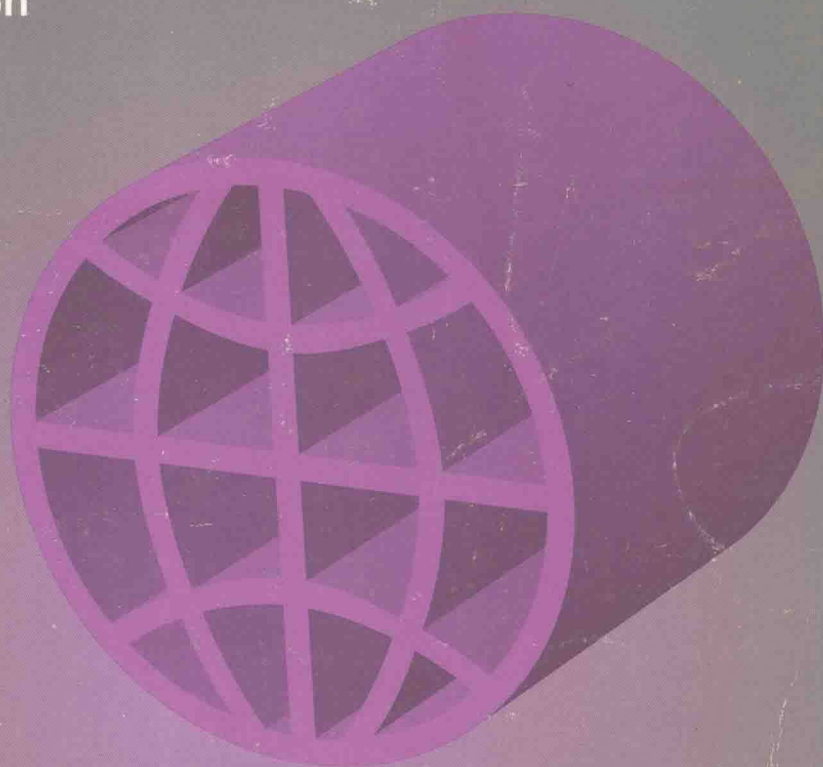


William A. Joseph

Mark Kesselman

Joel Krieger

GENERAL EDITORS



# THIRD WORLD POLITICS AT THE CROSSROADS

# *Third World Politics at the Crossroads*

*General Editors*

*William A. Joseph*  
**WELLESLEY COLLEGE**

*Mark Kesselman*  
**COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY**

*Joel Krieger*  
**WELLESLEY COLLEGE**

*Dedication*  
*WAJ—for Abigail, Hanna, and Rebecca*  
*MK—for Ishan and Javad*  
*JK—for Lucille, Philip, and Al*

*Address editorial correspondence to:*

D. C. Heath and Company  
125 Spring Street  
Lexington, MA 02173

Acquisitions: Paul Smith  
Development: Valerie Aubry  
Editorial Production: Kathleen Deselle  
Design: Jan Shapiro  
Photo Research: Linda Finigan  
Art Editing: Prentice Crosier  
Production Coordination: Dick Tonachel  
Permissions: Margaret Roll

Copyright © 1996 by D. C. Heath and Company.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopy, recording, or any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publisher.

Published simultaneously in Canada.

Printed in the United States of America.

International Standard Book Number: 0-669-33201-1

Library of Congress Catalog Number: 95-79140

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

---

## Preface

These are exciting—yet daunting—times to teach about the Third World. For decades, most of the countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America seemed trapped in the vicious cycle of dictatorship and underdevelopment. But the recent spread of democracy and improved economic prospects in many less developed nations have challenged scholars, teachers, and students to think anew about the Third World, and—as discussed in the Introduction to this text—have even called into question the continued validity of the term “Third World.” *Third World Politics at the Crossroads* deals with a subject matter whose intellectual as well as political and economic boundaries are very much in flux.

This book will help students understand the quick pace and sheer scope of political change in the Third World today and the challenges that confront developing nations, as well as to analyze where some representative countries may be headed once they move beyond their current political crossroads. At the same time, we have kept the needs of instructors—for clear and readable prose, for comparative analysis focused on countries and political systems, for comprehensive treatment of institutions, political behavior, political economy, and the policy-making process—very much in mind. We have also tried to recognize the distinctive character of politics in the Third World while locating our case studies within the broader framework of comparative politics.

