of the **"Asian miracle,"** the author concludes that government policy has played a considerable role in promoting the conditions for economic success.
60. **Confucius Says: Go East, Young Man**, T. R. Reid, *The Washington Post National Weekly Edition*, November 27-December 3, 1995. 211
T. R. Reid examines the widespread belief in Asia that group-oriented **neo-Confucian values and ethics** are more conducive to social stability, integration, and harmony than Western "individualism and egotism."

Overview 214

A. THE DEMOCRATIC TREND: HOW STRONG, THOROUGH, AND LASTING?

61. **A New Era in Democracy: Democracy's Third Wave**, Samuel P. Huntington, *Current*, September 1991. 218
The number of **democratic governments** in the world has doubled in less than two decades. This development follows **two previous "waves" of democratization** in recent history, each of which was followed by a reversal. Samuel Huntington singles out factors that have produced the "third wave" as well as factors that could bring about a new reverse wave.

62. **Dangers and Dilemmas of Democracy**, Philippe C. Schmitter, 230
Journal of Democracy, April 1994.
Stanford professor Philippe Schmitter emphasizes the serious dangers and dilemmas that face the **world's old and new democracies** in the wake of the collapse of many dictatorships. They will now be **measured against internal standards** that are often very difficult to meet, such as the ideals of equality, participation, accountability, responsiveness, and self-realization as well as prosperity and security.

B. THE TURN TOWARD THE MARKET: WHAT ROLE FOR THE STATE?

63. **Democracy and Growth: Why Voting Is Good for You**, *The Economist*, August 27, 1994. 239
This article presents data and analyses that broadly suggest that **democratic governments** generally have been better than **dictatorships** in promoting economic development. It goes on to critically examine various forms of the argument that authoritarian governments provide more effective settings for growth.
64. **Capitalism and Democracy**, Gabriel A. Almond, *PS: Political Science and Politics*, September 1991. 242
Gabriel Almond, a leading political scientist, examines the ambiguous **relationship between capitalism and democracy**. He explores ways in which capitalism supports and subverts democracy as well as ways in which democracy subverts and fosters capitalism.
65. **Preserving Prosperity**, Ralf Dahrendorf, *New Statesman & Society*, December 15–29, 1995. 249
Economic globalization threatens to dislocate the economies, civil societies, and political systems of the advanced industrial democracies. Ralf Dahrendorf puts the problem into a larger perspective and suggests some tentative solutions for retaining prosperity, freedom, and social cohesion.
66. **Cyberspace: Why Nations Could Fear the Internet**, Michael Clough, *Los Angeles Times*, February 4, 1996. 254
Some national governments are beginning to feel threatened by the Internet and show an interest in filtering its contents. The clash between the principles of state authority and freedom of information affects not only dictatorship but also democracies. The private sector, which is divided on this issue, could have a pivotal role in deciding the outcome of **the cyberspace struggle**.

C. ETHNIC AND CULTURAL CONFLICT: THE POLITICAL ASSERTION OF GROUP IDENTITIES

67. **Communal Conflicts and Global Security**, Ted Robert Gurr, *Current History*, May 1995. 256
Since the end of the cold war, conflicts between communal groups and state authorities have gained more attention, especially in many advanced industrial societies. Ted Gurr, based on a major study of minorities at risk, examines the origins, present conditions, and prospects of both the "national peoples" and the "minority peoples" who are affected by this development.
68. **A Debate on Cultural Conflicts** 263
Harvard professor Samuel Huntington argues that we are entering a **new political stage** in which the **fundamental source of conflict** will be neither ideological nor economic but cultural. Josef Joffe, a foreign affairs specialist, contends that cultural warfare is not a primary threat to world security. Then, political scientist Chandra Muzaffar maintains that Western dominance continues to be the overriding factor in world politics.
- a. **The Coming Clash of Civilizations—Or, the West against the Rest**, Samuel Huntington, *New York Times*, June 6, 1993.
- b. **A Clash between Civilizations—or within Them?** Josef Joffe, *World Press Review*, February 1994.
- c. **The West's Hidden Agenda**, Chandra Muzaffar, *World Press Review*, February 1994.
69. **Jihad vs. McWorld**, Benjamin R. Barber, *The Atlantic Monthly*, March 1992. 268
Benjamin Barber sees **two major tendencies that are shaping much of the political world** today. One is a form of **tribalism**, which pits cultural, ethnic, religious, and national groups against one another. This principle clashes with a tendency toward **globalism**, brought about by modern technology, communications, and commerce. Both may threaten democracy.

