British Journal of Political Science Volume 26

Editors: David Sanders and Albert Weale

Editorial Board

James Alt	Max Kaase
Brian Barry	Anthony King
Hugh Berrington	Rudolf Klein
Samuel Brittan	Stein Kuhnle
Archie Brown	Joni Lovenduski
Monica Charlot	David McKay
Ivor Crewe	Iain McLean
Morris P. Fiorina	David Miller
Robert E. Goodin	Carole Pateman
Fred I. Greenstein	Steven Smith
Jack Hayward	Graham K. Wilson

Editorial Assistant: Heather Bliss



1996

INDEX TO AUTHORS

Амато, Т., 245

BLAIS, A., 143 BOYER, M. M. 143 BROWNE, E. C., 165

Cox, G. W., 259 CROMBEZ, C., 199

DION, S., 269 DUFFY, M., 123

ESAIASSON, P., 429 EVANS, G., 123

FIELDHOUSE, E. A., 403

GARRETT, G., 600 GRANBERG, D., 429

Намм, К. Е., 165 HOUGHTON, D. P., 523 HUDSON, J., 229

JACKMAN, R. W., 501 JOHNSTON, R. J., 403, 598 JONES, P., 229

KATO, J., 553 KING, D., 337 LEVEY, G. B., 369

MCALLISTER, I., 105 MCKAY, D., 1 MCLEAN, I., 600 MATTILA, M., 583 MITCHELL, N. J., 419 MORRISS, P., 595

NADEAU, R., 245 NIEMI, R. G., 245

PATTEN, A., 25 PATTIE, C. J., 403

RAY, J. L., 441 ROSENBLUTH, F., 259 ROYED, T. J., 45 RUSSETT, B., 441

SCARRITT, J. R., 283 STEINER, H., 140

TRIESMAN, D., 299

VOLPERT, K., 501

WARWICK, P. V., 471 WHITE, S., 105 WLEZIEN, C., 81

Published by the Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge, The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge CB2 1RP, United Kingdom

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, United Kingdom 40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011-4211, USA 10 Stamford Road, Oakleigh, Melbourne 3166, Australia

© Cambridge University Press, 1996

Contents

PART 1-JANUARY 1996

Articles	page
DAVID MCKAY, Urban Development and Civic Community: A Compar- ative Analysis	1
ALAN PATTEN, The Republican Critique of Liberalism	25
TERRY J. ROYED, Testing the Mandate Model in Britain and the United States: Evidence from the Reagan and Thatcher Eras	45
CHRISTOPHER WLEZIEN, Dynamics of Representation: The Case of US Spending on Defence	81
STEPHEN WHITE and IAN MCALLISTER, The CPSU and Its Members: Between Communism and Postcommunism	105
Notes and Comments	
MARY DUFFY and GEOFFREY EVANS, Building Bridges? The Political Implications of Electoral Integration for Northern Ireland	123
HILLEL STEINER, Two Comments on 'Two Conceptions of Liberalism'	140
PART 2—APRIL 1996	
Articles	
ANDRÉ BLAIS and M. MARTIN BOYER, Assessing the Impact of Televised Debates: The Case of the 1988 Canadian Election	143
ERIC C. BROWNE and KEITH E. HAMM, Legislative Politics and the Paradox of Voting: Electoral Reform in Fourth Republic France	165
CHRISTOPHE CROMBEZ, Legislative Procedures in the European Com- munity	199
PHILIP JONES and JOHN HUDSON, The Quality of Political Leadership: A Case Study of John Major	229
RICHARD NADEAU, RICHARD G. NIEMI and TIMOTHY AMATO, Prospective and Comparative or Retrospective and Individual? Party Leaders and Party Support in Great Britain	245
Notes and Comments	
GARY W. COX and FRANCES ROSENBLUTH, Factional Competition for the Party Endorsement: The Case of Japan's Liberal Democratic Party	259
STÉPHANE DION, Why is Secession Difficult in Well-Established Democracies? Lessons from Quebec	269
JAMES R. SCARRITT, Measuring Political Change. The Quantity and Effectiveness of Electoral and Party Participation in the Zambian One-Party State, 1973–91	283

