

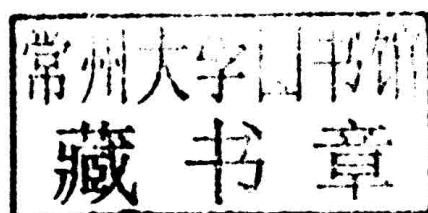
Rakhahari
Chatterji

Introduction to
Comparative
Political
Analysis

Third Edition

Introduction to
Comparative Political Analysis

Rakhahari Chatterji



Levant Books
Kolkata

Introduction to Comparative Political Analysis by Rakhahari Chatterji

© author

First Edition 2006

2nd (Revised) Edition 2008

Reprint 2010

Third Edition 2013

Published by

Levant Books

27C, Creek Row, Kolkata 700 014

And exclusively distributed by

Sarat Book Distributors

18B, Shyama Charan De Street

Kolkata 700 073, India

E-mail: orders@saratbookhouse.com

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the written permission of the publisher.

ISBN: 978-93-80663-80-7

Printed and bound at

Sarat Impressions Pvt. Ltd.

18B, Shyama Charan De Street, Kolkata 700 073, India

Introduction to
Comparative Political Analysis

Third Edition

Dedicated to
the memories of
my teacher at Calcutta University,
Professor Subimal Kumar Mukherjee
and
my parents, Subarnalata and Prabodh Chandra Chatterjee

Preface

This is an expanded version of my earlier monograph, *Comparative Politics: History, Methods and Approaches*. Here, I have revised and expanded the earlier chapters and added six new chapters on substantive comparison of institutions in five major political systems of the contemporary world. The five political systems included are: the USA, UK, France, Russia and the People's Republic of China. The rationale for focusing on these particular systems are the following: (i) these five countries help us to compare federal and unitary systems; (ii) liberal democratic, post-communist and reform-communist systems; (iii) presidential and parliamentary systems; (iv) multi-party, two-party and one-party systems; (v) North American, European and Asian systems; (vi) territorially large, moderate and small systems. I have tried to focus on the differences as well as similarities among these different systems. In addition, certain issues have been further illustrated with occasional comparative references to countries such as India, Brazil, Germany and Japan.

The dimensions for comparison included in this book are not the only dimensions to which comparative analysis can be addressed. It is possible to include other dimensions, and other authors can make their own selections. I have selected these dimensions as they appear to me to be the most relevant not only for substantively understanding the politics of these countries but also to see how comparative analysis can enrich such understanding. In doing this, I have made a modest effort to utilize the knowledge of comparative politics accumulated during the last five decades. In terms of data and information, I have tried to be as up-to-date as possible. Also, an effort has been made to make the chapters reader-friendly.

This book is written for anyone who would care to be introduced to the approaches to and the methods of comparative political analysis as well as to know how the major political institutions work in these five countries. At the same time, this work is expected to enrich the teaching and learning of comparative politics (which remains in India a

relatively weak area within academic political science) in universities and colleges in India and elsewhere. A list of key concepts frequently used in comparative politics has been appended to for ready reference.

In completing this book, I have received help from the libraries of Calcutta University, the American Information Centre, Calcutta and the British Council, Calcutta as well as encouragement from numerous former students and colleagues. Sri Amar De of Sarat Book House combined the virtues of eagerness with patience, which proved to be vital for me in bringing this book to completion.

Kolkata
14 March 2006

R. C.

Preface to the third edition

I have tried to update the book by including facts regarding electoral performance of political parties in UK and the USA in their 2010 and 2012 elections respectively. Recent developments in party behaviour in China have been noted. Changes in the executive branch of the governments in France, Russia and China have been incorporated as also the introduction of a Supreme Court in UK. I have also added a new appendix on model questions which I hope would be helpful for setting the paper with questions of different weightages.

I believe this new edition of the book will continue to be useful to its readers.

