The editors invite submission of articles (up to 10,000 words, including footnotes) bearing upon problems in international relations and comparative politics. Manuscripts and footnotes should be double-spaced throughout and submitted in triplicate, together with an abstract of approximately 125 words. Footnotes should be numbered consecutively and placed at the end of the manuscript. Address: WORLD POLITICS, Bendheim Hall, Princeton, NJ 08544.

Authors may expect to be notified of the editors' decision within three months from date of submission. Procedures for reviewing manuscripts are based on the anonymity of the author and the confidentiality of readers' and editors' reports. Editorial policy does not provide for transmitting readers' evaluations to authors of rejected manuscripts. Exceptions may be made if, in the opinion of the editors, such comments contain substantive suggestions for improvement. WORLD POLITICS does not accept manuscripts that have already been published, are scheduled for publication elsewhere, or have been simultaneously submitted to another journal. Statements of fact and opinion appearing in the journal are made on the responsibility of the authors alone and do not imply the endorsement of the editors or publishers. The journal does not publish communications to the editor or rejoinders to specific articles. Scholars who believe they have been challenged are encouraged to submit an article that will advance the scholarly debate.

Reprint permission: Permissions Department, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 701 W. 40th Street, Suite 275, Baltimore, MD 21211-2190.

Subscriptions: WORLD POLITICS, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Journals Publishing Division, 701 W. 40th Street, Suite 275, Baltimore, MD 21211-2190. Phone: (410) 516-6964; FAX: (410) 516-6998.

Individuals: $21 per year; institutions: $44 per year.

For postage and handling in Canada and Mexico, add $4.75 per year; outside of North America, $8.50.

Back Issues: WORLD POLITICS is available in microfilm or xerographic copies from University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, MI 48106. Two years after publication, complete volumes are available in microfiche form from KTO Microform, Route 100, Millwood, NY 10546. Individual issues in the current and two preceding volumes may be ordered from The Johns Hopkins University Press, Journals Publishing Division, 701 W. 40th Street, Suite 275, Baltimore, MD 21211-2190.


CONTENTS

No. 1—OCTOBER 1991

LIBERALIZATION AND DEMOCRATIZATION IN THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE

Introduction

Now out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution of 1989

Legitimation from the Top to Civil Society: Politico-Cultural Change in Eastern Europe

Social Science, Communism, and the Dynamics of Political Change

Political Dynamics of the Post-Communist Transition: A Comparative Perspective

REVIEW ARTICLE

The National Uprisings in the Soviet Union

No. 2—JANUARY 1992

Institutions and Culture: Health Policy and Public Opinion in the U.S. and Britain

Explaining the Long-Term Maintenance of a Military Regime: Panama before the U.S. Invasion

Domestic Structure and Preventive War: Are Democracies More Pacific?

REVIEW ARTICLE

East Asia’s Economic Success: Conflicting Perspective, Partial Insights, Shaky Evidence

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0043887100015835 Published online by Cambridge University Press
No. 3—April 1992

Revolution and War
Rational Foundations for the Organization of the Liberal Democratic Party in Japan
Limits of State Strength: Toward An Institutionalist View of Economic Development
Soviet Behavior in Regional Conflicts: Old Questions, New Strategies, and Important Lessons

Review Article
International Theories of Cooperation among Nations: Strengths and Weaknesses

No. 4—July 1992

Political Consequences of Military Strategy: Expanding and Refining the Spiral and Deterrence Models
Soviet Civil-Military Relations and the August Coup
Peace between Participatory Polities: A Cross-Cultural Test of the “Democracies Rarely Fight Each Other” Hypothesis
The Dynamics of the Two-Level Bargaining Game: The 1988 Brazilian Debt Negotiations

Review Article
How Should One Study Economic Policy-Making? Four Characters in Search of an Object
CONTENTS

LIBERALIZATION AND DEMOCRATIZATION IN THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE

Introduction

Now out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution of 1989

Legitimation from the Top to Civil Society: Politico-Cultural Change in Eastern Europe

Social Science, Communism, and the Dynamics of Political Change

Political Dynamics of the Post-Communist Transition: A Comparative Perspective

REVIEW ARTICLE

The National Uprisings in the Soviet Union

The Contributors

Abstracts
The Contributors

Nancy Bermeo is Associate Professor of Politics at Princeton University and an Editor of *World Politics*. She is the author of *The Revolution within the Revolution* (1986), a study of redemocratization in Portugal, and has written several articles on the causes and effects of regime change in Europe and Latin America. She is currently preparing a broad comparative study titled *Democracy and the Legacies of Dictatorship*.

Timur Kuran is Associate Professor of Economics at the University of Southern California. His research focuses on the evolution of values and institutions. He is completing a book on the cognitive, social, political, and economic consequences of preference falsification—the act of concealing one's wants under social pressure.