PART 3-JULY 1996

Articles	page
DANIEL TREISMAN, The Politics of Intergovernmental Transfers in Post- Soviet Russia	299
DESMOND KING, Sectionalism and Policy Formation in the United States: President Carter's Welfare Initiatives	337
Review Article	
GEOFFREY BRAHM LEVEY, The Liberalism of American Jews – Has It Been Explained?	369
Notes and Comments	
E. A. FIELDHOUSE, C. J. PATTIE and R. J. JOHNSTON, Tactical Voting and Party Constituency Campaigning at the 1992 General Election in	
England	403
NEIL J. MITCHELL, Theoretical and Empirical Issues in the Comparative Measurement of Union Power and Corporatism	419
PETER ESAIASSON and DONALD GRANBERG, Attitudes Towards a Fallen Leader: Evaluations of Olof Palme Before and After the Assassin-	
ation	429

PART 4—OCTOBER 1996

Articles

JAMES LEE RAY and BRUCE RUSSETT, The Future as Arbiter of Theor- etical Controversies: Predictions, Explanations and the End of the Cold War	441
PAUL V. WARWICK, Coalition Government Membership in West European Parliamentary Democracies	471
ROBERT W. JACKMAN and KARIN VOLPERT, Conditions Favouring Parties of the Extreme Right in Western Europe	501
DAVID PATRICK HOUGHTON, The Role of Analogical Reasoning in Novel Foreign-Policy Situations	523
Review Article	
JUNKO KATO, Institutions and Rationality in Politics – Three Varieties of Neo–Institutionalists	553
Notes and Comments	
MIKKO MATTILA, Economic Changes and Government Popularity in Scandinavian Countries	583
PETER MORRISS, Qualified Majority Voting and Power Indices: A Further Response to Johnston	595
R. J. JOHNSTON, On Keeping in Touch with Reality and Failing to be Befuddled by Mathematics	598
GEOFFREY GARRETT and IAIN MCLEAN, On Power Indices and Reading Papers	600

FRANK CASS

West European Politics

Editors Gordon Smith, London School of Economics and Political Science, UK and Vincent Wright, Nuffield College, Oxford, UK

West European Politics has established itself as one of the most authoritative journals covering political and social issues in Western Europe. It has a substantial reviews section and coverage of all national elections in Western Europe. Its comprehensive scope, embracing all the major political and social developments in all West European countries, makes it essential reading for both political practitioners and academics.

Recent Articles

The Chancellor as Manager: Helmut Kohl, the CDU and Governance in Germany by *Clay Clemens*

Public Perceptions of the Role of the State by Herbert Döring Performance, Leadership, Factions and Party Change: An Empirical Analysis by Robert Harmel. Uk Heo, Alexander Tan and Kenneth Janda Parties Under Pressure: Challenges to 'Established' French Parties by Andrew Appleton

Political Leadership and European Integration: The Case of Jacques Delors by *Helen Drake*

What the reviewers say ...

"West European Politics has become the definitive source for scholarly research and information on the political processes in Europe."

Professor Russell Dalton, University of California, USA

ISSN 0140-2382 Volume 19 1996 Quarterly: January, April, July, October Individuals £40/\$65 Institutions £145/\$195

> UK/OVERSEAS ORDERS to: Frank Cass, 890–900 Eastern Avenue, Ilford, Essex IG2 7HH, UK. Tel: 0181 599 8866 Fax: 0181 599 0984 E-mail: sales@frankcass.com US ORDERS to: Frank Cass, c/o ISBS, 5804 N E Hassalo Street, Portland, OR 97213-3644, USA. Tel: (503) 287-3093, (800) 944-6190 Fax: (503) 280-8832 E-mail: orders@isbs.com

