

# WORLD POLITICS

Vol. 45

January 1993

No. 2

## CONTENTS

- Exit, Voice, and the Fate of the German Democratic Republic: An Essay in Conceptual History *Albert O. Hirschman* 173
- The Politics of Nationalism in Quebec *Hudson Meadwell* 203
- Institutions and Collective Action: The New Telecommunications in Western Europe *Wayne Sandholtz* 242
- Ideas, Institutions, and the Gorbachev Foreign Policy Revolution *Jeff Checkel* 271
- Divergent Learning and the Failed Politics of Soviet Economic Reform *James Clay Moltz* 301
- The Contributors ii
- Abstracts iii

## THE CONTRIBUTORS

ALBERT O. HIRSCHMAN is Professor of Social Science, Emeritus, at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton. His most recent book is *The Rhetoric of Reaction: Perversity, Futility, Jeopardy* (1991).

HUDSON MEADWELL is Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science at McGill University. He is currently working on a study of nationalist mobilization in Quebec, Scotland, and Catalonia, and he has coedited (with James Booth and Patrick James) *Politics and Rationality* (forthcoming).

WAYNE SANDHOLTZ is Assistant Professor in the Department of Politics and Society at the University of California, Irvine. He is the author of *High-Tech Europe: The Politics of International Cooperation* (1992) and coauthor of *The Highest Stakes: The Economic Foundations of the Next Security System* (1992).

JEFF CHECKEL is Assistant Professor at the University of Pittsburgh, where he holds a joint appointment in the Department of Political Science and the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs. He is currently completing a book manuscript entitled *Ideas, Entrepreneurs and Institutions: Explaining Change in Soviet International Behavior*.

JAMES CLAY MOLTZ is a Research Fellow at the Institute of International Studies of the University of California, Berkeley. He is currently working on a project entitled "From Periphery to Core: Russian Far Eastern Integration into the Pacific Rim," with a grant from the Kearny Foundation.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use, or the internal or personal use of specific clients, is granted by The Johns Hopkins University Press for libraries and other users registered with the Copyright Clearance Center (CCC) Transactional Reporting Service, provided that the fee of \$3.25 per copy is paid directly to CCC, 21 Congress St., Salem, MA 01970. 0043-8871/93 \$3.25

## ABSTRACTS

### EXIT, VOICE, AND THE FATE OF THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC:

AN ESSAY IN CONCEPTUAL HISTORY

By ALBERT O. HIRSCHMAN

The revolutionary events of 1989 in Eastern Europe took a special shape in the German Democratic Republic: large-scale flights of citizens to the Federal Republic of Germany combined with increasingly powerful mass demonstrations in the major cities to bring down the communist regime. This conjunction of private emigration and public protest contrasts with the way these distinct responses to discontent had been previously experienced, primarily as alternatives. The forty-year history of the German Democratic Republic thus represents a particularly rich theater of operation for the concepts of "exit" and "voice," which the author had introduced in his book *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty* (1970). The events of 1989 are scrutinized in some detail as they trace a more complex pattern of interaction than had been found to prevail in most previous studies.

### THE POLITICS OF NATIONALISM IN QUEBEC

By HUDSON MEADWELL

The central argument of this article is straightforward. (1) The contemporary Quebec nationalist movement has moved through phases of mobilization, demobilization, and re-mobilization. (2) Interpretations of Quebec nationalism do not successfully explain all three phases. (3) A new model of mobilization can provide a more satisfactory account. The goal is to construct a model that is useful for all three phases and that can say something about nationalism and political mobilization more generally.

### INSTITUTIONS AND COLLECTIVE ACTION:

THE NEW TELECOMMUNICATIONS IN WESTERN EUROPE

By WAYNE SANDHOLTZ

The member states of the European community are not just liberalizing telecommunications but are cooperating extensively in the sector. Breaking with a past dominated by rigid national monopolies (the PRTs), EC states in the 1980s undertook collective action in research and development, planning future networks, setting standards, and opening markets. This article seeks to explain telecoms liberalization and cooperation in Europe. Two conditions are necessary for international collective action to emerge. The first is policy adaptation at the national level, such that governments are willing to consider alternatives to pure unilateralism. In telecommunications, technological changes induced widespread policy adaptation in EC states. This adaptation was a necessary prerequisite for European cooperation. The second necessary condition is international leadership to organize the collective action. This paper extends the analysis of international leadership by outlining the conditions under which international organizations can exercise leadership to organize collective action. The case study, focusing on three dimensions of EC telecoms reform, shows how the Commission of the EC led in organizing collective action.

### IDEAS, INSTITUTIONS, AND THE GORBACHEV FOREIGN POLICY REVOLUTION

By JEFF CHECKEL

This article explores the influence of cognitive and institutional factors in shaping state behavior. In particular, the author examines their role in the Gorbachev foreign policy revolution, developing an analytic framework that integrates domestic and international sources of state behavior. While it is clear that a new ideology of international affairs—one developed and conveyed by Soviet specialists—played a critical role in shaping Gorbachev's "new thinking," its ability to influence policy was at different times constrained or magnified by insti-

tutional and political variables. Moreover, the relevance of this new ideology to policy debates, particularly during the early years of the Gorbachev era, depended crucially upon the efforts of individual “policy entrepreneurs” and open policy windows. How wide these windows opened was, in turn, partly a function of the USSR’s international environment.

## DIVERGENT LEARNING AND THE FAILED POLITICS OF SOVIET ECONOMIC REFORM

By JAMES CLAY MOLTZ

Attempts at economic reform in the late Gorbachev years suffered from a critical lack of consensus among top leaders on the desired direction of change. As the crisis worsened, top leaders did not band together but instead fell back upon their underlying organizational interests, adopting new economic programs largely to promote their own political constituencies. This article critiques the “collective learning” literature that has been applied widely to explain the Gorbachev reforms, and it suggests a typology to account for its strengths and weaknesses in both foreign and domestic policy settings.

In examining the politics of the late Soviet economic crisis, it proposes a model of divergent (rather than collective) learning and suggests the new concept of “borrowing” to explain the instrumental use of foreign economic models by rival Soviet politicians.