

Annual Editions

COMPARATIVE POLITICS



92/93

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Tenth Edition

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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 many recent articles to help you understand the politics of distant, foreign lands. You will soon discover that studying politics from a comparative perspective not only opens up a fascinating world beyond our borders, it also leads to greater insights into yourself and your social and political situation.

The articles in unit one cover Great Britain, Germany, France, and Japan in a serial manner. Each of these modern societies has developed its own governmental institutions, defined its own political agenda, and found its own dynamic balance of continuity and change. Nevertheless, as the readings of unit two show, it is possible to point to some common denominators to 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—the growth of the European Community (EC) and the collapse of communism in much of Central and Eastern Europe.

The continuing political importance of Europe has been underscored by these two developments. While the integration of the European Community has been a process of several decades, it accelerated markedly in the latter part of the 1980s with the passage and implementation of the Single Europe Act. By contrast, there was little advance warning of the recent upheaval that has weakened or toppled the Communist regimes imposed in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe after World War II. The result is nothing less than a major revolution, as these nations attempt to replace one-party rule and socialist state planning with multi-party democracy and market economics.

Unit four looks at developing so-called Third World countries in Latin America and Africa; China and India are also discussed in this section. The diversity of these countries in their struggle to overcome traditional obstacles to development is the emphasis of these articles. Unit five considers some of the major trends, issues, and prospects of political development. The lasting impact of the trend toward democratic rule is yet to be assessed, and just how it will be affected by capitalism and the momentum of traditional ethnic identity are considered.

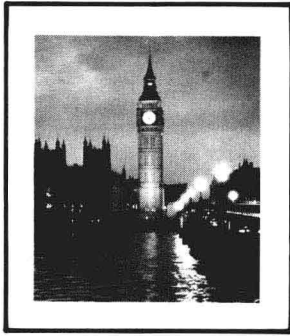
There has rarely been so interesting and important a time for the study of comparative politics as now. We can already see that the political earthquake of 1989–1990 has altered the political landscape with consequences that will be felt and studied for many years to come. But even in a time of such major political transformation, there are important patterns of continuity as well. We must be careful to look for both as we seek to gain a comparative understanding of the politics of other countries and peoples.

This is the tenth edition of *Annual Editions: Comparative Politics*. It includes many new articles that reflect the changes discussed above. The basic format has also been adjusted to take into account the revolutionary developments that have created a post-cold war world.

I am grateful to members of the advisory board and The Dushkin Publishing Group as well as to many readers who have made useful comments on past selections and suggested new ones. My own students also keep me posted on concerns and needs that this anthology must address. Susan B. Mason, who recently received her master's degree in political science at my university, has been a superb research assistant over the past few years. I ask you all to help me improve future editions of this anthology by keeping me informed of your reactions and suggestions for change. Please complete and return the article rating form in the back of the book.



Christian Soe
Editor



Unit 1

Pluralist Democracies: Country Overviews

Nineteen selections examine the current state of politics in Great Britain, Germany, France, and Japan.

To the Reader Topic Guide Overview

iv
2
4

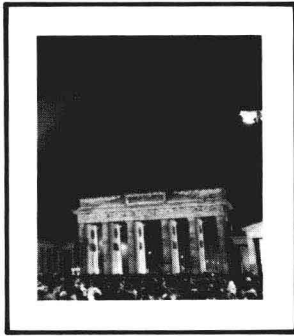
A. GREAT BRITAIN

1. **The End of an Era in British Politics**, James E. Cronin, *Current History*, November 1991. 8
A year after Margaret Thatcher fell from power, the author argues that no matter who wins the British general election of 1992, the country's government will move away from the ideology, policies, and governing style associated with her unusually long period in office as prime minister. He examines the reasons for the Conservative coup against her, the absence of a permanent ideological legacy of Thatcherism, **the political revival of Labour**, and the growing demands for a bill or "charter" of rights.
2. **Having Outwitted the Seers, Tories Wax Conciliatory**, William E. Schmidt, *The New York Times*, April 11, 1992. 13
On the ninth of April 1992, the Conservative party won a 21-seat majority in the **British national elections**. The victory came as a surprise to Neil Kinnock, head of the Labor party, who public opinion polls indicated would break the twelve-year dominance of the Conservative party. Prime Minister John Major's triumph gave him his first popular mandate to govern, having gained the premiership by default when Margaret Thatcher was ousted in a Conservative party revolt.
3. **British Election of 1992: How and Why the Votes Were Cast**, Colin Rallings and Michael Thrasher, *London Times*, April 12, 1992. 15
In the **British election** on April 9, 1992, voter turnout was high and the Conservatives won an unexpected number of votes. This article analyzes this John Major victory.
4. **Britain's Constitutional Question**, Alexander MacLeod, *The Christian Science Monitor*, March 3, 1992. 19
There is growing sentiment in Britain for **constitutional reform**. This article reports on Charter 88 and various constitutional reform proposals now being discussed.
5. **The Myths Are Dead—So Let's Get Down to Business**, Caroline Ellis, *New Statesman and Society*, November 1, 1991. 21
The author reviews the main features of four major proposals for **constitutional reform in Britain**, promoted respectively by the Liberal Democrats, the left-of-center Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR), the free-market Institute for Economic Affairs (IEA), and Tony Benn, a prominent member of Labour's left wing.
6. **Despite Integration, Britain Remains an Island unto Itself**, William Tuohy, *Los Angeles Times*, February 4, 1992. 24
A fundamental distrust of their continental neighbors has made many Britons cautious about fuller **integration into the European Community**. But the practical, unsentimental reasons for taking advantage of EC membership seem to be winning out over the Euro-skeptics.

B. GERMANY

7. **First Year Hangover**, Quentin Peel, *Financial Times Survey*, October 28, 1991. 26
In this report, written a year after **Germany's reunification**, Quentin Peel explains the economic and political difficulties of overcoming the deep divisions between East and West.
8. **The New Germany**, Stephen F. Szabo, *Journal of Democracy*, January 1992. 28
The author presents data and analysis to support his view that, despite many problems, eastern Germany faces a relatively smooth and rapid transition to a **democratic political culture** and economic recovery. Although western Germans play a leading role in managing the reconstruction, the political inclusion of eastern Germans will probably bring some policy shifts in the **Federal Republic** along with a new debate about German identity.
9. **Germany: Power and the Left**, Andrei S. Markovits, *Dissent*, Summer 1991. 34
National unification has recast the long-standing debate about **Germany's role in a changing Europe**. This also affects the German Left that, after having played a crucial part in shaping the old Federal Republic, now faces an identity crisis rooted in deep divisions over the issues of economic growth and national unification. Under its new leadership, the Social Democratic Party (SPD) will need to develop a strategy for the larger Germany and new European arena.