We have chosen the six countries (China, India, Mexico, Brazil, Nigeria, and Iran) for this volume because they reflect issues common to all developing nations and represent the enormous geographic, cultural, political, and economic diversity in the Third World. Each country study includes five sections that treat the historic formation of the modern state, the political economy of past and current national development, the major institutions of governance and policy-making, the processes of representation and participation, and the major issues that confront the country and are likely to shape its future as we approach the end of the twentieth century.

In *Third World Politics at the Crossroads*, we emphasize patterns of state formation, political economy, domestic politics, and the politics of collective identities within the context of an international political and

economic system. The most innovative feature of the book is the use of four themes to frame the presentation of each country’s politics. We explain the themes in the Introduction and present an intriguing puzzle for each. These themes—treated in each country study—focus attention on the continuities and contrasts among the six country studies:

- **The Democratic Idea** explores the challenges posed by citizens’ demands for greater control and participation in a long-established democracy (India), transitional democracies (Brazil and Mexico), and authoritarian regimes (China, Iran, and Nigeria) in the Third World.
- **Production and Exchange on a Global Scale** analyzes state strategies for governing the economy, and stresses the effects of economic globalization on the domestic politics of the developing nations.
- **A World of States** highlights the importance of state formation and the interstate system for political development.
- **The Politics of Collective Identities** considers the political consequences of race, ethnicity, gender, religion, and nationality, and their complex interplay with class-based politics.

Through our four themes, the methods of comparative analysis come alive as students examine the similarities and differences among Third World countries and within—and between—political systems. *Third World Politics at the Crossroads* strikes a balance between the richness of national political development and a more general comparative analysis. The Introduction explains the comparative method, analyzes the four key themes of the book, and describes what is distinctive about politics and government in the Third World. Each country study presents a clear and thorough treatment of political institutions and their relation to socioeconomic, cultural, and transnational influences. The thematic approach offers timely and comprehensive analysis of the historical continuities and contemporary challenges that locate each country at the crossroads of change.

Several special features assist in the teaching and learning process. At the beginning of each chapter, students will find a page of basic demographic, social, economic, and political information to aid in compar-

ing countries. An appendix provides comparable data on the United States. Throughout the chapters a host of maps, tables, charts, photographs, and political cartoons enliven the text and present key information in clear and graphic ways. Each country study features sidebars that highlight interesting and provocative aspects of politics—for example, a critical political development or the biography of an especially important political leader. Key terms are set in boldface when first introduced and are defined in the Glossary at the end of the book. Students will find that the Glossary defines many key concepts that are used broadly in comparative politics.

In *Third World Politics at the Crossroads*, we combine an innovative thematic approach and comprehensive coverage of political institutions and processes. We hope that it serves as a stimulating and accessible introduction to the field of comparative politics for your students.

One final note: *Third World Politics at the Crossroads* is part of a larger project which also features an introductory comparative politics text, *Comparative Politics at the Crossroads (CPC)* as well as two other specialized texts on democracies and communist and post-communist political systems. The Third World country studies included here are drawn from *CPC*, from which the Introduction to this volume is also adapted in a somewhat modified form. Anyone interested in these volumes should contact his or her D. C. Heath sales representative.

We are grateful for the advice and critical comments of many colleagues, including Alfred P. Montero and Ms. Rehnuma Shehabuddin for their assistance. We are especially indebted to those who reviewed portions of the manuscript:

**John Bailey**, Georgetown University; **Amrita Basu**, Amherst College; **Mark Beissinger**, University of Wisconsin; **Linda Dolive**, Northern Kentucky University; **Jean Doyle**, University of Massachusetts at Dartmouth; **Jerrold Green**, Rand Corporation; **Joyce Kallgren**, University of California at Davis; **Roger Kangas**, University of Mississippi; **Randall Kindley**, University of Minnesota; **Jeffrey Kopstein**, University of Colorado at Boulder; **D. M. Kurtz**, University of Southwestern Louisiana; **Hong Yung Lee**, University of California at Berkeley; **Scott Mainwaring**, University of Notre Dame; **Paul Marantz**, University of British Columbia; **Carol Mershon**, University of Virginia; **Neil J. Mitchell**, University of New Mexico; **Joyce Mushaben**, University of Missouri at St. Louis; **David J. Myers**, Pennsylvania State University; **Jorgen Rasmussen**, Iowa State University; **Jeffrey Ringer**, Brigham Young University; **Richard J. Samuels**, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; **W. Rand Smith**, Lake Forest College; **Gale Stokes**, Rice University; **Kaare Strom**, University of California at San Diego; **Frank Tachau**, University of Illinois at Chicago; and **Donald C. Williams**, Western New England College.