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COMPARATIVE POLITICS 96/97

Editor

Christian S e

California State University, Long Beach

Christian S e was born in Denmark, studied in Canada and the United States, and received his doctoral degree in political science from the Free University in Berlin. He is a political science professor at California State University, Long Beach. Dr. S e teaches a wide range of courses in comparative politics and contemporary political theory, and actively participates in professional symposiums in the United States and abroad. His research deals primarily with developments in contemporary German politics, and he has been a regular observer of party politics in that country, most recently during the campaign leading up to the 1994 election of a new Bundestag. At present Dr. S e is observing the shifts in the balance of power within the German party system, with particular attention to its implications for the formation of new government coalitions and changes in policy directions. Three of his most recent publications are a biographical essay on Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Germany's foreign minister from 1974 to 1992, in *Political Leaders of Contemporary Western Europe*; a chapter on the Free Democratic Party in *Germany's New Politics*; and another chapter on the Danish-German relationship in *The Germans and Their Neighbors*. Dr. S e is also coeditor of the latter two books. He has been editor of *Annual Editions: Comparative Politics* since its beginning in 1983.

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To the Reader

In publishing ANNUAL EDITIONS we recognize the enormous role played by the magazines, newspapers, and journals of the *public press* in providing current, first-rate educational information in a broad spectrum of interest areas. Within the articles, the best scientists, practitioners, researchers, and commentators draw issues into new perspective as accepted theories and viewpoints are called into account by new events, recent discoveries change old facts, and fresh debate breaks out over important controversies.

Many of the articles resulting from this enormous editorial effort are appropriate for students, researchers, and professionals seeking accurate, current material to help bridge the gap between principles and theories and the real world. These articles, however, become more useful for study when those of lasting value are carefully collected, organized, indexed, and reproduced in a low-cost format, which provides easy and permanent access when the material is needed.

That is the role played by ANNUAL EDITIONS. Under the direction of each volume's *Editor*, who is an expert in the subject area, and with the guidance of an *Advisory Board*, we seek each year to provide in each ANNUAL EDITION a current, well-balanced, carefully selected collection of the best of the public press for your study and enjoyment.

We think you'll find this volume useful, and we hope you'll take a moment to let us know what you think.

This collection of readings brings together current articles that will help you understand the governments and politics of foreign countries from a comparative perspective. Such a study not only opens up a fascinating world beyond our borders; it will also lead to greater insights into the American political process.

The articles in unit one cover the United Kingdom, Germany, France, Italy, and Japan in a serial manner. Each of these modern societies has developed its own political framework and agenda, and each has sought to find its own appropriate dynamic balance of continuity and change. Nevertheless, as the readings of unit two show, it is possible to point to some common denominators and make useful cross-national comparisons among these and other representative democracies. Unit three goes one step further by discussing the impact of two major changes that are rapidly transforming the political map of Europe. One of them is the irregular, sometimes halting, but nevertheless impressive growth of the European Union (EU), which until November 1993 was called the European Community (EC). The other is the political and economic reconstruction of Central and Eastern Europe after the collapse of this region's communist regimes.

Unit four looks at developments in some of the developing countries, with articles on Mexico, sub-Saharan Africa and the Union of South Africa, China, and India. A careful reader will come away with a better understanding of the diversity of social and political conditions in these countries. Additional readings cover the newly industrialized countries of Eastern and Southern Asia—the “tigers” and “dragons” of this region's socioeconomy, which have managed to generate a self-sustaining process of industrial modernization.

Unit five considers three major trends in contemporary politics from a comparative perspective. Although the “third wave” of democratization may have already crested, it is nevertheless a still-vital force of change in the politics of many countries. The widespread shift toward a greater reliance on markets to perform the task of economic allocation, in place of centralized planning and heavy governmental regulation, is also of great significance in our study. This move is frequently toward a mixed economy, and it should not be misunderstood as being a victory of doctrinaire *laissez-faire*. Finally, the surge of what has been called “identity politics,” with particular emphasis on exclusive cultural or ethnic group assertions, is a development that bears careful watching.

