

052-9927  
EWU BOOKSTORE  
TEXTBOOK  
\$49.02

# Major European Governments



E i g h t h  
E d i t i o n

Dragnich - Rasmussen - Moses

8TH EDITION

# Major European Governments

**Alex N. Dragnich**

*Vanderbilt University, Emeritus*

**Jorgen S. Rasmussen**

*Iowa State University*

**Joel C. Moses**

*Iowa State University*



**Brooks/Cole Publishing Company**

*Pacific Grove, California*

Brooks/Cole Publishing Company  
A Division of Wadsworth, Inc.

© 1991 by Wadsworth, Inc., Belmont, California 94002. © 1961, 1966, 1970, 1974, 1978, 1986 by The Dorsey Press. All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transcribed, in any form or by any means—electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise—without the prior written permission of the publisher, Brooks/Cole Publishing Company, Pacific Grove, California 93950, a division of Wadsworth, Inc.

Printed in the United States of America

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2

### **Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data**

Dragnich, Alex N.

Major European governments — 8th ed. / Alex N. Dragnich, Jorgen S. Rasmussen, Joel C. Moses.

p. cm.

Includes index.

ISBN 0-534-15606-1 :

1. Europe—Politics and government. 2. Comparative government.

I. Rasmussen, Jorgen Scott. II. Moses, Joel C. III. Title.

JN12.D7 1991

320.3'094—dc20

90-25565

CIP

Sponsoring Editor: Cynthia C. Stormer  
Editorial Associate: Cathleen S. Collins  
Production Coordinator: Fiorella Ljunggren  
Production: Jane Hoover/Lifland et al., Bookmakers  
Manuscript Editor: Janice Ostock/Lifland et al., Bookmakers  
Permissions Editor: Mary Kay Hancharick  
Interior Design: Sally Lifland/Lifland et al., Bookmakers  
Cover Design and Illustration: Lisa Berman  
Art Coordinator: Jane Hoover/Lifland et al., Bookmakers  
Interior Illustration: Gail Magin/Lifland et al., Bookmakers  
Typesetting: Weimer Typesetting Company, Inc.  
Cover Printing: Lehigh Press Lithographers/Autoscreen  
Printing and Binding: The Maple-Vail Book Manufacturing Group

---

## ABOUT THE AUTHORS

---

**Jorgen S. Rasmussen** received his Ph.D. in political science from the University of Wisconsin–Madison, following an A.B. with highest honors in government from Indiana University. Currently he is Distinguished Professor of Political Science at Iowa State University, having served as chair of that department from 1972 to 1976. He has also taught at the University of Glasgow, Vanderbilt University, Columbia University, and the University of Arizona. One of the founders of the British Politics Group, he has been its executive secretary for more than a decade and a half. He is a member of the Fulbright area advisory committee for Britain and Ireland, and from time to time he comments on American political developments for the BBC Scotland news broadcasts. Dr. Rasmussen is the author of two other books, one on the British Liberal party and the other on the study of comparative politics. In addition, he has co-authored or contributed to several other books. His scholarly articles have been published in journals both in the United States and abroad, as have many of his book reviews.

**Joel C. Moses** received his Ph.D. in political science from the University of Wisconsin–Madison in 1972. A professor of political science at Iowa State University since 1982, he has also taught as a visiting faculty member at Cornell University; the University of California, San Diego; and the University of Wisconsin–Madison. He is the author of *Regional Party Leadership and Policy-Making in the USSR* (1974) and *The Politics of Women and Work in the Soviet Union and the United States* (1983) and coeditor of *Political Implications of Economic Reform in Communist Systems: Communist Dialectic* (1990). A frequent contributor to journals and edited volumes on contemporary Soviet politics, he is a managing editor of the journal *Soviet Union* and a member of the Board of Trustees of the journal *The Current Digest of the Soviet Press*.

*To Alex—  
how firm a foundation*

# Preface

The year 1991 marks the thirtieth anniversary of the first publication of *Major European Governments*. The original text was conceived and written entirely by Alex Dragnich. Not quite a decade later, when time came for a fourth edition, Dragnich invited Jorgen Rasmussen to join him and make the book a collaborative work, a collaboration that continued for subsequent editions. Some people say that the surest way to lose a friend is to write a book with him or her. That certainly was not the experience of the authors of *MEG* during the fourth through seventh editions. A happier, more satisfying relationship would be hard to find.