S	Social Policy	and	
\mathbf{A}	Administratio	n	
~	Edited by Dr Catherine Jones Finer		
IRN,	Social Policy and Administration is the longest established journal in its field. Whilst remaining faithful to its tradition in academic excellence, the journal also seeks to engender debate about topical and controversial issues. Typical numbers contain papers clustered around a theme.		
N	America, Australasia and Asia Pacific.	icy issues not only in Europe but in North	
\leq	ORDER FORM SOCIAL F	OLICY AND ADMINISTRATION	
	Subscription Rates, Volume 30, 1996	ISSN 0144-5596	
	Institutional Rates, £110.00 (UK-Europe), \$229.00 (N.) Personal Rates, £45.00 (UK-Europe), \$89.00 (N. Ameri BSA/ASA Members, £38.00 (UK-Europe), \$78.00 (N. Ar	ta*), £58.00 (Rest of World) nerica*), £49.00 (Rest of World)	
	Student Rates, £27.00 (UK-Europe), \$53.00 (N. Americ Published in: March, June, September, December	"), £33.UU (Kest of World) "Canadian customers please add 7% GST	
	 Please enter my subscription/send me a sample co 		
CKWE	I enclose a cheque/money order payable to Blackw		
	Please charge my American Express/Diners Club/N		
	Card Number	Expiry Date	
	Signature	Date	
	Name		
	Address		
Y			
		Postcode	
	Payment must accompany orders Please return this form to: Journals Marketing, Blackw Or to: Journals Marketing, SPOL, Blackwell Publishers,		
$\mathbb B$	SARCH HAMA BARDAN LOOK JOURNAN JOURNAN BENACCE	APPLY FOR YOUR FREE SAMPLE COPY BY E-MAIL! jnlsamples@blackwellpublishers.co.uk	

-

Γ

RNA BLACKWEL

NOW 48 PAGES LONGER

Politics

Surveys and Debates for Students of Politics

Edited by Gary Browning and Ben Rosamond

Politics is a key reading resource which identifies the topics that students really need to know about. The new design and subtitle reflect the aims of the new editors to relaunch *Politics* as a unique arena for lively political debate amongst authorities in the field as well as new members of the political science community.

ORDER FORM	POLITICS
Subscription Rates, Volume 16, 1996	ISSN 0263-3957
Institutional Rates, £41.00 (UK-Europe), \$78.00 (N. An	nerica*), £58.00 (Rest of World)
Published in: February, May and October	*Canadian customers please add 7% GST
Please enter my subscription/send me a sample co	ру
I enclose a cheque/money order payable to Blackw	vell Publishers
Please charge my American Express/Diners Club/M	Aastercard/Visa account
Card Number	Expiry Date
Signature	Date
Name	
Address	
	•••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••
	Postcode
Payment must accompany orders Please return this form to- Jouron's Marketing, Blacky	rell Publishers, 108 Cowley Road, Oxford, OX4 1JF, UK.
Or to: Journals Marketing, PONL, Blackwell Publishers	
suici Internet	
Full details of Blackwell Publishers books and journals are available on	APPLY FOR YOUR FREE SAMPLE
BOOKS To access use a WWW browser such as Netscape or Mosaic, and the following URL:	COPY BY E-MAIL!
B JOURALS http://www.blackwellpublishers.co.uk	
BURGESS BLACKAA/ELL	inlsamples@blackwellpublishers.co.uk

CAMBRIDGE

US-Japan Alliance Diplomacy 1945–1990 Roger Buckley

Based upon extensive American primary sources, this book traces how the US moved from hostility to friendship in its relations with Japan. £14.95 PB 0 521 55865 4 239 pp. Cambridge Studies in International Relations 21

NOW IN PAPERBACK

Arms and the State: Patterns of Military Production and Trade

Keith Krause

'Keith Krause's book is strong across the board: it develops new historical materials spanning centuries.'