Kolkata
10 July 2013

R. C.

List of Figures, Tables and Boxes

Figure 1.1	Aristotle's Classification of Political Rule / Government	4
Figure 1.2	Montesquieu's Classification of Government	5
Figure 2.1	Situational Manipulation of Variables	25
Figure 2.2	Conceptual/Statistical Manipulation of Variables	26
Figure 2.3	Simple Matrix for Comparison	32
Figure 2.4	Comparison without reference to Time/Place	33
Figure 2.5	Strategies of Maximizing 'Similarity' and 'Difference'	36
Figure 3.1	Marx's Historical and Conceptual Categories of Comparison	51
Figure 3.2	Universal Functions of Political Systems	57
Figure 3.3	Systems Analytic Model	66
Figure 3.4	Political Institutions and the Society	72
Figure 4.1	Marxist, Weberian and Interest Group Perspectives	92
Figure 4.2	Pluralist and Corporatist Interest Representations Contrasted	96
Figure 4.3	Interest Groups' Channels of Access	103
Figure 5.1	Political Parties in Relation to Society and Polity	117
Figure 5.2	Anthony Downs' Model for Party position under normal distribution of Public opinion (USA)	123
Figure 5.3	Increasing third party space in UK (1945-2010)	146
Figure 5.4	Comparison of Party Systems in U.S., UK, and PRC	155
Figure 5.5	National-Level Organs of the Chinese Communist Party	159
Figure 6.1	Presidential Use of Veto (both regular and pocket veto)	160
Figure 6.2	Centrality of the President in the French Constitutional and Political systems	177
Figure 6.3	Executive-Legislative Relations Contrasted	187
Figure 7.1	Legislatures in Five Political Systems	222
Figure 8.1	U. S. Judicial System	226
Figure 8.2	British Judicial System	226
Figure 8.3	System of Judicial review	235
Figure 8.4	Levels of Chinese Judiciary	238

Figure 9.1	Scale of Centralization	253
Figure 9.2	Direction of Delegation of Political Authority	254
Table 4.1	Proportion of U. S. Workers Belonging to Unions	104
Table 5.1	Patterns of U. S. Party Politics	126
Table 5.2	Increasing Ideological Consistency Among Major Party Supporters	128
Table 5.3	Voting Democratic/Republican by selected groups in 2004 and 2008	131
Table 5.4	US Residential Election 2012	133
Table 5.5	Voting and Social Class in Britain in 1964 and 1997	142
Table 5.6	Third Parties in UK since 1945	144
Table 5.7	Comparative Third Party Space in the USA and UK, 1996-2012	145
Table 5.8	Voter Turn-Out in General Elections in UK and Presidential Elections in the USA	153
Table 7.1	Size of the Majority in the House of Commons since 1945	211
Table 7.2	Economic and Social Background of British MPs (2001) and U. S. Congress Members (2001-03).	213
Box 5.1	What is Alternative Vote (AV)?	152
Box 6.1	Impeachment of the President	181
Box 6.2	Electoral College	190
Box 8.1	Marbury v Madison	241
Box 9.1	Devolution: British Style	256
Box 9.2	Sub-national Governance in China	258
Box 9.3	Centralization: As the French Do It	260
Box 9.4	Managing Local Government : The Japanese way	262
Box 9.5	Peripheralized/Centralized Federalism in the USA	266
Box 9.6	McCulloch v Maryland	273
Box 9.7	Preemption	278
Box 9.8	Direct Democracy in the States	279

Outline Contents

Contents

xi

Part 1 : History, Methods and Approaches

Chapter

- | | | |
|------|---|----|
| I. | Development of Comparative Politics | 3 |
| II. | Methods and Strategies for Comparison | 21 |
| III. | Approaches to the Study of Comparative Politics | 46 |

Part 2 : Comparative Analysis of Political Institutions

Chapter

- | | | |
|-------|--|-----|
| IV . | Interest Group Politics | 89 |
| V . | Political Parties and Party Systems | 114 |
| VI. | Comparing the Executive:
Presidential and Parliamentary Forms | 164 |
| VII. | Legislatures: Comparative Perspectives | 234 |
| VIII. | The Judicial System | 224 |
| IX. | Unitary and Federal Systems | 252 |