Despite his retirement, Dr. Dragnich agreed to continue as joint author for the seventh edition. He did not wish, however, to work on subsequent revisions, because he wanted to devote more time to scholarship focusing on his first love—Yugoslav politics (clearly, his retirement has been in name only). If any time could be called a good one for ending such a satisfying, long-term relationship, the preparation of the current edition would be it. The Dorsey Press, publisher of *MEG* throughout its life, had been sold to Wadsworth, Inc., which would mean new arrangements, working with new editors, and so on. Furthermore, turmoil in the Soviet Union and the transformation of East–West relations clearly would require a major revision of much of the book, the Soviet section especially. Thus, Dragnich's departure would be part of several changes.

In contrast, therefore, to past editions, Dr. Dragnich has written none of this text, nor has he read and commented on any of it. He is free from any blame, and any shortcomings in this edition are our responsibility. On the other hand, since this text clearly is his progeny, not to retain his name on the title page would be churlish indeed. Alex Dragnich has graciously allowed us to do so. This is intended solely to acknowledge, as is certainly fitting, the one who laid the foundation on which this text has endured.

Just as Dragnich turned to a colleague at the same university when the text became a collaborative work, so Rasmussen did when a replacement was needed, and he asked Joel Moses to be the co-author of this eighth edition. The division of responsibility was for Moses to concentrate primarily on the section on the Soviet Union and Rasmussen on the rest of the text. Each author read and commented on the other's work and revised in the light of these suggestions.

Despite the many changes mentioned, the basic aim of the text still is to present the essential features of government and politics in four major European political systems. As in the past, we try to avoid being either excessively detailed or too simplistic. Since we assume that most students will have little previous knowledge of foreign political systems, much of the book is descriptive. But we also interpret and analyze. Some matters are intrinsically complicated, and explaining them requires involved accounts. We are unwilling to oversimplify just to make reading the book easier; on the other hand, we strive to explain as clearly as the subject matter being covered permits us to do. Studying a new subject often requires learning a new vocabulary, as well as becoming familiar with new concepts. We have tried to keep unfamiliar terms to a minimum and to avoid needless jargon. We seek to write clear and relatively untechnical prose.

The fundamental structure of the text, too, has been little altered for this edition. This does not mean that the material has been simply updated, with a few minor changes from the seventh edition. The manuscript has been rewritten entirely, and even where a particular idea has been retained, often it is presented in a different way. Rather than cover a lot of countries superficially, we have chosen to examine four major international powers—Britain, France, Germany, and the Soviet Union—in some detail. Given their geographical propinquity, they are more likely to have some common elements in their political heritage than would be the case if we had selected a country from each of the corners of the world. Whatever their similarities, they differ sufficiently to make comparisons interesting. Although each country is covered in a separate part of the book, we don't discuss it in complete isolation. In particular, we comment on similarities and contrasts with the American system to provide perspective on the political practices likely to be most familiar to students. Thus, study of foreign governments should help identify those aspects of American politics that are unique products of our particular culture and those that are common across national boundaries.

Perhaps the most straightforward way to organize the material would have been to focus on one governmental or political institution after another. An alternative procedure would have been to identify the basic functions that must be performed in every political system and explain how the mix of institutions involved in performing a particular function varies from one country to another. Given the limitations inherent in both approaches, we have tried to combine their strengths. We've divided each part into chapters that focus primarily on a particular structure or institution (governmental or political), describe its formal status, and explain how it operates in practice. We lack sufficient space for a detailed account of the content of public policy in most specific areas. To that extent, we must emphasize political and governmental machinery more than output. Nonetheless, we are also concerned with the performance of functions. Thus, we analyze the role each structure plays in the country's total system. Some of our chapter titles indicate the main purpose, or principal function, of a given institution.

In the parts on Britain, France, and Germany, we begin by discussing the context in which the political system operates—geography, demographics, economic conditions, and so forth. Then we summarize each country's history and examine the fundamental political values that the country's history both has produced and illustrates. The remaining chapters for each of these three countries describe the system as it currently operates. First, we address the channels for political inputs—that is, electoral arrangements, interest groups, and political parties. Next, we examine the legislature and the executive and the relation between them. Our attention is then directed to those involved in implementing policies, with emphasis on responsiveness and efficiency and, finally, to the procedures for adjudicating conflict.