American Political Science Review £15.95 PB 0 521 55866 2 317 pp. Cambridge Studies in International Relations 22

NOW IN PAPERBACK

Justice and the Genesis of War

David A. Welch Stanley Hoffman and Joseph S. Nye Jr.

A major new study of the causes of wars, argues that states are often motivated by justice, not by selfinterest.

Winner of the Furniss Award 1995 £16.95 PB 0 521 44462 4 352 pp. Cambridge Studies in International Relations 29

The Restructuring of International Relations Theory

Mark Neufeld

In this book Mark Neufeld argues for a theory of international politics committed to human emancipation. £37.50 HB 0 521 47394 2 188 pp. £13.95 PB 0 521 47936 3 Cambridge Studies in International Relations 43

Governing Global Networks

International Regimes for Transportation and Communications

Mark W. Zacher

and Brent A. Sutton

Governing Global Networks analyses the mutual interests which have sustained the regulatory regimes for four major international service industries.

£40.00 HB 0 521 55045 9 280 pp. £14.95 PB 0 521 55973 1 Cambridge Studies in International Relations 44

Money Sings The Changing Politics of Urban Space in Post-Soviet Yaroslavl

Blair A. Ruble

Money Sings explores the sweeping reorganization of Russian life during the initial post-Soviet era by examining the politics of property in the city of Yaroslavl. £30.00 HB 0 521 48242 9 208 pp. Woodrow Wilson Center Press



The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU

CAMBRIDGE

Strange Multiplicity: Constitutionalism in an Age of Diversity

James Tully

James Tully examines demands for cultural recognition, involving nationalism, Aboriginal rights, feminism, and ethnic minorities. £30.00 HB 0 521 47117 6 271 pp. £12.95 PB 0 521 47694 1 The Seeley Lectures 1

The Economic Realities of Political Reform Elections and the United States

Senate

James L. Regens and Ronald Keith Gaddie Regens and Gaddie argue that proposed political campaign finance reforms will not necessarily have the impact expected by advocates.

£30.00 HB 0 521 47468 X 133 pp. Murphy Institute Studies in Political Economy

Stare Indecisis

The Alteration of Precedent on the Supreme Court, 1946–1992 *Saul Brenner*

and Harold J. Spaeth This book presents a full-length empirical study of why U.S. Supreme Court justices have chosen to alter precedent. £35.00 HB 0 521 45188 4 202 pp.

Between States Interim Governments and Democratic Transitions

Yossi Shain and Juan J. Linz

The author examines how interim governments all around the world and throughout the 20th-Century have effected democratic regime changes.

£35.00 HB 0 521 47417 5 288 pp. £13.95 PB 0 521 48498 7 Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics

Beyond the Two Party System

Political Representation, Economic Competitiveness and Australian Politics

Ian Marsh

This challenging book suggests that the two party system is inadequate to meet the increasing demands placed on western governments.

£40.00 HB 0 521 46223 1 423 pp. Reshaping Australian Institutions 1

A Federal Republic

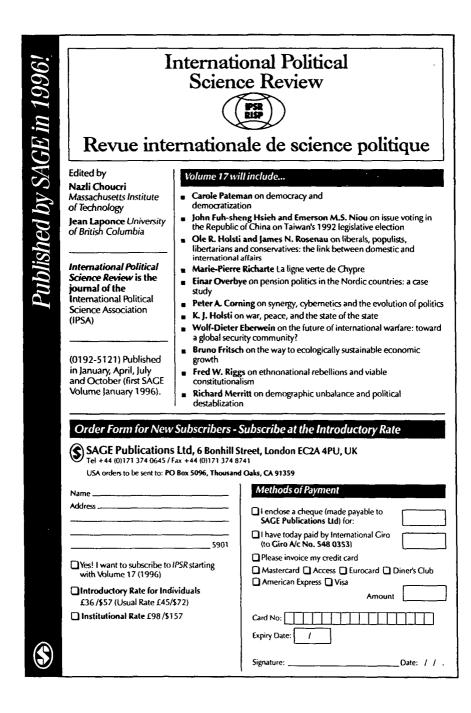
Australia's Constitutional System of Government