10. **Germany: Such Long Sorrow**, *The Economist*, November 9, 1991. 40
This article examines the growing personal and **political strains between Free Democrats and Christian Democrats** in the governing coalition. The continuation of the coalition may depend upon whether the economic recovery in eastern Germany will become clear enough by 1994 to produce another winning team. Ironically, budget issues that in 1982 broke apart the coalition of Social and Free Democrats could bring them together once again.
 11. **Germany: Too Right**, *The Economist*, April 11, 1992. 41
The **German election** of April 5, 1992, saw a swing toward a more extreme right-wing government. Resentment over the inflow of asylum-seekers seemed to be a contributing factor to the outcome of the election.
- C. **FRANCE**
12. **The New France**, James Walsh, *Time*, July 22, 1991. 42
As the postwar system becomes unglued, France seems to have lost its sense of national confidence and purpose. This article discusses the reasons for this sense of disorientation and malaise. However, there are reasons for greater optimism about **France's future prospects**, including its impressive technological base that should give it a major role in a more fully integrated Europe.
 13. **France: The State Gives Way**, Nico Colchester, *The Economist*, November 23, 1991. 45
According to this author, **the identity of France** has always been based on effective centralized state control over the large and open-frontiered country. Recently, however, this unifying power of the French state has given way before a combination of market forces, the growth of the European Community as well as the subnational regions within France, and some other political, economic, and social developments examined at length in this survey article.
 14. **Deep Changes in French Society Unsettle Socialist Leadership**, Howard LaFranchi, *The Christian Science Monitor*, February 24, 1992. 57
Eleven years after François Mitterrand's election to the presidency, **the French political landscape** has changed considerably. The Left has lost its image as a "moral force," the Left-Right ideological divide has eroded, and a more incoherent collection of at least six political forces now compete for electoral support.
 15. **The Lame Duck With a Long, Long Way to Waddle**, *The Economist*, March 28, 1992. 58
In the **French elections** of March 22, 1992, President François Mitterand and his Socialist party suffered very badly at the polls. In the 21 years that the Socialist party has been in existence, it has never done as poorly.
- D. **JAPAN**
16. **The Real Japan**, James Fallows, *The New York Review of Books*, July 20, 1989. 59
This essay examines **how and why Japan differs** so markedly from other advanced industrial societies. James Fallows argues that it is a mistake to assume that Japan will somehow transform itself into a Western society—and presumptuous to say that it should.
 17. **Poor, Honest, and Out of a Job**, Murray Sayle, *The Spectator*, October 19, 1991. 64
Murray Sayle examines what he calls the "baroque" **political system of Japan**, with particular attention to the factions that make up the long-ruling Liberal Democratic Party. He offers a political explanation for the LDP's replacement of the youthful and popular Toshiki Kaifu as prime minister with Kiichi Miyazawa, a long-time factional leader.
 18. **Trading in Mistrust: The U.S. and Japan: A Romance Turning to Ashes**, Don Oberdorfer, *The Washington Post National Weekly Edition*, March 9–15, 1992. 68
This article examines the **increasing estrangement between the United States and Japan**, including the increasing number of incidents of vandalism and abuse against Japanese in this country.
 19. **For the Japanese: A Growing Sense of Disillusionment**, T. R. Reid and Paul Blustein, *The Washington Post National Weekly Edition*, March 9–15, 1992. 71
A new strain in **Japan's attitude** toward the United States is recently reflected in the disparaging blasts of **America-bashing** from Japanese politicians. This has resulted in a growing sense of disillusionment with the economically ailing United States by many Japanese.

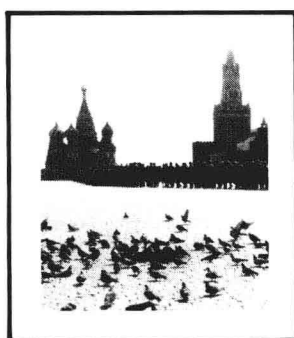


Unit 2

Pluralist Democracies: Factors in the Political Process

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

Overview	74
A. <i>POLITICAL IDEAS, MOVEMENTS, AND PARTIES</i>	
20. A Tale of Two Families , <i>The Economist</i> , November 23, 1991.	76
The traditional differences between Left and Right have become blurred in Europe, as both have moved toward the center. This article surveys electoral and party politics in Western Europe , pointing to patterns of both diversity and similarity. There are three patterns that could disturb the political calm: the Green parties, regionalist parties and movements, and the far Right.	
21. Europe's Christian Democrats: Hello, Caesar, This Is God , <i>The Economist</i> , March 17, 1990.	79
Christian Democratic parties are facing identity problems much like the Socialists and Communists . This article traces these moderately conservative parties back to the quarrel between clerical and lay parties in nineteenth-century Europe. It emphasizes the current split between the more pragmatic and more idealist, religiously inspired wings.	
22. Europe: Right-Wing Parties Gain , Rone Tempest, <i>Los Angeles Times</i> , November 27, 1991.	82
In a number of recent elections in Europe, far-Right parties have made significant showings. This article examines the extremist parties, their varied appeals to anxious voters, and their major sources of political support.	
B. <i>WOMEN AND POLITICS</i>	
23. Women, Power, and Politics: The Norwegian Experience , Irene Garland, <i>Scandinavian Review</i> , Winter 1991.	85
The Scandinavian countries all have very high numbers of women in their parliaments . In Norway, the prime minister and the leaders of two other parties are women. This article discusses the political reasons for this unparalleled development in recent decades. Proportional representation, a quota system, interparty cooperation among women, and a spillover effect appear to have been key factors.	
24. Europe's Women: How the Other Half Works , <i>The Economist</i> , June 30, 1990.	89
Women have become far more active in the labor force outside the home, but they are often found in part-time, temporary, unskilled, and low-paid manual work, with fewer social benefits and protections than men. There are some real differences among the EC countries , with Denmark's women doing best in most categories.	
C. <i>THE INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT</i>	
25. We the Peoples: A Checklist for New Constitution Writers , Robert A. Goldwin, <i>The American Enterprise</i> , May/June 1990.	92
Of the 160 or so written national constitutions, more than half are less than 15 years old. This article offers some advice to the writers of new constitutions , beginning with two basic propositions: (1) there is no universal formula for a successful constitution; and (2) the founders never begin with a completely new slate. It goes on to enumerate a set of important questions to be considered when drafting new constitutions.	
26. Parliament and Congress: Is the Grass Greener on the Other Side? Gregory S. Mahler, <i>Canadian Parliamentary Review</i> , Winter 1985/86.	96
This article examines the arguments advanced by supporters of both the parliamentary and congressional systems , with particular attention to the legislative-executive relationship in each. Drawing upon British, Canadian, and American examples, the author finds strengths and weaknesses in both models.	
27. Presidents and Prime Ministers , Richard Rose, <i>Society</i> , March/April 1988.	99
This author compares the different methods of giving direction to governments 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 balance between effective rule and political responsibility. But each system has constraints upon arbitrary rule and, sometimes, has checks and balances that are obstacles to effective decision-making.	