There has rarely been so interesting and important a time for the study of comparative politics as now. We can already see that the political earthquakes of 1989–1991 have altered the landscape with consequences that will be felt for many years to come. The aftershocks continue to remind us that we are unlikely to ever experience a condition of political equilibrium.

This is the fourteenth edition of *Annual Editions: Comparative Politics*. It is a sobering reminder that the first edition appeared just as the Brezhnev era had come to a close in what was then the Soviet Union. Over the years, each new edition has tried to reflect the developments that eventually brought about the post-cold war world of today. In a similar way, this present edition tries to present information and analyses that will be useful in understanding today's political world and its role in setting the parameters for tomorrow's developments.

A special word of thanks goes to my own past and present students at Long Beach State University. Susan B. Mason, Deborah Lancaster, Linda Wohlman, Jon Nakagawa, Mike Petri, Rich Sherman, and Ali Taghavi. They are all wonderfully inquisitive and help keep me posted on the concerns and needs that this anthology must try to address. It is a great joy to work with all these present and former students, whose enthusiasm for the project is contagious.

I am very grateful to members of the advisory board and the Dushkin Publishing Group/Brown and Benchmark Publishers as well as to the many readers who have made useful comments on past selections and have suggested new ones. I ask you all to help me improve future editions by keeping me informed of your reactions and suggestions for change: Please remember to complete and return the postage-paid article rating form in the back of this book.

Christian Sør
Editor

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Pluralist Democracies: Country Studies

- The United Kingdom (Articles 1–6)
- Germany (Articles 7–11)
- France (Articles 12–15)
- Italy (Articles 16–19)
- Japan (Articles 20–22)

The United Kingdom, Germany, France, and Italy rank among the most prominent industrialized societies in Western Europe. Although their modern political histories vary considerably, they have all developed into pluralist democracies with diversified and active citizenries, well organized and competitive party systems and interest groups, and representative forms of governments. Japan appears to be less pluralist as a society, but it occupies a similar position of primacy among the few representative democracies in Asia.

The articles in the first unit cover the political systems of the United Kingdom, Germany, France, Italy, and Japan. Each of these modern societies has developed its own set of governmental institutions, defined its own political agenda, and found its own dynamic balance of continuity and change. Nevertheless, as later readings will show more fully, it is possible to find some common denominators and make useful cross-national comparisons among these and other representative democracies. Moreover, the Western European countries all show the impact of three major developments that are transforming the political map of the continent: (1) the growth of the European Union, or EU, as the European Community (EC) has been officially known since November 1993; (2) the rise of new or intensified challenges to the established political order after the end of the cold war, often reflected in a weakening of the traditional party system; and (3) the spillover effects from the reconstruction efforts in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe after their recent exit from communist rule.

The continuing political importance of Europe has been underscored by these developments. The integration of the European Community, which led to the European Union, has been a process spanning several decades. However, it accelerated markedly in the last half of the 1980s as a result of the passage and procedural implementation of the Single European Act, which set as a goal the completion of a free market among the 12 EC-member countries by the end of 1992. Then the Maastricht Treaty, which was signed in 1991 and ratified in 1993, outlined a further advance toward supranational integration by setting up the goal of achieving a common European monetary system and foreign policy toward the end of the decade.

By contrast, there was little advance notice or planning connected with the upheaval that ended many decades of communist rule in Central and Eastern Europe between 1989 and 1991. In the center of the continent, the reunification of Germany in 1990 epitomizes the tremendous upheaval that swept away much of the political order created by the cold war. Each of the former communist-ruled countries has embarked on a cumbersome path of reconstruction that involves the transition from a party-and-police state with a centrally planned economy to a pluralist democracy with a market-oriented economy. By now it is clear that this process will take longer, involve more setbacks, and produce more painful dislocations than anyone had imagined a few years ago.

The **United Kingdom** provides our first focus on comparative politics, with articles on Great Britain, Scotland, and Ire-

land. *Great Britain* has long been regarded as a model of parliamentary government and majoritarian party politics. In the 1960s and 1970s, however, the country became better known for its chronic governing problems. Sociopolitical observers spoke about the spread of a British sickness—"Englanditis"—a condition characterized by such problems as economic stagnation, social malaise, political polarization, and a general incapacity of the elected government to deal effectively with such a situation of relative deterioration.