Given the momentous events in Germany at the start of the 1990s, we felt that the brief concluding comments about prospects for the future appearing at the end of the sections on Great Britain and France were hardly adequate for Germany. So we added a chapter (Chapter 25) to Part Four, which discusses how two separate Germanys developed after World War II and how (with what difficulties) they have been rejoined.

Part Five compares the three democracies we have examined and summarizes their leading similarities and differences. It also addresses international relations and system building and explains the extent to which European democracies (including, but not limited to, the three in this book) are giving up part of their sovereignty to a new political unit.

Finally, in Part Six we conclude with an analysis of the Soviet Union and Gorbachev's efforts to transform the Soviet system. Because the Soviet Union has been so different from Western democracies and is undergoing such momentous changes, following exactly the same organizational structure used for our discussion of the other three countries would have failed to provide the necessary information and insights. So in the Soviet section particular emphasis is placed on underlying trends, factors of importance for understanding the Soviet system regardless of what person currently leads it or what change has been made in the institutions. We do describe the system as it existed at the start of the 1990s, but that information is not as important as is familiarity with the broad sweep of Russian history and an understanding of the various forces contending for change in the Soviet Union.

We hope that the readers of the previous editions of *MEG* will consider this new one a useful and interesting revision that retains the virtues of its predecessors and adds new strengths. We are happy to serve those who appreciate the approach to the introductory study of comparative politics that we offer.

Various people over the years have provided significant help to the writing of this text. Mentioning one and not another involves invidious distinctions. Nonetheless, one faithful consumer and monitor of *MEG* continues to be T. Philip Wolf of Indiana University Southeast. His help is appreciated, as are the comments and suggestions offered by the following reviewers of this edition: Constantine P. Danopoulos of San Jose State University; Alexander Groth of the



University of California, Davis; Richard Lane of San Jose State University; Andrew Milnor of the State University of New York at Binghamton; and Donald Pienkos of the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.

*Jorgen S. Rasmussen*  
*Joel C. Moses*

# Contents

---

## **PART ONE**

### **INTRODUCTION**

1

The Essence of Politics	3
Democratic and Authoritarian Political Systems	4
<i>Key Aspects of Democracy</i>	5
<i>Varieties of Autocratic Rule</i>	8
Typologies and Types of Variables	10
Comparative Politics as a Scientific Study	12
<i>The Scientific Method</i>	12
<i>The Comparative Study of Politics</i>	13
Environmental Considerations	15
History and Political Culture	17
Structures for Political Participation	20
<i>Electoral Systems</i>	21
<i>Interest Groups</i>	21
<i>Political Parties</i>	23
Governmental Structures and Processes	26
System Institutionalization and Durability	28
Where Do We Go from Here?	30

---

## **PART TWO**

### **THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND**

35

#### **1 The Setting of British Politics**

37

The Influence of Geography	37
Aspects of the Economy	45
Historical Background	48

<b>2</b>	<b>The Foundations of British Politics</b>	<b>54</b>
	Basic Values: Uniting and Dividing	54
	<i>Racial Relations</i>	59
	<i>Social Class and Education</i>	60
	Constitutional Elements and Principles	64
 <b>3</b>	 <b>Channels for Individual and Group Political Activity</b>	 <b>71</b>
	The Electoral System	71
	<i>Types of Elections</i>	74
	<i>Campaign Activities</i>	77
	The Interest Group System	89
 <b>4</b>	 <b>Policy Alternatives</b>	 <b>95</b>
	The Party System	95
	<i>Type of System</i>	95
	<i>Constraints Favoring a Two-Party System</i>	97
	The Leading Parties	100
	<i>Party Programs and Policies</i>	100
	<i>The Bases of Party Support</i>	111
	<i>Party Strengths and Weaknesses</i>	112
	<i>Party Organization and Power Structure</i>	115
	Other Parties	125
	<i>Nationwide Parties</i>	125
	<i>Regional Parties</i>	128
	Prospects for Britain's Party System	129
 <b>5</b>	 <b>Representation and Accountability</b>	 <b>131</b>
	The House of Commons	131
	<i>The Chamber</i>	131
	<i>The Members</i>	133
	<i>Remuneration</i>	134
	<i>Powers and Procedures</i>	135
	<i>Calling the Government to Account</i>	142
	The House of Lords	145
	<i>The Members</i>	145
	<i>Powers and Procedures</i>	146