Unit 3

Europe – West, Center, and East: The Politics of Integration, Transformation, and Distintegration

Twelve selections examine the European continent, the politics of integration, post-Communist Central and Eastern Europe, and Russia and the other post-Soviet Republics.

D. NATION AND STATE, UNITARY AND FEDERAL FRAMEWORKS

28. **Europe: My Country, Right . . . or What?** David Lawday, *The Atlantic*, July 1991. 106

The modern **nation-state** is only a couple of centuries old, and there are some signs that it may have outlived its usefulness, or at least its emotional hold on people seeking a collective identity. The classic nation-state is too small to deal effectively with modern **economic and monetary policies** or the provision of security and protection of the environment. It is too large and centralized to deal with matters better left to regional and local government.

29. **As the World Turns Democratic, Federalism Finds Favor,** Norman Ornstein and Kimberly Coursen, *The American Enterprise*, January/February 1992. 108

Federalism is not a topic that causes most people to stir with excitement, but the authors point out that a creative division of power may be the only institutional remedy for countries that are on the brink of tearing themselves apart or that wish to combine the advantages of forming a union with the advantages of remaining separate in some ways. A wide range of possible federal solutions, from fairly tight to very loose, are examined in this article.

30. **Staging Post on the Path to Federalism,** Andrew Adonis, *Financial Times*, December 20, 1991. 112

Among the larger states in the European Community, Great Britain is unusual in not having a regional tier of government or anything resembling a regional policy. This article discusses **the concept and reality of "regionalism" in Europe**, stressing that there has been a strong trend in that direction throughout Western Europe. Great Britain may simply be a latecomer in this respect.

Overview 114

A. THE EUROPEAN CONTINENT

31. **A Divided Continent Sees Shared Destiny,** Joel Havemann, *Los Angeles Times*, February 4, 1992. 116

This article addresses the gradual emergence of a **loosely unified Europe**, still based on diverse nation-states. However, it also acknowledges that there are major obstacles even to such a development, and it gives "Euroskeptics" a hearing as well. The accompanying graphs show the tremendous regional disparities that prevail on the continent.

B. THE POLITICS OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

32. **My, How You've Grown,** *The Economist*, January 25, 1992. 122

In what it calls an EC brief, this British news magazine examines the **growth of the European Community**, its most recent leap forward with the Maastricht treaty, and the challenges ahead.

33. **Neither a State Nor International Organization,** Joel Havemann, *Los Angeles Times*, February 4, 1992. 125

This article gives an overview of the **institutional workings of the European Commission** and introduces some of the commissioners.

34. **EC Girds Itself for Inevitable Expansion,** Howard LaFranchi, *The Christian Science Monitor*, December 24, 1991. 127

The old debate about whether to "deepen" the **EC's institutions** before "widening" them to include new members has been surpassed by events. It appears that both the integration and expansion of the Community will take place over the coming years, as this article points out.

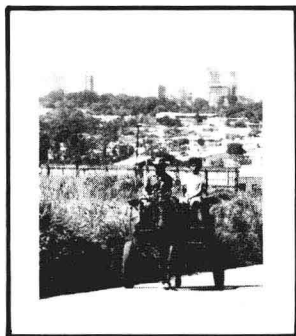
35. **Europe's Open Future,** *The Economist*, February 22, 1992. 130

In the first half of this century, Europe was a political disaster, but the second half has been an astonishing success for at least the western part of the continent. This article looks at some new or revived challenges: the need for the **institutional reform of the European Community**, the emergence of a more powerful Germany, and the possible rise of international trade blocs.

C. POST-COMMUNIST CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

36. **Eastern Europe After the Revolutions,** Robin Alison Remington, *Current History*, November 1991. 133

The author of this article gives an informed analysis of the **East European upheavals**, after which she turns to an examination of the present plight and future political and economic prospects of these countries.



Unit 4

The Third World: Diversity in Development

Ten selections review Third World economic and political development in Latin America, Africa, China, and India.

D. RUSSIA AND THE OTHER POST-SOVIET REPUBLICS

37. **The Soviet State, Born of a Dream, Dies**, Serge Schmemmann, *The New York Times*, December 26, 1991. 138
This special report on the **end of the Soviet Union** takes the form of an obituary that reviews the 74 years of Communist rule over the Eurasian colossus that is now fragmenting into separate republics. The author reflects upon the irony of Mikhail Gorbachev's reforms leading to the collapse of the country he wanted to modernize. He also emphasizes the ambivalence about the West that continues to be present in Russia.
38. **Left With a Kingdom of Air**, Michael Dobbs, *The Washington Post National Weekly Edition*, December 23-29, 1991. 142
Mikhail Gorbachev came to power intent upon reforming and modernizing the Soviet Union. He released forces that ended up destroying a system that, although moribund, could have held on longer. This article evaluates the **achievements and shortcomings of the last leader of the Soviet Union**.
39. **Tumbling Back to the Future**, Vladimir Bukovsky, *The New York Times Magazine*, January 12, 1992. 146
Vladimir Bukovsky, who was expelled from the Soviet Union in 1976 after spending 11 years in prison as a political dissident, surveys the situation in Russia. He concludes that the **state bureaucracy** has been able to fill the power vacuum and paralyze major reforms at a time when there is a need for decisive and democratically legitimated change. As a result, economic chaos and political instability threaten to create Weimar-like conditions in Russia.
40. **Yeltsin Mystery: True Democrat or Tyrant?** Michael Parks, *Los Angeles Times*, December 27, 1991. 149
This article discusses **Boris Yeltsin as a political leader** who has broken with the Communist party, but whose democratic credentials and political astuteness are widely questioned. Also included are short biographies of 10 other prominent leaders in the successor states.
41. **The Yeltsin Revolution**, Martin Malia, *The New Republic*, February 10, 1992. 154
This historian/author sees **three main phases in the new Russian revolution**: Mikhail Gorbachev's perestroika, with its goal of reforming the system without abandoning its socialist foundations, the collapse of the system itself and with it of Communist power, and Boris Yeltsin's present attempt to build a post-Communist order. This article reviews these three stages and disagrees with the view of some Sovietologists who have argued that the old system would have been reformable.
42. **What's Really Happening in Russia?** Stephen F. Cohen, *The Nation*, March 2, 1992. 159
Stephen F. Cohen, prominent authority on Russia, answers a series of questions about **what is happening in the former Soviet Union**. He warns against myths that continue to distort our views, and suggests that moderate reform strategies may best suit the needs of the country. The antidemocratic forces in Russia and the other successor republics have grown, and there may yet be a nationalist anti-Western backlash in the population.