As if to defy such pessimistic analyses, if only temporarily, Britain by the mid-1980s began to pull far ahead of other Western European countries in its annual economic growth. This apparent economic turnaround could be linked in part to the policies of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, who had come to power in May 1979 and introduced a drastic change in economic and social direction for her country. She portrayed herself as a conviction politician, determined to introduce a strong dose of economic discipline by encouraging private enterprise and reducing the role of government, in marked contrast to what she dismissed as the consensus politics of her Labour and Conservative predecessors. Her radical rhetoric and somewhat less drastic policy changes spawned yet another debate about what came to be called the Thatcher Revolution and its social and political consequences.

For the mass electorate, however, nothing seems to have been so upsetting as the introduction of the community charge, a tax on each adult resident that would replace the local property tax as a means of financing local public services. Although this so-called poll tax was very unpopular, Thatcher resisted all pressure to abandon the project before its full national implementation in early 1990.

The politically disastrous result was that, as a revenue measure, the poll tax was anything but neutral in its impact. It created an unexpectedly large proportion of immediate losers, that is, people who had to pay considerably more in local taxes than previously, while the immediate winners were people who had previously paid high property taxes. Not surprisingly, the national and local governments disagreed about who was responsible for the high poll tax bills, but the voters seemed to have little difficulty in assigning blame to Margaret Thatcher and the Conservative Party as originators of this unpopular reform. Many voters were up in arms, and some observers correctly anticipated that a tax rebellion would undermine Thatcher's position in her own party and become her political Waterloo.

John Major, who was chosen by his fellow Conservative members of Parliament to be Thatcher's successor as prime minister and leader of the Conservative Party, had long been regarded as one of her closest cabinet supporters. He was thought to support her tough economic strategy, which she often described as "dry," but to prefer a more compassionate, or "wet," social policy without indulging in the Tory tradition of welfare paternalism, against which Margaret Thatcher had also railed. Not surprisingly, he abandoned the hated poll tax. His undramatic governing style was far less confrontational than that of his predecessor, and some nostalgic critics were quick to call him dull. In the Persian Gulf War of 1991, Major continued Thatcher's policy of giving strong British support for firm and ultimately military measures against the government of Iraq, which had invaded and occupied oil-rich Kuwait. Unlike his predecessor after the Falkland Battle almost a decade earlier, however, he did not follow up on this quick and popular military victory by calling for general elections.

By the time of Thatcher's resignation, Labour appeared to be in a relatively good position to capitalize on the growing disenchantment with the Conservative government. The big political question had become whether or not Prime Minister Major could recapture some lost ground. Under its leader, Neil Kinnock, Labour had begun to move back toward its traditional

center-Left position, presenting itself as a politically moderate and socially caring reform party. Labour had a leading position in some opinion polls, and it won some impressive victories in by-elections to the House of Commons. In the shadow of the Persian Gulf War, Labour was overtaken by the Conservatives in the polls, but its position improved again a few months later.

As the main opposition party, however, Labour was now troubled by a new version of the Social Democratic and Liberal alternatives that had fragmented the non-Conservative camp in the elections of 1983 and 1987. The two smaller parties, which had operated as an electoral coalition, or "Alliance," in those years, had drawn the conclusion that their organizational separation was a hindrance to the political breakthrough they hoped for. After the defeat of 1987, they joined together as the Social and Liberal Democrats (SLD) but soon became known simply as Liberal Democrats. Under the leadership of Paddy Ashdown, they have attempted to overcome the electoral system's bias against third parties by promoting themselves as a reasonable centrist alternative to the Conservatives on the Right and the Labour Party on the Left. Their strategic goal was to win the balance of power in a tightly fought election and then, as parliamentary majority makers, enter a government coalition with one of the two big parties. One of their main demands would then be that the existing winner-takes-all electoral system, based on single-member districts, be replaced by some form of proportional representation (PR) in multimember districts. Such a system, which is used widely in Western Europe, would almost surely guarantee the Liberal Democrats not only a relatively solid base in the House of Commons but also a pivotal role in a future process of coalition politics in Britain. Given their considerable electoral support, the Liberal Democrats would then enjoy a position comparable to or even better than that of their counterparts in Germany, the Free Democrats (FDP), which has been a junior member of governments in Bonn for decades.