Finally, our thanks to the talented and professional staff at D. C. Heath: Paul Smith, acquisitions editor; Valerie Aubry, development editor; Leah Strauss, editorial assistant; Kathleen Deselle, production editor; Jan Shapiro, designer; Margaret Roll, permissions editor; and Dick Tonachel, production coordinator.

W. A. J.  
M. K.  
J. K.

# Contents

## CHAPTER 1 • *Third World Politics at the Crossroads* 1

*William A. Joseph, Mark Kesselman, and Joel Krieger*

- 1 • THE GLOBAL CONTEXT 2
- 2 • WHAT—AND HOW—COMPARATIVE POLITICS COMPARES 3
- 3 • THE THIRD WORLD IN A WORLD IN TRANSITION 7
  - Politics in the Third World 7
  - The Development Gap* 8
  - HOW IS DEVELOPMENT MEASURED? 10
  - Third World States* 11
- 4 • THIRD WORLD POLITICS AT THE CROSSROADS: THEMES 12
  - Theme 1: *The Democratic Idea* 12
  - Theme 2: *Production and Exchange on a Global Scale* 13
  - Theme 3: *A World of States* 14
  - Theme 4: *The Politics of Collective Identity* 16
- 5 • ORGANIZATION OF THE TEXT 17
  - Section 1: *The Making of the Modern State* 17
  - Section 2: *Political Economy and Development* 18
  - Section 3: *Governance and Policy-Making* 18
  - Section 4: *Representation and Participation* 18
  - Section 5: *Politics at the Crossroads* 19
  - Special Features 19

## CHAPTER 2 • *China* 21

*William A. Joseph*

- 1 • THE MAKING OF THE MODERN CHINESE STATE 23
  - China at the Crossroads 23
  - Critical Junctures 26
    - From Empire to Revolution* 27
  - A VERY BRIEF CHINESE LESSON 28
    - Communism in Power* 31
  - THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA ON TAIWAN 37
  - Implications for Contemporary Chinese Politics 38
- 2 • POLITICAL ECONOMY AND DEVELOPMENT 41
  - State and Economy 41
    - The Maoist Economy* 41
    - China Goes to Market* 42
    - Remaking the Chinese Countryside* 45

CHINA'S "ONE-CHILD" POLICY	47
<i>The Political Impact of Economic Reform</i>	47
Society and Economy	48
<i>Market Reforms and Social Change</i>	48
<i>Reform and Its Discontents</i>	49
China and the International Political Economy	51
<i>Trade and Investment in China</i>	51
HONG KONG: FROM CHINA TO BRITAIN—AND BACK AGAIN	53
<i>China in the International System</i>	53
<b>3 • GOVERNANCE AND POLICY-MAKING</b>	<b>55</b>
Organization of the State	55
The Executive	56
<i>The Chinese Communist Party</i>	56
<i>The Government of the PRC</i>	60
<i>The Military</i>	62
<i>The Police</i>	63
Other State Institutions	64
<i>The Judicial System</i>	64
<i>Subnational Government</i>	65
The Policy-Making Process	65
<b>4 • REPRESENTATION AND PARTICIPATION</b>	<b>67</b>
The Legislature	67
CAMPAIGNS, CHINESE-STYLE	68
THE THREE GORGES DAM	70
Parties, Elections, and Campaigns	71
<i>The CCP: Who Joins? Why? and How?</i>	71
<i>China's Noncommunist Parties</i>	72
<i>Elections</i>	73
Political Culture, Citizenship, and Identity	74
<i>From Communism to Consumerism</i>	74
<i>Citizenship in China</i>	75
<i>National Identity in Flux</i>	76
<i>China's Non-Chinese Citizens</i>	76
Interests, Social Movements, and Protest	78
<i>Mass Organizations</i>	78
<i>Mechanisms of Social Control</i>	79
<i>Protest and the Party-State</i>	80
<b>5 • CHINESE POLITICS AT THE CROSSROADS</b>	<b>81</b>
Political Challenges and Changing Agendas	81
<i>Scenes from the Chinese Countryside in the 1990s</i>	81
<i>Economic Management and Political Legitimacy</i>	83
<i>Political Challenges</i>	84
Chinese Politics in Transition	86
<i>The Succession Question</i>	86
<i>China's Uncertain Future</i>	87
<i>China and the Democratic Idea</i>	88