Overview 166

A. **POLITICS OF DEVELOPMENT**

43. **Third World Embracing Reforms to Encourage Economic Growth**, Sylvia Nasar, *The New York Times*, July 8, 1991. 168
New economic policies and strategies are taking hold in the Third World, as private enterprise and foreign investments are replacing the traditional strategies of development that relied on statist intervention and economic nationalism. The economic success of some market economies, such as that of South Korea, and the collapse of the Soviet model of development help explain the shift. But the new path is a bumpy one, strewn with social and political conflict.

B. LATIN AMERICA

44. **A New Discipline in Economics Brings Change to Latin America**, Nathaniel C. Nash, *The New York Times*, November 13, 1991. 170
There is a wave of interest in **market economics throughout Latin America**, replacing a traditional commitment to strategies that favor a strong state intervention in the economy. This article surveys the economies in five countries that are leaders in economic modernization (Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, and Venezuela) and two laggards (Brazil and Peru).
45. **Mexico: Progress and Promise**, Marjorie Miller and Juanita Darling, *Los Angeles Times*, October 22, 1991. 173
Mexico is casting aside its historical fear of foreign domination and trying to forge a free trade agreement with the United States and Canada. The move is part of a larger **strategy to modernize Mexico's ailing economy** as well as its political system.

C. AFRICA

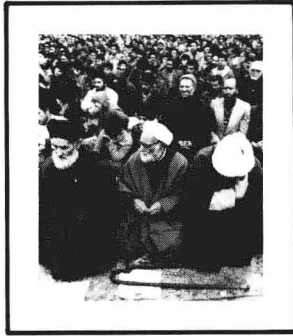
46. **Democracy in Africa**, *The Economist*, February 22, 1992. 177
This article surveys the **sub-Saharan countries of Africa** and concludes that democratic politics and market economics are making major advances on the continent. The momentum may sweep away some of the remaining autocracies. The next difficult task will be to achieve widespread good government.
47. **'Today We Have Closed the Books on Apartheid,'** David S. Ottaway and Paul Taylor, *The Washington Post National Weekly Edition*, March 23–29, 1992. 180
In March 1992, South African whites gave President F. W. de Klerk an overwhelming mandate **to end their monopoly on political power**, with almost 70 percent of the voters approving his leadership and negotiations for some form of democratic power-sharing among the peoples of the country.
48. **A Mandate for Change**, Christopher S. Wren, *The New York Times*, March 20, 1992. 182
President F. W. de Klerk received an overwhelming mandate from **South African whites** to end their **monopoly on political power** in a mid-March 1992 referendum. This ringing approval of the voters provides Mr. de Klerk with strong support to **negotiate power sharing with blacks**. This article summarizes the present state of negotiations.

D. CHINA

49. **Deng Struggles to Set Reform Back on Track**, Ann Scott Tyson and James L. Tyson, *The Christian Science Monitor*, February 26, 1992. 184
China is facing the worst **succession crisis** since Mao's death. The hard-line leaders are caught between the demands of modernization and political control.
50. **Preparing for the Succession**, David Bachman, *Current History*, September 1991. 186
Two different sets of leaders rule today's China. One group is composed of mostly university-educated people in their fifties and sixties. They are in charge of routine policy decisions and determine policy implementation. The second set of leaders, a group of men in their eighties, include Deng Xiaoping and function as the final arbiters of power and policy in China. Their successors are likely to be found among high-ranking members of the first group of leaders.
51. **How China's Economy Left Its Comrade Behind**, Daniel Southerland, *The Washington Post National Weekly Edition*, September 2–8, 1991. 190
This article addresses the intriguing question of why the repressive Communist rulers of China have been able to introduce economic reforms that appear to work, while the democratic reforms in the former Soviet Union have been accompanied by economic chaos. The different outcomes of economic reform in the two countries is no accident.

E. INDIA

52. **After the Dynasty: Politics in India**, Robert L. Hardgrave, Jr., *Current History*, March 1992. 193
After the 1989 **elections in India**, no single party commanded a parliamentary majority, and governments were formed in a pattern of shifting coalitions. The 1991 elections failed to produce any solutions to this problem.



Unit 5

Comparative Politics: Some Major Trends, Issues, and Prospects

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

Overview	200
A. <i>THE DEMOCRATIC TREND: HOW STRONG, THOROUGH, AND LASTING?</i>	
53. Democracy Takes Hold—Sort Of , Stanley Meisler, <i>Los Angeles Times</i> , November 1, 1991.	202
While the mere form of democracy should not be mistaken for its substance, there has been a remarkable increase in the number of democratic governments in recent years. In this article, the author looks at the problems and prospects of the pluralist democracy in different parts of the world.	
54. A New Era in Democracy: Democracy's Third Wave , Samuel P. Huntington, <i>Current</i> , September 1991.	205
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 P. Huntington singles out factors that have produced the "third wave" as well as factors that could bring about a new reverse wave. There is reason for both hope and caution about the future prospects of the new democracies .	
55. What Kind of Democracy? Raymond D. Gastil, <i>The Atlantic</i> , June 1990.	217
The author of this article emphasizes that democracy must guarantee not only the political right of people to choose freely who will govern them, but also the freedoms of expression and organization that make possible effective oppositions. He traces democracy to two different intellectual roots, what he calls the tribal democratic desire for self-government and the liberal democratic emphasis on individual rights. The two demands can clash, as recent history and contemporary politics show.	
B. <i>THE TURN TO THE MARKET: WHAT ROLE FOR THE STATE?</i>	
56. Capitalism and Democracy , Gabriel A. Almond, <i>PS: Political Science and Politics</i> , September 1991.	220
In this article, a leading political scientist examines the ambiguous relationship between capitalism and democracy , which has preoccupied political theory for the last two centuries. He explores ways in which capitalism supports and subverts democracy as well as ways in which democracy subverts and fosters capitalism. In democratic welfare capitalism, he finds a nonutopian reconciliation of the two.	
57. Communitarian vs. Individualistic Capitalism , Lester Thurow, <i>New Perspectives Quarterly</i> , Winter 1992.	228
With economic competition between communism and capitalism over , the central economic contest will henceforth be between the individualistic British-American form of capitalism and the more social or communitarian variant found in some other countries such as Germany and Japan. In this article, Lester Thurow, an economist and author, stresses that the latter has been relatively more successful.	
C. <i>A TRIBAL THREAT TO PLURALISM? THE POLITICAL ASSERTION OF GROUP IDENTITY</i>	
58. Faith Comes in From Political Fringe , Robin Wright, <i>Los Angeles Times</i> , January 14, 1992.	232
In this article, Robin Wright looks at the growing role of religion in politics in several countries and regions of the world. The implications of this role for political pluralism are also discussed.	
59. Jihad vs. McWorld , Benjamin R. Barber, <i>The Atlantic</i> , March 1992.	235
Benjamin R. Barber, a political theorist known for his works on democracy, 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 each other. This particularist principle clashes with a homogenizing tendency of globalism, brought about by modern technology, communications, and commerce. Both may threaten democracy.	
Index	241
Article Review Form	244
Article Rating Form	245