Brian Galligan

The author calls for a positive reassessment of the constitution, arguing that Australia is already a federal republic rather than a constitutional monarchy. £35.00 HB 0 521 37354 9 295 pp. Reshaping Australian Institutions 3



The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU



Frank Cass

The Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics

Editors

David Potter, The Open University, Milton Keynes, UK Arnold Hughes, The University of Birmingham, UK Reviews Editor John A Wiseman, University of Newcastle upon Tyne, UK

International Editorial Board

F G Castles; Richard Crook; Nelson Kasfir; Stanley Kochanek; James Manor; Subrata Mitra:

W H Morris-Jones; Sam Nolutshungu; E Sridharan; Paul Sutton; John Warhurst; Myron Weiner; Reginald Whitaker

Long established as the leading publication in its field, *The Journal of Commonwealth* and Comparative Politics contains scholarly articles which both report original research on the politics of Commonwealth countries and relate their findings to issues of general significance for students of comparative politics. The journal also publishes work on the politics of other states where such work is of interest for comparative politics generally or where it enables comparisons to be made with Commonwealth countries.

Recent Articles

Oil-Producing Minorities and the Restructuring of Nigerian Federalism: The Case of the Ogoni People by *Ben Naanen*

Theorising the Politics of Economic Adjustment: Lessons from the Indian Case by Robert S Jenkins

The Politics of Africa's Public and Private Enterprise by Roger Tangri The Evolution of Party Organisation in Canada since 1900 by Dan Azoulay Democratic Decentralisation and Institutional Performance: Four Asian and African Experiences Compared by Richard C Crook and James Manor Statist Democracy and the Limits to Civil Society in Malaysia by James V Jesudason

ISSN 0306-3631 Volume 34 1996 Three issues per year: March, July, November Individuals £38/\$55 £98/\$145

> UK/OVERSEAS ORDERS to: Frank Cass, 890–900 Eastern Avenue, Hford, Essey 1G2 71H1, UK, 1ef: 0181 599 8866 Fax: 0181 599 0984 E-mail: sales *a* frankcass.com US ORDERS to: Frank Cass, c/o ISBS, 5804 N E Hassalo Street, Portland, OR 97213-3644, USA, 1ef: (503) 287-3093, (800) 944-6190 Fax: (503) 280-8832 E-mail: orders *a* isbs.com

Notes for Contributors

1 All contributions should be sent to: The Editors, *British Journal of Political Science*, University of Essex, Wivenhoe Park, Colchester, Essex CO4 3SQ, UK. They should not be sent to the Cambridge University Press or to the Editorial Assistant.

2 Articles submitted to the Journal should in general be between 5,000 and 12,000 words (or equivalent in tables and figures) in length. An abstract not exceeding 120 words is required. Contributors should note the Journal's editorial policy, which is as stated inside the front cover.

3 Notes and Comments are welcome. A Note should contain a body of original information, a new method for doing something or a new idea (speculation, argument, proof, etc.) presented in a brief and unadorned form without inessential commentary. Comments containing criticisms of articles published in the Journal and additional thoughts on them will be considered for early publication, especially if they are short – say, under 1,000 words.

4 Most issues of the Journal contain a Review Article – either a detailed discussion of a single book or a review of the state of some area of the discipline. Review Articles submitted without prior consultation will be considered for publication, but in their own interest contributors would be well advised not to prepare a Review Article specially for the Journal without first getting in touch with the Editors.

5 Authors of articles and Review Articles receive twenty-five free offprints. Additional copies may be bought if they are ordered at proof stage.

6 Submission of an article is taken to imply that it has not been previously published and is not being considered for publication elsewhere. Copyright is normally assigned to the Cambridge University Press.