## 6 The Executive and Policy Making 149

The Symbolic Executive	149
The Effective Executive	152
<i>The Cabinet</i>	152
<i>Collective Responsibility</i>	154
<i>The Prime Minister</i>	155
Legislative-Executive Relations	160
<i>Policy Making</i>	160
<i>Party Discipline</i>	161
<i>Votes of Confidence</i>	164

## 7 Policy-Implementing Structures 167

The Civil Service and Its Political Supervisors	167
<i>Staffing the Bureaucracy</i>	168
<i>Treasury Control</i>	170
<i>Organizing the Bureaucracy</i>	171
<i>Individual Responsibility</i>	173
<i>The Official Secrets Act</i>	174
<i>The Policy Role of the Civil Service</i>	176
Control of Administrative Discretion	178
Accountability in the Nationalized Industries	180

## 8 Resolving Conflicts 183

The Role of Common Law in British Justice	183
The Organization of the Judiciary	185
Justice in Britain: Police and Trial Procedures	188

---

### PART THREE FRANCE

195

## 9 The Setting of French Politics 197

Geophysical and Socioeconomic Diversities	197
Historical Background	202

## 10 The Foundations of French Politics 210

The Search for Consensus	210
The Constitutional Traditions of the Republics	215

<b>11</b>	<b>Channels for Individual and Group Political Activity</b>	<b>220</b>
	Electoral System Traditions	220
	Electoral Practices	222
	<i>National Assembly Elections</i>	222
	<i>Senatorial Elections</i>	225
	<i>Presidential Elections</i>	226
	The Role of Interest Groups	231
 <b>12</b>	 <b>Policy Alternatives</b>	 <b>236</b>
	A Multiparty System	236
	The Leading Partisan Groupings	239
	<i>Doctrines and Policies</i>	239
	<i>Party Strengths and Supporters</i>	245
	Other Parties and Alliances	254
	<i>The Radicals</i>	254
	<i>The National Front</i>	256
 <b>13</b>	 <b>Legislation and Accountability</b>	 <b>260</b>
	The Chambers and Their Members	260
	Powers and Procedures	262
	<i>Sessions and Agenda</i>	262
	<i>Officers and Political Groups</i>	263
	<i>Committees</i>	264
	<i>General and Detailed Policy Making</i>	266
	<i>Intralegislative Relations</i>	267
	Legislative Relations with the Executive	269
	<i>Questions</i>	269
	<i>Varieties of Confidence Votes</i>	270
 <b>14</b>	 <b>Policy-Making Structures</b>	 <b>275</b>
	Formal Powers and Duties of the President	275
	De Gaulle's Impact on the Presidency	277
	The Presidency since de Gaulle	280
	Intra-executive Relations	284
	<i>The Position of the Cabinet</i>	284
	<i>The President's Relations with the Prime Minister</i>	285
	<i>Cohabitation</i>	286

## 15 Policy-Implementing Structures 290

- Staffing the Bureaucracy 290
- Bureaucracy's Impact on Public Policy 292
  - National Administration* 292
  - The Prefectorial System in Transition* 294

## 16 Judicial Structures 300

- The Nature of French Law and Judicial Proceedings 300
- Organizing and Staffing the Courts 302
  - Legal Careers* 302
  - Civil and Criminal Courts* 303
  - Administrative Law Courts* 305
- The Status of Judicial Review 308
  - Maintaining Legislative/Executive Boundaries* 309
  - Voiding Laws* 310
  - The Constitutional Council's Transformed Role* 311

---

### PART FOUR

### THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY 315

## 17 The Setting of German Politics 317

- Physical Conditions 317
  - The Influence of Geography* 317
  - Regional and Other Diversities* 319
  - The Economy* 321
- Historical Background 324
  - The Empire* 326
  - The Weimar Republic* 328
  - The Nazi Period* 330
  - Germany after World War II* 332

