CONTENTS

Preface xi

INTRODUCTION 7

Comparison: Basic Concepts and Priorities, 8 Political Parties, 14 The Government, 16 Emerging Trends and Problems, 19

Bibliography 24

II POLITICS OF GREAT BRITAIN 27

Samuel E. Finer and Michael Steed

1 Introduction 29

Economic Ascent and Decline, 29 The British Constitution, 31 The Model Democracy, 33

2 The Foundations of British Politics 35

Culture and Society, 35 A Socioeconomic Profile, 39 Cleavages, 41

3 Political Parties, Elections, Pressure Groups 46

The Conservative Party, 47 The Labour Party, 51 Elections, 56 Interest Groups, 62 Interest Groups in Action, 65

4 Government and Parliament 67

The Cabinet, 68 The Central Executive and the Civil Service, 71 The Parliament, 76

5 Britain Today and Tomorrow 84

Britain and the World, 84 The Economy, 84
The Constitution—Change or Decay?, 86 Changing Attitudes?, 89
Bibliography 91

III POLITICS OF FRANCE 93

Roy C. Macridis

1 Introduction: The Foundations of French Politics 95

The French Political Culture, 96 Ideological Foundations of Politics, 100 A Socioeconomic Profile, 102 Interest Groups, 109

2 Governmental Institutions 113

The President and the Republic, 115 The Cabinet, 117 The Legislature, 119 The Government and the National Assembly, 122 Other Constitutional Organs and Procedures, 124 Presidentialism Under Giscard d'Estaing, 125 The Civil Service, 127

3 Party Trends, 1958-77 133

Political Parties, 134 The Left, 134 The Center, 141 The Republican Right, 142 Conclusion: Overall Trends, 144

4 Electoral Politics 146

Crucial Popular Consultations, 146 Legislative Elections (1967, 1968), 147 Gaullism without deGaulle, 151
The Last Presidential Election (May 1974): A Non-Gaullist President, 159

5 Governmental Performance and Prospects 163

Decolonization, 163 Institutions, 164 France's Role in the World, 168 Prospects for Reform, 168

Bibliography 172

IV THE GERMAN FEDERAL REPUBLIC: WESTERN GERMANY 175

Karl W. Deutsch and D. Brent Smith

1 Introduction 177

A Picture of Stability, 178 Some Standards for a More Critical Appraisal, 179

2 The German Political Heritage 183

In Search of Statehood—A Legacy of Particularism, 184
The Second German Empire, 1871–1918, 184
The Weimar Republic, 1918–33, 186 The Hitler Era, 1933–45, 193

3 Divided Germany 201

Partition and Allied Military Government, 1945–49, 201 A Convalescent Republic, 1949–55, 204 Bonn's Return Among the Powers, 206 The Other German State: The GDR, 209 The Future of the GDR and Divided Germany, 213

4 The Governmental System of the Federal Republic 215

The Making of the Basic Law, 215 The Bundestag, 220 The Bundesrat, 225 The Chancellor, 228 The President of the Republic, 232 Lawmaking, 236 The Courts, 238

5 Social Structure, Interest Groups, and Elites 241

The Strength of Occupational Groupings, 242
Income Groups, Status Groups, and Social Classes, 243 Levels of Education, 244
Regional and Religious Factors, 246 Interest Groups and Elites, 250
Domestic Consensus, 258

6 Political Culture, Parties, and Elections 259

Political Culture and National Character, 259

Postwar Changes in Political Attitudes, 261 The Changing Party System, 265

The Christian Democratic Union (CDU), 267

The Social Democratic Party (SDP), 271 The Free Democratic Party (FDP), 274

Elections in the Federal Republic, 275

7 The German Federal Republic in the 1970s 282

Weathering an Economic Crisis, 284 The New Ostpolitik, 286 A New Identity, 287 The GFR and the Future, 288

Bibliography 291

V THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY: POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC UNION 295