COMPARATIVE POLITICS 92/93

Editor

Christian Soe
California State University, Long Beach

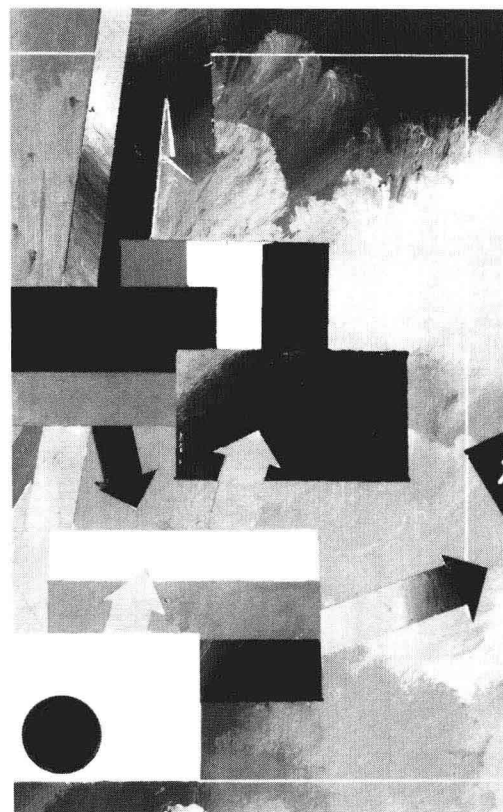
Christian Soe was born in Denmark, studied in Canada and the United States, and received his doctoral degree in political science from the Free University in Berlin. He is a political science professor at California State University, Long Beach. Dr. Soe teaches a wide range of courses in comparative politics and contemporary political theory, and actively participates in professional symposiums in the United States and abroad. He founded and continues to direct the Pacific Workshop on German Affairs, and his research deals primarily with developments in contemporary German politics. As an observer of the first free election in East Germany in March 1990, he gathered fresh data on the reemergence of political pluralism in that part of the country. In November and December 1990 he returned as an observer of the first Bundestag election after Germany's unification.

At present Dr. Soe is writing a short study of the Free Democratic Party in the enlarged Federal Republic, and is co-editor of a planned book, *The Germans and Their Neighbors*, that will examine foreign reactions to the emergence of a larger and more powerful Germany.

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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 very useful in 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:
Administrative Elites	13. France: The State Gives Way 17. Poor, Honest, and Out of a Job 33. Neither a State nor International Organization	Democracy (cont'd)	59. Jihad vs. McWorld
Africa	46. Democracy in Africa 47. 'Today We Have Closed the Books on Apartheid' 48. Mandate for Change 53. Democracy Takes Hold—Sort Of 54. New Era in Democracy	Eastern Europe	See Central and Eastern Europe
British Government and Politics	1. End of an Era in British Politics 2. Having Outwitted the Seers, Tories Wax Conciliatory 3. British Election of 1992 4. Britain's Constitutional Question 5. Myths Are Dead 6. Despite Integration, Britain Remains an Island Unto Itself 26. Parliament and Congress 27. Presidents and Prime Ministers 28. Europe: My Country Right . . . or What? 30. Staging Post on the Path to Federalism 55. What Kind of Democracy? 57. Communitarian vs. Individualistic Capitalism	Economics and Politics	31. Divided Continent Sees Shared Destiny 36. Eastern Europe After the Revolutions 37. Soviet State, Born of a Dream, Dies 38. Left With a Kingdom of Air 39. Tumbling Back to the Future 40. Yeltsin Mystery: True Democrat or Tyrant? 41. Yeltsin Revolution 42. What's Really Happening in Russia? 43. Third World Embracing Reforms to Encourage Economic Growth 44. New Discipline in Economics Bring Change to Latin America 51. How China's Economy Left Its Comrade Behind 56. Capitalism and Democracy 57. Communitarian vs. Individualistic Capitalism
Central and Eastern Europe	29. As the World Turns Democratic 31. Divided Continent Sees Shared Destiny 34. EC Girds Itself for Inevitable Expansion 36. Eastern Europe After the Revolutions 53. Democracy Takes Hold—Sort Of 54. New Era in Democracy	Elections	1. End of an Era in British Politics 2. Having Outwitted the Seers, Tories Wax Conciliatory 3. British Election of 1992 8. New Germany 9. Germany: Power and the Left 11. Germany: Too Right 13. France: The State Gives Way 15. Lame Duck With a Long, Long Way to Waddle 20. Tale of Two Families 22. Europe: Right-Wing Parties Gain 23. Women, Power, and Politics 36. Eastern Europe After the Revolutions 48. Mandate for Change 52. After the Dynasty: Politics in India 53. Democracy Takes Hold—Sort Of 54. New Era in Democracy 55. What Kind of Democracy?
Chinese Government and Politics	49. Deng Struggles to Set Reform Back on Track 50. Preparing for the Succession 51. How China's Economy Left Its Comrade Behind	Electoral Systems	4. Britain's Constitutional Question 5. Myths Are Dead 8. New Germany 13. France: The State Gives Way 23. Women, Power, and Politics 48. Mandate for Change
Christian Democrats	8. New Germany 10. Germany: Such Long Sorrow 21. Europe's Christian Democrats	Ethnicity and Politics	13. France: The State Gives Way 42. What's Really Happening in Russia? 47. 'Today We Have Closed the Books on Apartheid' 48. Mandate for Change 52. After the Dynasty 54. New Era in Democracy 59. Jihad vs. McWorld
Communist Governments	49. Deng Struggles to Set Reform Back on Track 50. Preparing for the Succession 51. How China's Economy Left Its Comrade Behind	European Community	6. Despite Integration, Britain Remains an Island Unto Itself 9. Germany: Power and the Left 12. New France 13. France: The State Gives Way 28. Europe: My Country Right . . . or What? 32. My, How You've Grown 33. Neither a State nor International Organization 34. EC Girds Itself for Inevitable Expansion 35. Europe's Open Future
Conservative Party in Great Britain	1. End of an Era in British Politics 2. Having Outwitted the Seers, Tories Wax Conciliatory 3. British Election of 1992 4. Britain's Constitutional Question 5. Myths Are Dead 6. Despite Integration, Britain Remains an Island Unto Itself	Federal and Unitary Systems	4. Britain's Constitutional Question 5. Myths Are Dead
Democracy	36. Eastern Europe After the Revolutions 39. Tumbling Back to the Future 40. Yeltsin Mystery: True Democrat or Tyrant? 41. Yeltsin Revolution 42. What's Really Happening in Russia? 48. Mandate for Change 52. After the Dynasty: Politics in India 54. New Era in Democracy 55. What Kind of Democracy? 56. Capitalism and Democracy 57. Communitarian vs. Individualistic Capitalism 58. Faith Comes in From Political Fringe		