China in Comparative Perspective	89
<i>China as a Communist Party-State</i>	89
<i>China as a Third World State</i>	90

### CHAPTER 3 • India 97

Atul Kohli

1 • THE MAKING OF THE MODERN INDIAN STATE	99
India at the Crossroads	99
THE CASTE SYSTEM	101
Critical Junctures	102
<i>The Colonial Legacy</i>	103
<i>The Nationalist Movement</i>	105
MOHANDAS GANDHI	106
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU	107
<i>The Nehru Era</i>	107
<i>The Indira Gandhi Era</i>	109
INDIRA GANDHI	110
Implications for Contemporary Indian Politics	112
2 • POLITICAL ECONOMY AND DEVELOPMENT	113
State and Economy	113
<i>Social Welfare Policy</i>	117
Society and Economy	118
India and the International Political Economy	120
3 • GOVERNANCE AND POLICY-MAKING	121
Organization of the State	121
The Executive	122
<i>The Bureaucracy</i>	123
<i>The Military and Police</i>	124
Other State Institutions	124
<i>The Judiciary</i>	124
<i>Local Government</i>	125
The Policy-Making Process	126
4 • REPRESENTATION AND PARTICIPATION	128
The Legislature	128
The Party System and Elections	129
Political Culture, Citizenship, and Identity	133
Interests, Social Movements, and Protest	134
5 • INDIAN POLITICS AT THE CROSSROADS	136
Political Challenges and Changing Agendas	136
Indian Politics in Transition	137
<i>Muddling Through</i>	138
<i>The BJP Triumphant</i>	138
<i>Political Disintegration</i>	138
<i>A Benign Political Realignment</i>	139
India in Comparative Perspective	139



**CHAPTER 4 • Mexico 143**

Merilee S. Grindle

**1 • THE MAKING OF THE MODERN MEXICAN STATE 145**Mexico at the Crossroads **145**Critical Junctures **147***The Porfiriato* **147***The Revolution of 1910* **148**CONQUEST OR ENCOUNTER? **149**CONFLICTS OF THE PAST: INDEPENDENCE, CHURCH AND STATE, AND  
CENTRALIZATION **150***Lázaro Cárdenas, Agrarian Reform, and the Workers* **151***Industrialization: The 1940s and the 1980s* **152***Nationalism and National Identity* **153***State and Society in Modern Mexico* **155**Implications for Contemporary Mexican Politics **156***Mexican Politics in Comparative Perspective* **156****2 • POLITICAL ECONOMY AND DEVELOPMENT 157**State and Economy **158***Import Substitution and its Consequences* **158***Sowing the Oil and Reaping a Crisis* **162***A New Strategy and Emergent Political Voices* **164**Economy and Society **164**Mexico and the International Political Economy **167****3 • GOVERNANCE AND POLICY-MAKING 169**Organization of the State **169**The Executive **169***The Presidency* **169***The Bureaucracy* **174***The Legislature and the Executive* **174***The Military* **175***The Para-Statal Sector* **175**Other State Institutions **176***The Judiciary* **176***States and Municipalities* **176**The Policy-Making Process **177****4 • REPRESENTATION AND PARTICIPATION 178**The Legislature **179**The Party System and Elections **180***The PRI* **180***The PAN* **183***The PRD* **184***Elections and Support for the PRI* **185**Political Culture, Citizenship, and Identity **186**Interests, Social Movements, and Protest **188**URBAN POPULAR MOVEMENTS **191**REBELLION IN CHIAPAS **192**

- 5 • MEXICAN POLITICS AT THE CROSSROADS 193**
  - Political Challenges and Changing Agendas **194**
  - Mexican Politics in Transition **194**
  - Mexico in Comparative Perspective **196**