Giuseppe Di Palma is Professor of Political Science at the University of California, Berkeley. He is coeditor, with Laurence Whitehead, of *The Central American Impasse* (1986) and author of *To Craft Democracies: An Essay on Democratic Transitions* (1990).

Andrew C. Janos is Professor of Political Science at the University of California, Berkeley, in the fields of comparative politics and East European studies. His publications include *The Politics of Backwardness in Hungary* (1982) and *Politics and Paradigms* (1986).

Russell Bova is Associate Professor of Political Science and former Director of the Russian and Soviet Area Studies Program at Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania. He is the author of numerous articles on Gorbachev-era Soviet politics and is currently working on a book dealing with the political dynamics of Soviet reform.

David D. Laitin is Professor of Political Science and Director of the Center for the Study of Politics, History and Culture (Wilder House) at the University of Chicago. He is the author of *Hegemony and Culture* (1986) and *Language Repertoires and State Construction in Africa* (forthcoming).
ABSTRACTS

Now out of Never:
THE ELEMENT OF SURPRISE IN THE EAST EUROPEAN REVOLUTION OF 1989
By TIMUR KURAN

Like many major revolutions in history, the East European Revolution of 1989 caught its leaders, participants, victims, and observers by surprise. This paper offers an explanation whose crucial feature is a distinction between private and public preferences. By suppressing their antipathies to the political status quo, the East Europeans misled everyone, including themselves, as to the possibility of a successful uprising. In effect, they conferred on their privately despised governments an aura of invincibility. Under the circumstances, public opposition was poised to grow explosively if ever enough people lost their fear of exposing their private preferences. The currently popular theories of revolution do not make clear why uprisings easily explained in retrospect may not have been anticipated. The theory developed here fills this void. Among its predictions is that political revolutions will inevitably continue to catch the world by surprise.

LEGITIMATION FROM THE TOP TO CIVIL SOCIETY:
POLITICO-CULTURAL CHANGE IN EASTERN EUROPE
By GIUSEPPE DI PALMA

Communism has collapsed in Eastern Europe because the regimes, no longer justified by their Soviet hegemon, lost confidence in their "mandate from heaven." Domestically and internationally discredited, East European regimes had traditionally shielded themselves behind a principle of legitimation from the top that saw communism as the global fulfillment of a universal theory of history. Once the theory became utterly indefensible, a crippling legitimacy vacuum ensued. Reacting against that theory, East European dissent, and a civil society of sorts, survived under communism not just as an underground political adversary but as a visible cultural and existential counterimage of communism. This fact must be given proper weight when assessing the capacity of civil society to rebound in postcommunist Eastern Europe.

SOCIAL SCIENCE, COMMUNISM, AND THE DYNAMICS OF POLITICAL CHANGE
By ANDREW C. JANOS

In the past thirty years the comparative study of communism as conducted in the United States has rested on two conceptual pillars: Weber's theory of routinization and Spencer's notion of progress through industrialism. This article points out some of the limitations of these theories and then develops a more comprehensive framework for comparisons. One of the keys to the understanding of communist politics is the model of a "military society," also formulated by Spencer but generally ignored by contemporary social science. In terms of this model, communism is presented as a militant geopolitical response to international inequalities, the initial logic of which has been undermined by technological developments in the period following World War II.

POLITICAL DYNAMICS OF THE POST-COMMUNIST TRANSITION:
A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE
By RUSSELL BOVA

This article makes a case for viewing the politics of regime transition in communist states as a subcategory of the more generic phenomenon of transition from authoritarian rule. Drawing on case studies from Latin America and Southern Europe and from the more theoretical literature on postauthoritarian transitions that those cases have generated, the article reexamines the politics of reform in the Gorbachev-era USSR. This comparative ap-
A new perspective on the dynamics of the liberalization process in the USSR shows that these processes adhere to a model of political change previously manifested in other parts of the world. Specifically, it provides a clearer understanding of the initial vitality and subsequent disintegration of Gorbachev's centrist reform program, as well as a new perspective from which to reevaluate Gorbachev's often-criticized program of regime democratization.

The National Uprisings in the Soviet Union
By David D. Laitin

Recently published histories of national groups living under Soviet rule provide a rich secondary literature on the various paths taken by these groups to be incorporated into the Russian empire and the Soviet state. Social scientists who want a differentiated understanding of political mobilization among the various nationalities should not ignore these important contributions. This review essay attempts to synthesize these histories in order to provide a coherent model of nationality politics. Proposing an “elite incorporation model” of political mobilization, the essay accounts for different sources of national protest. The model weighs not only the pressures for national autonomy and republican sovereignty but also the pressures that provide support for the Union.