TOPIC AREA	TREATED IN:	TOPIC AREA	TREATED IN:
Federal and Unitary Systems (cont'd)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 8. New Germany 28. Europe: My Country Right . . . or What? 29. As the World Turns Democratic 30. Staging Post on the Path to Federalism 36. Eastern Europe After the Revolutions 37. Soviet State, Born of a Dream, Dies 41. Yeltsin Revolution 42. What's Really Happening in Russia? 	Nationalism and Nationalist Parties	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 8. New Germany 22. Europe: Right-Wing Parties Gain 28. Europe: My Country Right . . . or What? 59. Jihad vs. McWorld
French Government and Politics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 12. New France 13. France: The State Gives Way 14. Deep Changes in French Society Unsettle Socialist Leadership 15. Lame Duck With a Long, Long Way to Waddle 20. Tale of Two Families 22. Europe: Right-Wing Parties Gain 27. Presidents and Prime Ministers 30. Staging Post on the Path to Federalism 	Nation-State, The	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 28. Europe: My Country Right . . . or What? 29. As the World Turns Democratic 30. Staging Post on the Path to Federalism 31. Divided Continent Sees Shared Destiny 33. Neither a State nor International Organization 35. Europe's Open Future 37. Soviet State, Born of a Dream, Dies 42. What's Really Happening in Russia? 59. Jihad vs. McWorld
German Government and Politics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. First Year Hangover <i>and</i> Under the Surface 8. New Germany 9. Germany: Power and the Left 10. Germany: Such Long Sorrow 11. Germany: Too Right 20. Tale of Two Families 21. Europe's Christian Democrats 22. Europe: Right-Wing Parties Gain 28. Europe: My Country Right . . . or What? 57. Communitarian vs. Individualistic Capitalism 	Parliamentary Systems	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 25. We the Peoples 26. Parliament and Congress 27. Presidents and Prime Ministers 33. Neither a State nor International Organization 35. Europe's Open Future
India's Government and Politics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 52. After the Dynasty: Politics in India 58. Faith Comes In From Political Fringe 	Political Ideas and Ideologies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. End of an Era in British Politics 8. New Germany 9. Germany: Power and the Left 13. France: The State Gives Way 20. Tale of Two Families 21. Europe's Christian Democrats 22. Europe: Right-Wing Parties Gain 36. Eastern Europe After the Revolutions 37. Soviet State, Born of a Dream, Dies 38. Left With a Kingdom of Air 39. Tumbling Back to the Future 40. Yeltsin Mystery: True Democrat or Tyrant? 41. Yeltsin Revolution 42. What's Really Happening in Russia? 54. New Era in Democracy 55. What Kind of Democracy? 56. Capitalism and Democracy 57. Communitarian vs. Individualistic Capitalism 58. Faith Comes in From Political Fringe 59. Jihad vs. McWorld
Japan's Government and Politics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 16. Real Japan 17. Poor, Honest, and Out of a Job 18. Trading in Mistrust: The U.S. and Japan 57. Communitarian vs. Individualistic Capitalism 	Presidential Systems	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 13. France: The State Gives Way 25. We the Peoples 26. Parliament and Congress 27. Presidents and Prime Ministers
Labour Party (Great Britain)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. End of an Era in British Politics 2. Having Outwitted the Seers, Tories Wax Conciliatory 3. British Election of 1992 4. Britain's Constitutional Question 5. Myths Are Dead 6. Despite Integration, Britain Remains an Island Unto Itself 	Religion and Politics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 53. Democracy Takes Hold—Sort Of 54. New Era in Democracy 58. Faith Comes In From Political Fringe 59. Jihad vs. McWorld
Latin America	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 44. New Discipline in Economics Brings Change to Latin America 45. Mexico: Progress and Promise 53. Democracy Takes Hold—Sort Of 54. New Era in Democracy 55. What Kind of Democracy? 	Russia and Other Post-Soviet States	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 37. Soviet State, Born of a Dream, Dies 38. Left With a Kingdom of Air 39. Tumbling Back to the Future 40. Yeltsin Mystery: True Democrat or Tyrant? 41. Yeltsin Revolution 42. What's Really Happening in Russia?
Less Developed Countries (LDCs)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 43. Third World Embracing Reforms 44. New Discipline in Economics 45. Mexico: Progress and Promise 46. Democracy in Africa 47. 'Today We Have Closed the Books on Apartheid' 48. Mandate for Change 49. Deng Struggles to Set Reform Back on Track 50. Preparing for the Succession 51. How China's Economy Left Its Comrade Behind 52. After the Dynasty 53. Democracy Takes Hold—Sort Of 54. New Era in Democracy 58. Faith Comes In From Political Fringe 59. Jihad vs. McWorld 	Social Democrats and Democratic Socialists	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 2. Having Outwitted the Seers, Tories Wax Conciliatory 9. Germany: Power and the Left 13. France: The State Gives Way 14. Deep Changes in French Society Unsettle Socialist Leadership 15. Lame Duck With a Long, Long Way to Waddle 20. Tale of Two Families 56. Capitalism and Democracy
Mexico	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 44. New Discipline in Economics Brings Change to Latin America 45. Mexico: Progress and Promise 	Women in Politics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 23. Women, Power, and Politics 24. Europe's Women: How the Other Half Works
Middle East	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 54. New Era in Democracy 58. Faith Comes In From Political Fringe 59. Jihad vs. McWorld 		

Pluralist Democracies: Country Overviews

- Great Britain (Articles 1–6)
- Germany (Articles 7–11)
- France (Articles 12–15)
- Japan (Articles 16–19)

The United Kingdom, Germany, France, and Italy rank among the most prominent industrial societies in Western Europe. Although their modern political histories differ sharply, they have all become stable pluralist democracies with competitive party systems and representative governments. Japan is far less pluralist in sociocultural terms, but it occupies a similar position of primacy among the few industrial democracies in Asia.

In this and the following two units, the articles covering the political systems of Great Britain, Germany, France, and Japan are presented in separate country studies. 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.

Great Britain was for most of this century regarded as a model of parliamentary government and majoritarian party politics, or what became known as “the Westminster model” of rule. In the 1970s, however, the country became better known for its chronic governing problems. Some observers spoke about the British sickness or *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 malady.

By the mid-1980s Great Britain began to pull considerably ahead of other West European countries in its annual economic growth rates. This apparent economic turnaround was associated with the rule of then–prime minister Margaret Thatcher, who had come to power in May of 1979, and who had introduced a drastic change in economic and social policy for the 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 contrast to the compromising consensus politics of her Labour and Conservative predecessors.