## 18 The Foundations of German Politics 335

- Basic Values: Authoritarian or Democratic? 335
  - Nazi Values and National Character* 336
  - Infusing Democracy after World War II* 338
- Constitutional Framework 340
  - The Historical Heritage* 340
  - The West German System* 342

## 19 Channels for Individual and Group Political Activity 345

- The Electoral System 345
  - Proportional Representation with a Difference* 345
  - The Effects of Hybrid Proportional Representation* 349
  - Election Practices* 353
  - Campaign Financing* 355
- The Role of Interest Groups 356
  - The Church* 356
  - Economic Groups* 357

## 20 Policy Alternatives 360

- An Evolving Party System 360
- The Leading Parties 363
  - Doctrines and Policies* 363
  - Supporters and Strengths* 376
  - Party Organization and Power Structure* 382
- Other Parties 386

## 21 The Legislative System 389

- The Composition of the Houses of Parliament 389
  - The Bundestag* 389
  - The Bundesrat* 390
- Organizational Structure 392
  - The Fraktion* 393
  - Committees* 394
- Powers and Procedures 395
  - Law-Making Procedure* 396
  - The Bundesrat's Significant Role* 399

## 22 Policy-Making Structures 402

- The Role of the President 402
- Chancellor Democracy 405
  - Adenauer's Formative Impact* 407
  - Chancellors since Adenauer* 409
- Legislative-Executive Relations 411
  - Calling the Executive to Account* 411
  - The Constructive Vote of No Confidence* 413
  - The Legislative Emergency* 416

## 23 Policy-Implementing Structures 420

- Staffing and Organizing the Bureaucracy 420
  - The Current Structure* 421
  - The Extremists' Decree* 423
- The Role of the States in National Administration 424

## 24 The Judicial Structure 427

- Judges and Court Organization 427
- Basic Rights and the Constitutional Court 430

## 25 Germany: United Again 435

- The Refragmentation of Germany 435
- Berlin and the Wall 438
- The Rise and Fall of East Germany 439
  - Economic Boom and Bust* 440
  - Quality of Life* 442
  - Governmental Structure and Political Process* 443
  - The Crumbling of the Regime* 444
  - The Rebirth of Democracy* 446
- The Difficult We Do Immediately, the Impossible Takes a Little Longer 447
  - Legal Niceties* 447
  - Practical Anxieties* 450
  - Electoral Realities* 452
- Deutschland—Einig Vaterland 455

---

### PART FIVE

### PROSPECTS FOR EUROPEAN DEMOCRACY 457

## 26 Durability and Change: Western Europe in Flux 459

- Accountability and Concentration of Power 459
- Economic Problems 464
- Symbol, Substance, and Durability 469

## 27 Europe as a Community 473

- The Genesis of Unity 474
  - Total War as European Civil War* 474



<i>The Supranational Remedy</i>	475
<i>Expanding Membership</i>	477
The European Community	478
<i>Community Institutions</i>	478
<i>Euro-Elections</i>	481
<i>The Community in Action</i>	483
1992 and All That	485
<i>The Single European Act</i>	485
<i>The Delors Report</i>	488

---

## PART SIX

### THE SOVIET UNION 493

## 28 The Setting of Soviet Politics 495

Politics as Theater	495
Politics as Continuity	497
<i>Back to 1921 for 1991?</i>	497
<i>The Bolshevik Revolution in Context</i>	499
Geography and Politics	500
<i>Land of Contrasts</i>	500
<i>Regional and Environmental Problems and Conflicts</i>	504
People and Politics	508
<i>Population and Union Republics</i>	508
<i>Ethnic Conflicts</i>	510
<i>Ethnic Nationalities</i>	513
<i>Socioeconomic Modernization</i>	516

## 29 The Foundations of Russian Politics 521

Nature of the Russian Autocracy	521
Origins of the Russian Autocracy	524
Church and State	526
The Ruling Elite	528
Problems of Transition	531
<i>Ethnic and Religious Minorities</i>	531
<i>Peasant Serfdom</i>	533
Political Challenges	534
<i>Rebellions and Revolts</i>	535
<i>The Revolutionary Intelligentsia</i>	536
Political Crises and Revolution	539
<i>Crisis of Participation and Integration</i>	540
<i>Crisis of Legitimacy and Authority</i>	541
<i>Crisis of Leadership</i>	542