## **CHAPTER 5 • Brazil 201**

*Maria do Carmo Campello de Souza*

- 1 • THE MAKING OF THE MODERN BRAZILIAN STATE 203**
  - Brazil at the Crossroads **203**
    - Brazil Today* **205**
  - Critical Junctures **207**
    - The Emergence of a Central Bureaucratic Power* **207**
  - BRAZIL'S INDEPENDENCE **208**
    - The Coming of the Liberal Republican Order (1889)* **209**
    - The 1930 Revolution* **211**
  - GETULIO VARGAS **212**
    - The Rise of the Populist Republic (1945)* **214**
    - The Coup of 1964 and the Rise of Bureaucratic Authoritarianism* **216**
  - THE ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE 1964 MILITARY COUP **217**
    - The Transition to Democracy and the Rise of the New Republic (1974–1985)* **217**
  - Implications for Contemporary Brazilian Politics **219**
- 2 • POLITICAL ECONOMY AND DEVELOPMENT 221**
  - State and Economy **222**
    - Import Substituting Industrialization* **223**
    - The Tax System* **225**
    - The Welfare System* **226**
    - The Problem of Inflation* **228**
  - Society and Economy **229**
  - Brazil and the International Political Economy **232**
- 3 • GOVERNANCE AND POLICY-MAKING 236**
  - Organization of the State **236**
  - The Executive **237**
    - The Bureaucracy, State and Semipublic Firms* **239**
    - The Military* **241**
  - Other State Institutions **242**
    - The Judiciary* **242**
    - Subnational Government* **243**
  - The Policy-Making Process **243**
    - Policy Implementation* **244**
- 4 • REPRESENTATION AND PARTICIPATION 245**
  - The Legislature **245**
  - The Party System and Elections **247**
    - Current Parties* **249**
    - Political Parties and Ideologies* **249**

Political Culture, Citizenship, and Identity	250
<i>The Left</i>	253
<i>The Right</i>	254
<i>Political Culture and the Media</i>	254
Interests, Social Movements, and Protest	255
<b>5 • BRAZILIAN POLITICS AT THE CROSSROADS</b>	<b>259</b>
Political Challenges and Changing Agendas	259
FERNANDO HENRIQUE CARDOSO	261
Brazil's Transition in Comparative Perspective	261
CARDOSO'S PROPOSED REVISIONS TO THE 1988 CONSTITUTION	265
 <b>CHAPTER 6 • Nigeria</b>	<b>269</b>
Richard A. Joseph, Scott D. Taylor, and Adigun Agbaje	
 <b>1 • THE MAKING OF THE MODERN NIGERIAN STATE</b>	<b>271</b>
Nigeria at the Crossroads	272
<i>Historical Context</i>	272
<i>Nigeria and the Elusive Democratic Idea</i>	273
<i>Nigeria's Fragile "Collective" Identity</i>	276
<i>Nigeria in the World of States</i>	277
Critical Junctures	278
<i>The Precolonial Period</i>	278
<i>Impact of Colonial Rule</i>	281
<i>Postindependence: Alternating Governments but Consistent Themes</i>	286
<i>Independent Nigeria in the World of States: Neocolonialism and Regional Leadership</i>	290
Implications for Contemporary Nigerian Politics	292
 <b>2 • POLITICAL ECONOMY AND DEVELOPMENT</b>	<b>293</b>
State and Economy	294
<i>Origins of Economic Decline</i>	294
<i>1985–On: Deepening Economic Crisis and the Search for Solutions</i>	296
STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT PROGRAMS	297
<i>Social Welfare</i>	300
Society and Economy	301
<i>Ethnic and Religious Cleavages</i>	302
<i>Gender Cleavages</i>	303
<i>Prebendalism</i>	304
Nigeria and the International Political Economy	304
<i>Nigeria and the Regional Political Economy</i>	304
<i>Nigeria and the Political Economy of the West</i>	305
 <b>3 • GOVERNANCE AND POLICY-MAKING</b>	<b>307</b>
Organization of the State	307
<i>Constitutional Governance</i>	307
<i>Overview of State Structure</i>	308
<i>Nigerian Federalism and "Federal Character"</i>	308
CORPORATISM	311
NIGERIA'S "FEDERAL CHARACTER"	312

The Executive	<b>312</b>
<i>Evolution of Executive Function</i>	<b>312</b>
<i>The Executive under Military Rule and Future Civilian Governments</i>	<b>313</b>
<i>The Military as Executive Branch</i>	<b>314</b>
<i>The Bureaucracy</i>	<b>315</b>
Other State Institutions	<b>316</b>
<i>The Judiciary</i>	<b>316</b>
<i>Subnational Government</i>	<b>317</b>
The Policy-Making Process	<b>319</b>