Thus the worries about ungovernability, which had dominated discussions about British politics in the 1970s, gave way in the 1980s to quite different questions about the consequences of Thatcher’s economic and social policies. The debate also shifted to new concerns about the government’s efforts to tighten central controls over education at all levels, its introduction of cost controls into the popular National Health Service, its privatization of electricity and water industries, as well as its inroads upon what had long been considered established rights in such areas as local government and civil liberties. Moreover, Thatcher was a staunch defender of national sovereignty who distrusted the drive toward monetary and eventual political union in the European Community. She became known throughout the Continent for her unusually sharp attacks on what she regarded as tendencies toward undemocratic statism or technocratic socialism in Brussels.

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 or rates as a means of financing local public services. Although the poll tax, as the new charge became known, was very unpopular in Scotland, where it had been introduced a year

earlier, Thatcher resisted all pressure to reconsider the measure and followed the plan of extending it to England and Wales in April 1990. Not only did the poll tax appear inequitable or regressive, as compared to one based on property values, it also turned out to be set much higher by local governments than the national government originally had estimated. The politically disastrous result was that the revenue measure appeared to be anything but neutral in its impact. It created an unexpectedly large proportion of losers, that is, people who had to pay considerably more in local taxes than they previously paid, while the far fewer winners tended to be rich people who had previously paid higher property taxes. Not surprisingly, the national and local governments disagreed about who was responsible for the unpopular tax bills, but the voters seemed to have little difficulty in assigning blame to Margaret Thatcher and the Conservative party as originators of the unpopular reform. By the spring of 1990, some observers correctly anticipated that the tax rebellion would undermine Thatcher’s position in her own party and become her political Waterloo.

The feisty prime minister had weathered many political challenges, but there was increasing speculation that the Tories might try to replace her with a more attractive leader before the next general election. The issue that finally triggered such a development was Thatcher’s stepped-up attacks on closer European union during 1990. It led her deputy prime minister, Sir Geoffrey Howe, to resign on November 1, 1990, with a sharp public rebuke of her attitude to Europe. There followed a leadership challenge in the Conservative party that ended with Thatcher’s own resignation toward the end of the same month.

John Major, who was chosen by his fellow conservative members of Parliament to be Thatcher’s successor as prime minister and leader of the governing party, had long been regarded as one of her most loyal cabinet supporters. But, although he continued her tough economic policy, which Thatcher herself had described as dry, he appeared to prefer a more compassionate or wet social policy. His governing style turned out to be far less confrontational, and he made early plans for abandoning the hated poll tax. In the Persian Gulf War of 1991, Major continued Thatcher’s policy of giving strong British support for firm and ultimate military measures against the government of Iraq, which had invaded and occupied oil-rich Kuwait. Unlike his predecessor after the Falkland Islands conflict, however, he did not follow up on the 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 electoral disenchantment with the Conservative government. The big political question had become whether Prime Minister Major could recapture some of the lost ground. Under its leader, Neil Kinnock, Labour had moved back toward its traditional center-Left position and now again presented itself as a politically moderate and socially caring reform party. It had moved ahead in some opinion polls, and it won some impressive victories in by-elections to the House of Commons. In the aftermath 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 their own political breakthrough. After the defeat of 1987, they formed a new united party, the Social and Liberal Democrats (SLD), which soon became known simply as Liberal Democrats. Under the leadership of Paddy Ashdown, they promoted themselves as a reasonable centrist alternative to the Conservatives on the right and the Labour party on the left. Their goal was to win the balance of power in a tightly fought election and then, as kingmakers, to enter a government coalition with one of the two big parties. One of their main demands would be that the winner-takes-all electoral system, based on single-member districts, be replaced by one of proportional representation in multimember districts, as used widely in continental Europe. Such a system would almost surely guarantee the Liberal Democrats not only a relatively solid base in the House of Commons, based on their share of the popular vote, but also a pivotal role in a future process of coalition politics in Great Britain. In other words, they would occupy a position as kingmaker or balancer, much like their smaller counterpart, the Free Democratic Party, in Germany.

Writing half a year before the 1992 general election, James E. Cronin provides a good assessment of the changed political landscape in Great Britain. He explains the reasons for the coup against Margaret Thatcher and shows how both Labour and Conservatives had begun to move toward the center, even before the beleaguered prime minister stepped down. This recentering of British politics became evident in the campaign leading to the general election, called by Prime Minister Major for April 9, 1992. The timing of the election seemed highly unattractive for his own governing party, since Great Britain had entered its worst recession in years. On the other hand, there was little time left for delay, for an election had to come before the end of June under Great Britain's five-year limit.

Two articles in this unit analyze the election and its political consequences. It was a very important outcome that confounded many observers who had expected a change in government. Instead of defeat, the result guaranteed the governing party a fourth consecutive term of office, something that had not occurred in British politics for over 150 years. Despite the recession, they were able to garner 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, almost one-quarter less than the Alliance had won in its two unsuccessful attempts to "break the mold" of the party system in 1983 and 1987. In retrospect, it became clear that there had not been a uniform electoral shift, as the article from the *London Sunday Times* points out. In the House of Commons, the Conservatives lost 36 seats but ended up with 336 of the 651 members—a clear majority. 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, and the rest were occupied by representatives of small regional parties from Northern Ireland, Scotland, and Wales.

One of the most interesting issues in contemporary British politics is the demand for constitutional change. In the late 1980s, an ad hoc liberal 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 Great Britain's Glorious Revolution of 1688 to launch their effort, whose main result until now has been to kindle a broad discussion of citizenship rights in the country. By now, other groups have worked out a number of alternative proposals for a new British constitution. Caroline Ellis summarizes and compares the main features of four of these proposals, two from the socialist Left, one from the Liberal center, and one from the neoconservative Right.

Germany was united in 1990 when the eastern German Democratic Republic (GDR) merged with the western Federal Republic of Germany. The two German states had been established in 1949, four years after the defeat of the German Reich in the World War II. During the next forty years, rival elites and ideologies had set the tone in each of the two successor states. East Germany comprised the territory of the former Soviet Occupation Zone of Germany, and its one-party rule and centrally planned economy had expressed the power monopoly of the Communist party on which the state rested. In contrast, West Germany, which was based on the former American, British, and French zones of postwar occupation, had developed a pluralist democracy and a flourishing market economy.

Mass demonstrations in several East German cities and the westward flight of thousands of citizens brought the GDR government to make numerous concessions in late 1989 and early 1990. The Berlin Wall ceased to be a hermetical seal after November 9, 1989, when this symbol of the cold war and Germany's division was dismantled. Under new leadership, the ruling Communists of East Germany sought to restore stability and gain some legitimacy by introducing a form of power-sharing with non-Communist groups and parties. With the westward flight of East Germans continuing, Prime Minister Hans Modrow, a reform Communist, hurriedly agreed to permit a free election in March 1990.