Appendices	289
------------	-----

References	309
------------	-----

Further Readings	321
------------------	-----

Index	325
-------	-----

Contents

<i>Preface</i>	<i>ix</i>
<i>Brief Contents</i>	<i>xi</i>
<i>List of Figures, Tables and Boxes</i>	<i>xix</i>

Part 1 : History, Methods and Approaches

I.	Development of Comparative Politics	3
	1.1 Early Influences on Comparative Politics	3
	1.2 Comparative Politics During Late 19th and Early 20th Centuries	6
	1.3 Post-World War II Developments	11
	1.3.1 Inclusion of Non-western Societies	13
	1.3.2 Scientific Rigour	13
	1.3.3 Recognition of the Social Setting	14
	1.3.4 An Assessment of Recent Developments	14
	1.4 Comparative Politics in India	19
II.	Methods and Strategies for Comparison	21
	2.1 Comparative Government and Comparative Politics	22
	2.2 Comparative Politics : Subject and Method	23
	2.2.1 The Subject	23
	2.2.2 The Method	24
	2.3 The Methods for Comparison	25
	2.3.1 Experimental Method	25
	2.3.2 Statistical Method	26
	2.3.3 Comparative Method	27
	2.3.4 Case Study Method	28
	2.4 Strategies of Comparison	31
	2.4.1 Retaining Proper Names or Not	31
	2.4.2 Comparing Similarities and Differences	34
	2.5 Levels of Analysis for Comparison	38
	2.6 Designs for Comparative Research	39
	2.7 Utility of Comparative Study	41
	2.8 Comparative Politics and Political Theory	43
III.	Approaches to the Study of Comparative Politics	46
	3.1 Marx's Comparative Approach	46
	3.1.1 Typification of Societies	48
	3.1.2 Dimensions of Comparison	49
	3.1.3 Conclusion	50

3.2	Structural-Functional Approach	52
3.2.1	Structural-Functional Analysis in Comparative Politics	53
3.3	Gabriel Almond's Structural-Functionalism	55
3.3.1	Input and Output Functions	58
3.3.2	An Assessment	61
3.4	Systems Analytic Approach	63
3.4.1	Systems Analysis: The Framework	65
3.4.2	Inputs and Outputs	66
3.4.3	Problem of Persistence	67
3.4.4	Systems Analysis and Comparative Politics	68
3.5	Institutional Approach to Comparative Politics	69
3.5.1	Development of the Institutional Approach	69
3.5.2	Political Institutions	71
3.5.3	Institutionalism and Comparative Politics	72
3.5.4	The New Institutionalism	75
3.6	Political Development as an Approach to Comparative Politics	76
3.6.1	Definitions of Political Development	77
3.6.2	Scope of the Political Development Approach	78
3.6.3	Strengths and Weaknesses	83
3.6.4	Conclusion	84

Part 2 : Comparative Analysis of Political Institutions

IV.	Interest Group Politics	89
4.1	Groups in the Political Process	89
4.1.1	Analytical Pluralism	90
4.2	Interest Groups	93
4.2.1	Types of Interest Group Politics	94
4.2.2	Interest Groups in Soviet and Post-Soviet Russia	98
4.2.3	The Chinese Case	98
4.2.4	The Indian Model: State Pluralism	100
4.3	Channels of Access	101
4.4	Interest Groups in the USA and UK	103
4.5	The USA	103
4.5.1	Lobbying	106
4.5.2	Political Action Committee (PAC)	107
4.5.3	Publicity	107