#### **4 • REPRESENTATION AND PARTICIPATION 320**

The Legislature	<b>321</b>
The Party System and Elections	<b>322</b>
<i>The Two-Party Mandate</i>	<b>323</b>
<i>The Annulment</i>	<b>323</b>
<i>Analysis</i>	<b>326</b>
Political Culture, Citizenship, and Identity	<b>326</b>
<i>Modernity versus Traditionalism</i>	<b>327</b>
<i>Religion</i>	<b>327</b>
<i>Government Efforts to Foster Citizenship</i>	<b>328</b>
Interests, Social Movements, and Protest	<b>328</b>
<i>Labor</i>	<b>329</b>
<i>Associations</i>	<b>330</b>

#### **5 • NIGERIAN POLITICS AT THE CROSSROADS 331**

Political Challenges and Changing Agendas	<b>332</b>
Nigerian Politics in Transition	<b>339</b>
Nigeria in Comparative Perspective	<b>339</b>
<i>The Democratic Idea</i>	<b>340</b>
<i>Collective Identities</i>	<b>340</b>
<i>Political Economy</i>	<b>341</b>
<i>A World of States</i>	<b>341</b>

### **CHAPTER 7 • Iran 347**

*Ervand Abrahamian*

#### **1 • THE MAKING OF THE MODERN IRANIAN STATE 349**

Iran at the Crossroads	<b>349</b>
ISLAM	<b>351</b>
Critical Junctures	<b>351</b>
<i>The Safavids</i>	<b>351</b>
<i>The Qajars</i>	<b>352</b>
<i>The Pahlavi Dynasty under Reza Shah</i>	<b>354</b>
<i>Mohammad Reza Shah: The Last Shah</i>	<b>355</b>
<i>Khomeini versus the Shah</i>	<b>358</b>
AYATOLLAH KHOMEINI (1902–1989)	<b>359</b>
<i>The Islamic Revolution</i>	<b>359</b>
Implications for Contemporary Iran	<b>361</b>

<b>2 • POLITICAL ECONOMY AND DEVELOPMENT</b>	<b>362</b>
State and Economy	<b>362</b>
Society and Economy	<b>367</b>
Iran and the International Political Economy	<b>370</b>
<b>3 • GOVERNANCE AND POLICY-MAKING</b>	<b>372</b>
Organization of the State	<b>372</b>
ALI KHAMENEI (1939– )	<b>375</b>
The Executive	<b>375</b>
REVOLUTIONARY GUARDS	<b>377</b>
Other State Institutions	<b>377</b>
Local Government	<b>377</b>
The Policy-Making Process	<b>378</b>
<b>4 • REPRESENTATION AND PARTICIPATION</b>	<b>379</b>
The Legislature	<b>379</b>
The Party System and Elections	<b>380</b>
<i>The First Majles</i>	<b>380</b>
POLITICAL PARTIES	<b>381</b>
<i>The Second Majles</i>	<b>382</b>
<i>The Third and Fourth Majleses</i>	<b>383</b>
Political Culture, Citizenship, and Identity	<b>384</b>
Interests, Social Movements, and Protest	<b>386</b>
<b>5 • IRANIAN POLITICS AT THE CROSSROADS</b>	<b>388</b>
Political Challenges and Changing Agendas	<b>388</b>
Iranian Politics in Transition	<b>391</b>
ALI-AKBAR HASHEMI RAFSANJANI (1934– )	<b>392</b>
Iran in Comparative Perspective	<b>394</b>
 Appendix: The United States of America	<b>A1</b>
Glossary	<b>A3</b>
About the Editors and Contributors	<b>A13</b>
Index	<b>A15</b>