Popular demonstrations and the willingness of East Germans to "vote with their feet" only had a chance of promoting reform because of two major developments. First, the Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, had abandoned the so-called Brezhnev Doctrine, according to which the Soviets claimed the right of intervention on behalf of the established Communist regimes in Central and Eastern Europe. And second, the imposed Communist regimes of these countries turned out to have lost their old self-confidence and will to hold on to power at any cost. As Alexis de Tocqueville had observed a century and a half earlier, no popular revolution can succeed until the old regime has developed such symptoms.

The East German Communists slowly gave up their power and positions, and by the time of the March 1990 election it was clear even to them that the pressure for national unification could no longer be stemmed. The issue was no longer whether the two German states would be joined together, but how and when. These questions were settled when an alliance of Christian Democrats, largely identified with and supported by Chancellor Helmut Kohl's party in West Germany, won a surprisingly decisive victory with 48 percent of the vote. It advocated a short, quick route to unification, beginning with an early monetary union in the summer and a political union by the fall of 1990. This also meant that the new non-Communist government in East Germany, headed by Lothar de Maizière of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), followed the short route to merger with the Federal Republic under Article 23 of the West German Basic

Law. The electoral result for the SPD (Social Democratic Party) was only 22 percent of the vote. That also meant a defeat of its alternative strategy for unification which would have involved the protracted negotiation of a new German constitution, as envisaged by Article 146 of the Basic Law.

During the summer and fall of 1990, the governments of the two German states and the four former occupying powers completed their so-called *two-plus-four negotiations* that resulted in mutual agreement on the German unification process. A monetary union in July was followed by a political merger in October. In advance of unification, Bonn was able to negotiate an agreement with Moscow in which the latter accepted the gradual withdrawal of Soviet troops from eastern Germany and the membership of the larger, united Germany in NATO in return for considerable German economic support for the Soviet Union. The result was a major shift in both the domestic and international balance of power.

The Christian Democrats repeated their electoral success in the contest for the parliaments of the five new (or revived) states of eastern Germany in October 1990. They won again in the first Bundestag election for united Germany in early December, even though their share of the vote dipped somewhat. The only Bundestag party to increase its overall share of the vote (to 11 percent) was the FDP, the small liberal coalition party that has been a majority maker in West German politics for years. It did even better in the eastern part of Germany than in the West. The Greens, on the other hand, failed to get the required minimum of 5 percent of the vote in western Germany and dropped out of the Bundestag.

The composition of the Bundestag was affected by the provision that, for this election only, the two parts of united Germany operated as separate electoral entities as far as the 5 percent threshold was concerned. That made it possible for another Green grouping, an electoral coalition with left-wing reformers calling themselves Alliance 90, to win enough votes (about 6 percent of the total) in eastern Germany to get a small foothold in the Bundestag. The special electoral conditions for 1990 also enabled the former Communist ruling party, in its new identity as the Party of Democratic Socialism or PDS, to gain representation in the Bundestag by winning about 10 percent of the vote in eastern Germany. It appealed to a number of groups that feared social displacement and ideological alienation in a market economy, including not only many former privileged party members but also some rural workers and young people. Ironically, the party was very weak among the wage workers for whom it claimed to speak.

Anyone interested in political development will want to keep a close eye on the difficult transition period in Germany. State and local elections since December 1990 appear to support the view that the Greens are still a small but viable political party, which can expect to return to the Bundestag in 1994. But there is also a possibility that a far Right party, which uses xenophobic slogans against foreign immigrants and asylum-seekers, could gain entry to the Bundestag for the first time since 1949. One such party, the German People's Union (DVU), was elected to the state parliaments in Bremen and Schleswig-Holstein in the fall of 1991 and the spring of 1992 respectively. A similar ultra-Right party, the so-called *Republikaner* or Reps, entered the state parliament of Baden-Württemberg in southwestern Germany by winning over 10 percent of the vote in April 1992. The growth of such parties in Germany and elsewhere in Europe bears careful watching, even if many of these votes seem primarily to be a form of protest against social and economic uncertainties.

In France, the bicentennial of the country's 1789 Revolution was duly celebrated in 1989. It served as an occasion for public ceremonies and a revival of historical-political debates about the costs and benefits of early modern exercise in the radical transformation of a society. Ironically, however, for some years there has been evidence that the ideological cleavages, which marked French politics for so much of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, are losing much of their significance. Instead, there is now emerging a more pragmatic, pluralist form of accommodation in French public life.

To be sure, this deradicalization and depolarization of political discourse is by no means complete in France. If the Communists have been weakened and become ideologically confused, Le Pen's National Front on the far Right has had some success with a xenophobic rhetoric directed primarily against the many residents of Arab origin found in the country. The apparent electoral appeal of his invective has led some leaders of the establishment parties to voice more carefully formulated reservations about the presence of so many immigrants. An entirely new and different political phenomenon for France is the appearance of two Green parties, one more conservative and the other more socialist in orientation. In the regional elections of March 1992, the environmentalists together received about 15 percent of the vote, slightly more than the share received by the National Front.

Soon after the regional elections, in which the Socialists suffered a calamity by garnering less than 20 percent of the vote, François Mitterrand replaced Prime Minister Edith Cresson. He had appointed her to that position only 10 months earlier, in May 1991, after dismissing Michel Rocard, a possible contender for the leadership of the Socialist party. In contrast to her predecessor, Cresson soon managed to attract a lot of negative press coverage with her blunt manner of speaking. She served as a kind of sacrificial lamb after the electoral debacle in March 1992, and she was replaced by Pierre Bérégovoy, her former finance minister. It was widely reported that Mitterrand's first choice had been Jacques Delors, his finance minister from 1981 to 1984 and current president of the European Commission in Brussels. Delors is highly respected, inside and outside France, and might have given new vigor to the dispirited Socialists. But Delors, who is believed to have his eyes set on the presidency, apparently did not wish to ruin his political future by taking over a weak and unpopular government in France at that time.

Mitterrand's seven-year presidential term does not expire until 1995, but there will be new elections to the National Assembly when its five-year term is up in 1993. Should the Socialists be defeated, Mitterrand would face the question of whether to resign early from the presidency or, as under similar political circumstances in 1986, to enter a period of cohabitation with a conservative prime minister. The latter experiment ended well for the Socialists, with Mitterrand reelected as president in 1988 and the conservatives defeated in the early election of a new National Assembly that followed. But many observers find it doubtful that an aging Mitterrand will wish to repeat the stressful experience of governing with a prime minister who belongs to a rival party.

Mitterrand has indicated an interest in possibly shortening the unusually long presidential term to five years, to coincide with the parliamentary term. Such an institutional reform, were it to be enacted, could have important consequences for the balance of power within the dual executive of the Fifth Republic. It is also possible that Mitterrand will try to change the electoral law to one based on proportional representation, as he did in 1986, in order to fragment the Right and save his own Socialists from a political