7 Authors should submit FOUR COPIES of their articles. Contributions must be typed and may be reproduced in any clearly legible form. The preferred size of paper is A4 $(8^{1}_{4} \times 11^{1}_{2})$ in), but quarto $(8 \times 10 \text{ in})$ or the US standard size $(8^{1}_{2} \times 11 \text{ in})$ will also be accepted. Because of postage costs, manuscripts not accepted for publication are not normally returned to the authors unless their return is specifically requested.

8 The entire material of any article, including footnotes, quotations, appendices, etc., should be double spaced, with left-hand margins of at least $1^{1}/_{2}$ in. Footnotes should be numbered consecutively in the text and typed double spaced all together at the end, beginning on a fresh page.

9 Anyone who is preparing a manuscript for submission to the Journal is urged to follow the Journal's style sheet, which covers a number of detailed points concerning footnotes, punctuation, spelling, etc. Copies of the style sheet can be obtained from the Editors. Footnote references should always contain, in the case of books, the name of the author as it appears on the title page, the full title including any subtitle, the place of publication, the name of the publisher and the date of publication, and, in the case of articles, the name of the author, the full title, the name of the journal, the volume number, the year and the page reference (number of first and last page).

10 When an article has been accepted for publication, the author is strongly encouraged to send a copy of the final version on computer disk (Apple Macintosh or IBM compatible PC) *together with* the hard copy typescript, giving details of the wordprocessing software used (Microsoft Word, Word or Word Perfect). However, the publisher reserves the right to typeset material by conventional means if an author's disk proves unsatisfactory.

11 First proofs may be read and corrected by contributors provided that they can give the Editors an address through which they can be reached without delay and can guarantee to return the corrected proofs to the Editor, by air mail where appropriate, within ten days of receiving them. The master proof will always be sent directly to the Editors by the printer; contributors will receive duplicates.

12 Where statistical analysis of data has been conducted, *contributors are expected to deposit a REPLICATION DATA SET* with a major national data archive.

COPYING

This journal is registered with the Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Danvers, Mass. 01923, USA. Organizations in the USA who are also registered with C.C.C. may therefore copy material (beyond the limits permitted by sections 107 and 108 of US copyright law) subject to payment to C.C.C. of the per copy fee of \$7.50. This consent does not extend to multiple copying for promotional or commercial purposes Code 0007-1234/96 \$7.50 + .10.

Organizations authorized by the Copyright Licensing Agency may also copy material subject to the usual conditions.

ABSTRACTING AND INDEXING

The journal is listed in the major relevant abstracting and indexing services worldwide, including ABC Political Science, Automated Subject Citation Alert, America History and Life, Applied Social Science Index and Abstracts, Current Contents, Historical Abstracts, International Political Science Abstracts, Sage Public Administration Abstracts, Social Sciences Index, Studies on Women Abstracts.

British Journal of Political Science

VOLUME 26 PART 4 OCTOBER 1996

page

ARTICLES

- 441 JAMES LEE RAY AND BRUCE RUSSETT The Future as Arbiter of Theoretical Controversies: Predictions, Explanations and the End of the Cold War
- 471 PAUL V. WARWICK Coalition Government Membership in West European Parliamentary Democracies
- 501 ROBERT W. JACKMAN AND KARIN VOLPERT Conditions Favouring Parties of the Extreme Right in Western Europe
- 523 DAVID PATRICK HOUGHTON The Role of Analogical Reasoning in Novel Foreign-Policy Situations

REVIEW ARTICLE

553 JUNKO KATO Institutions and Rationality in Politics – Three Varieties of Neo-Institutionalists

NOTES AND COMMENTS

- 583 MIKKO MATTILA Economic Changes and Government Popularity in Scandinavian Countries
- 595 PETER MORRISS Qualified Majority Voting and Power Indices: A Further Response to Johnston
- 598 R. J. JOHNSTON On Keeping in Touch with Reality and Failing to be Befuddled by Mathematics
- 600 GEOFFREY GARRETT AND IAIN MCLEAN On Power Indices and Reading Papers

Printed in the United Kingdom by The Universities Press (Belfast) Ltd



