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
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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 remobilization. (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 PTTS), 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.