4.6	UK	108
4.6.1	Channels of Interest Representation	110
4.7	Conclusion : Comparative Remarks	112
V.	Political Parties	114
5.1	What are Parties?	114
5.2	Classification of Parties	118
5.2.1	Party as "Dependent Variable"	120
5.3	Political Parties in the U S A	121
5.3.1	Nomination Systems	121
5.3.2	The Ballot	122
5.3.3	Parties and Policy	123
5.3.4	U. S. Parties: A Short History	125
5.3.5	Third Parties	127
5.3.6	Major Parties	129
5.3.7	Party Organization	129
5.3.8	Party Behaviour	134
5.4	Political Parties in UK	136
5.4.1	History of Political Parties in UK	136
5.4.2	Elections and Nominations	138
5.4.3	Parties and Policy	139
5.4.4	Third Parties in UK	143
5.4.5	Party Organization	148
5.4.6	Party Behaviour	150
5.4.7	Parties and the proposal for changing the Electoral System	151
5.5	Political Parties in China	153
5.5.1	History of the CPC	154
5.5.2	Party Organization	157
5.5.3	Party Organization Below the National Level	159
5.5.4	Party Behaviour	160
VI.	Comparing the Executive: Presidential and Parliamentary Forms	164
6.1	Executive Presidency of the USA	164
6.1.1	President and the Congress	165
6.1.2	Powers of the President in relation to the Congress	166
6.1.3	Other Responsibilities of the President	172
6.1.4	General Trends	173
6.2	Arbital Presidency in France	174

6.2.1	Relation Between the Legislature and the Executive	176
6.2.2	The Executive: Prime Minister and the Government	179
6.2.3	The President	182
6.2.4	Powers and Functions of the President	184
6.3	Russia's 'Hegemonic' Presidency	187
6.3.1	The Legislature and the Executive	189
6.3.2	Composition of the Parliament	190
6.3.3	The Government	191
6.3.4	The President	192
6.3.5	Powers and Functions of the President	196
6.4	Conclusion: Comparative Remarks	199
6.5	Executive in the Parliamentary Form of Government: Great Britain	203
6.5.1	The Cabinet	204
6.5.2	The Prime Minister	206
6.6	Cabinets in Parliamentary and Presidential Forms	209
6.6.1	Comparative Remarks: Parliamentary and Presidential Systems	210
6.7	Executive: The Case of the People's Republic of China	211
6.8	Conclusion	214
VII.	Legislatures: Comparative Perspectives	215
7.1	The U. S. Congress	216
7.1.1	Special Powers of the Houses	216
7.1.2	The House of Representatives	217
7.1.3	The Senate	217
7.1.4	Functions of the Congress	218
7.2	The British Parliament	219
7.2.1	Composition	220
7.2.2	House of Lords	221
7.2.3	House of Commons	222
7.2.4	Functions of the Commons	222
7.3	Committee System in the USA and UK	223
7.3.1	Types of Congressional Committees	224
7.3.2	British Committee System	225
7.4	Parliaments in France, Russia and China	225
7.4.1	Parliament in France	226
7.4.2	Russia's Parliament	227

7.4.3	Parliament in the People's Republic of China	228
7.5	Conclusion: Comparative Remarks	230
VIII.	The Judicial System	234
8.1	The Judiciary in the USA and Britain	234
8.1.1	Structure of the Judiciary	235
8.1.2	Political Independence	239
8.1.3	Judicial Review	241
8.2	Judicial Systems in France & Russia	244
8.3	Chinese Judicial System	246
8.4	Conclusion: Comparative Remarks	250
IX.	Unitary and Federal Systems	252
9.1	Unitary System	253
9.1.1	Advantages of Unitary System	260
9.2	Federal System	261
9.2.1	Development of Federalism	265
9.2.2	Centralized Federalism	266
9.2.3	Conditions of Federalism	267
9.2.4	The Process of Federalism	269
9.2.5	Benefits of Federalism	271
9.3	Federalism in the USA	272
9.3.1	The Federal Government	273
9.3.2	Judicial Umpiring of Federalism	277
9.3.3	State Governments in the US Federal System	278
9.3.4	Recent Trends in US Federalism	279
9.4	Russian Federalism	280
9.4.1	Soviet Legacy	280
9.4.2	Transition Period	281
9.4.3	Federalism Under 1993 Constitution	282
9.4.4	Operation of the Federal System in Russia	283
9.5	Conclusion	285
Appendix A : Basic Facts about Referent Countries		289
Appendix B : Key Terms and Concepts		290
Appendix C : Model Questions		304
References		309
Further Readings		321
Index		325

Part - 1

History, Methods and Approaches