The rise of this centrist "third force" in British electoral politics during the 1980s had been made possible by a temporary leftward trend of Labour and the rightward movement of the Conservatives a few years earlier. The challenge from the middle had the predictable result: The two main parties eventually sought to recenter themselves, as became evident in the general election called by Prime Minister Major for April 9, 1992. The timing seemed highly unattractive for the Conservatives as governing party, for Britain was still suffering from its worst recession in years. Normally, a British government chooses not to stay in office for a full five-year term. Instead it prefers to dissolve the House of Commons at an earlier and politically more convenient time. It will procrastinate, however, when the electoral outlook appears to be dismal. By the spring of 1992, there was hardly any time left for further delay, since an election had to come before the end of June, according to Britain's five-year limit ruling. At the time, many observers expected either a slim Labour victory or, more likely, a "hung" Parliament, in which no party would end up with a working majority. The latter result would have led either to a minority government, which could be expected to solve the impasse by calling an early new election, or a coalition government including the Liberal Democrats as the majority-making junior partner.

The outcome of the 1992 general election confounded all those who had expected a change in government by giving the Conservatives an unprecedented fourth consecutive term of office. Despite the recession, they garnered the same overall percentage of the vote (about 43 percent) as in 1987, while Labour increased its total share only slightly, from 32 to 35 percent. The Liberal Democrats received only 18 percent, about 6 percent less than the share that the Alliance had won in its two unsuccessful attempts to break the mold of the party

system in 1983 and 1987. In the House of Commons, the electoral system's bias in favor of the front-runners showed up once again. The Conservatives lost 36 seats but ended up with 336 of the 651 members—a small but sufficient working majority, that is, unless a major issue should fragment the party. Labour increased its number of seats from 229 to 271—a net gain of 42 but far short of an opportunity to threaten the majority party. The Liberal Democrats ended up with 20 seats, down from 22. A few seats went to representatives of the small regional parties from Northern Ireland, Scotland, and Wales.

Since the 1992 election, John Major has run into considerable difficulties with a wing of his own party that follows Thatcher in opposing his European policy. It was only by threatening to dissolve Parliament and call a new election that Major brought the dissidents into line during a crucial vote on the Maastricht Treaty in the summer of 1993.

The Labour Party, with its newest leader, Tony Blair, has made some tremendous advances in the regular opinion polls. The opposition party would probably win a general election today, but it is hampered by its own factional disputes. The major ideological and strategic cleavage runs between traditional socialists and more pragmatic modernizers, who wish to continue the centrist reform policies of Tony Blair. But the issue of Europe would also trouble the Labour Party if it were to take over the government. Only the Liberal Democrats seem to be united in their commitment to a more fully integrated Europe.

One of the most interesting issues in contemporary British politics is the demand for constitutional change. In the late 1980s, an ad hoc reform coalition launched Charter 88, which called for a written constitution with a bill of rights, proportional representation, and a redefinition and codification of other basic "rules of the game" in British politics. The chartists chose the tricentennial of Britain's Glorious Revolution of 1688 to launch their effort, which has kindled a broad discussion of citizenship rights in the country.

One of the recurrent reform suggestions is to set up a special regional assembly for Scotland within the United Kingdom. This is an issue for which the Conservatives have shown much less concern than Labour or the Liberal Democrats. The failure of the Scottish Nationalist Party to make a major electoral breakthrough in 1992 has reinforced the present government's conviction that there is far less support for "devolution" or outright separation in Scotland than is often claimed. The regional problems associated with Northern Ireland are far more divisive, but they now appear headed for a resolution acceptable to all sides.

Germany was united in 1990, when the eastern German Democratic Republic (GDR) was merged into the western Federal Republic of Germany. The two German states had been established in 1949, four years after the total defeat of the German Reich in the Second World War. During the next 40 years, their rival elites subscribed to the conflicting ideologies and interests of East and West in the cold war. East Germany comprised the territory of the former Soviet Occupation Zone of Germany, where the communists exercised a power monopoly and established an economy based on central planning. In contrast, West Germany, which emerged from the former American, British, and French zones of postwar occupation, developed a pluralist democracy and a flourishing market economy. When the two states were getting ready to celebrate their fortieth anniversaries in 1989, no leading politician was on record as having foreseen that the German division would come to an end the following year.

Mass demonstrations in several East German cities and the westward flight of thousands of its citizens forced the GDR government to make an increasing number of concessions in late 1989 and early 1990. The Berlin Wall ceased to be a hermetical seal after November 9, 1989, when East Germans