Roy C. Macridis

1. Introduction 297

Forms and Conditions of European Unity, 299

The Conditions of Unity, 301 Legal Forms of Integration: Three Models, 305

2 European Integrative Scheme 306

The European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), 306
The European Economic Community (Common Market), 307
Common Market Institutions, 311

3 The Elusive Political Union 318

The Need of a Common Political Will, 320 European Public Opinion, 321

Bibliography 325

VI SOVIET POLITICS 327

Vernon V. Aspaturian

1 Introduction 331

The Main Features of the Soviet System, 332

2 The Russian Political Heritage 334

The Russian "National Character," 334 The Revolutionary Tradition, 335 The Development of Marxism in Russia, 337

3 The Foundations of Soviet Politics 341

Economic Foundations, 341 Population, 345 Literacy and Education, 349 Communications Media, 351

4 Ideological Foundations 353

Karl Marx, 353 Lenin: The Theory of Voluntarism, 355 Stalin: The Hardening of Totalitarianism, 356 The Post-Stalin Party and State, 357

5 The Soviet Social Order 360

The Social Transformation of Russia, 361 "War Communism" and the NEP, 362 The Stratification of Soviet Society, 363 Soviet Mobility in the Soviet Union, 375

6 The Communist Party 378

The Primary Party Organizations, 380
Regional and Union Republic Party Organizations, 380
The Central Institutions of the Party, 382

7 Social Structure and Political Power in the Soviet System 391

The Social Foundations of Factionalism, 391

The Social Composition of the Party, 393 The Social Pyramid of Power, 394

8 The Soviet Constitutional Order 400

The Functions and Principles of the Constitution, 400
Soviet Federalism: Theory and Practice, 402 Soviet Elections, 406
The Supreme Soviet of the USSR, 407 The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, 410
The Council of Ministers, 411 How "New" Governments are Formed, 413

9 The Soviet Union Today and Tomorrow 417

Ideological Distortions, 418 Legitimacy and Succession, 418
Social Stratification and the Party, 419 Raising the Standard of Living, 421

Bibliography 422

VII SCANDINAVIA: THE POLITICS OF STABILITY 427

Francis G. Castles

1 Introduction: Stability and Change 429

Continuity and Change, 430 Political and Governmental Stability, 432

2 Political Development and Political Culture 434

The Traditional Political Structure, 434
Industralization and Democratization, 437 Institutional Adaptability, 440
The Emergent Political Culture, 443 The Scandinavian Image of Society, 448

3 Organized Groups and Political Parties 451

Corporate Pluralism, 451 A Functioning Multiparty System, 455 Social Democratic Dominance, 462

4 Governmental Structure and Performance 466

Parliamentary Government, 466 Government and Administration, 468 State and Citizen, 470 The Welfare State, 471 Political Performance and Political Stability, 474

Bibliography 478

VIII THE MEDITERRANEAN: THE POLITICS OF STABILITY-AN OVERVIEW 481

Roy C. Macridis, Christopher S. Allen, and Winston L. Anselem

1 Introduction 483

Continuity and Change, 484 Political and Governmental Stability, 484 Mediterranean Profile, 485 Political Development, 488

2 Italian Politics 490

The Liberal Era, 490 The Fascist Era (1924–44), 491
Italy Since World War II: The Republican Synthesis, 491
The Government and the Political Parties, 492 Regime Acceptance?, 497

3 Iberian Politics: Portugal and Spain 500

The Breakdown of Authoritarianism, 500 The Case of Portugal, 501 The Political Forces in Portugal, 502 The Political Forces in Spain, 504 An Emerging Democratic Polity?, 507 The Legislative Election, 507

4 Greek Politics 509

The Foreign Factor and Dependence, 510
The Fragility of the Party Structure, 511
Free Legislative Elections (November 1974), 512
The End of the Monarchy, 513
Bibliography 515

Index 518