# Tables

Diversity in the Third World	9
People's Republic of China	22
China's Development in Comparative Perspective	27
Critical Junctures in Modern China's Political Development	31
Taiwan	37
China's World Ranking for Output of Major Industrial and Agricultural Products	38
Hong Kong	53
Who's Who in Beijing	57
Republic of India	98
Critical Junctures in India's Development	103
Prime Ministers	113
Major Party Election Results	129
United Mexican States	144
Acronyms Used in This Chapter	146
Mexican Development, 1940–1990	160
Mexico's Presidents, 1884–2000	171
Voting in Presidential Elections, 1934–1994	182
Support for the PRI by Type of Congressional District	183
Federative Republic of Brazil	202
Critical Junctures in Brazil's History	215
GDP Growth Rates, 1950–1993	224
Sector Composition of the GDP, 1970–1990	225
Changes in Brazilian Urbanization and the Job Market: 1950, 1980	230
What Women and Racial Minorities Make Compared to White Men, 1990	231
Brazilian Income Distribution in Comparative Perspective	232
Brazilian Trade Data, 1980–1993	235
Brazil's Ten Largest State Firms, 1994	241
Evolution of Brazilian Electorate	246
Party Representation in Congress: 1990, 1994	251
Federal Republic of Nigeria	270
Chronology of Major Events in Recent Nigerian Political History	274
Oil Sector Statistics, 1970–1989	295
Selected Economic Indicators, 1970–1989	299
Nigeria's Total External Debt	300
Index of Real Household Incomes of Key Groups, 1980/81–1986/87	300
Political Divisions, 1963–1991	310
Percentage Contribution of Different Sources of Government Revenue to Allocated Revenue, 1980–1988	311
Share of Total Government Expenditure, in Million Naira	318
Federal Election Results in Nigeria's First and Second Republics	324
List of Acronyms Used in Table 8	325
Islamic Republic of Iran	348
Chronology of Pahlavi Iran	361
Oil Revenues	364
Land Ownership in 1977	365
Industry	366
Industrial Production	366
Educational Growth	366
Measures of Inequality of Urban Household Consumption Expenditures: 1972, 1977	368
Iran's Foreign Trade, 1971–1977	371
Chronology of the Islamic Republic, 1979–1989	373
Measures of Inequality of Urban Household Consumption Expenditures: 1979, 1980, 1986	391

CHAPTER 1

---

*Third World  
Politics  
at the  
Crossroads*

## SECTION 1

## The Global Context

We are living in extraordinary times. Since the mid-1980s, politics throughout the world has been rocked by dramatic and unpredictable developments. The most visible of these changes were set in motion by the revolutions of 1989 in Central and Eastern Europe that led to the disintegration of much of the communist world. The brick-by-brick dismantling of the Berlin Wall—which had divided East and West in both physical and symbolic terms—that began in November of that historic year forever recast the political architecture of Europe. By the end of 1991, the Soviet Union, once a formidable superpower, had collapsed into fifteen troubled republics, including a much humbled Russia.

Recent years have also witnessed a seeming flood of history-making events in the developing, or “Third World,” nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. To cite just a few examples: China, long one of the world’s poorest countries, has become one of the world’s most dynamic economies; yet, in 1989, while most other communist-led countries gave way to the forces of democratization, the Chinese army viciously suppressed popular demonstrations in Tiananmen Square and reinforced party dictatorship. In the mid-1990s, Nelson Mandela was transformed from prisoner to president of a newly democratic South Africa. An awkward handshake on the White House lawn between Yasir Arafat and Yitzhak Rabin in 1994 launched the Palestine Liberation Organization and Israel on a fitful and uncertain peace process in the Middle East. In the last ten or fifteen years, Latin America has changed from being a region dominated by harsh military regimes to one in which nearly every country is either a democracy or can be said to be moving toward democratization.

Beyond the unforgettable images captured in front-page news photos, these and other developments mark a fundamental political crossroads for our world as a whole and for the Third World in particular. They reflect a shift in historical epochs that creates exciting opportunities for human progress, but also increases the risks of instability and conflict.

As the world has painfully learned in recent years, freedom, peace, and a reasonable standard of living cannot be built on hopes alone. In the developing countries,

economic scarcity, widespread poverty, and extreme inequality make it especially hard to turn such dreams into reality. Toppling dictatorial regimes often proves less difficult than building new democracies. In many Third World countries, the rush to democracy awakens new and restless constituencies with demands that cannot easily be met by the government or the economy. Even in a relatively long-established Third World democracy like India, religious divisions frequently explode into communal violence that not only threatens the social order, but also shakes the very foundations of the country’s democratic political system.

Post-Cold War political changes and the transformation of the global balance of power have produced new forms of international cooperation and competition—and new sources of international tension and violence. The grim but predictable bipolar world of superpower rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union, reinforced by their respective NATO and Warsaw Treaty Organization (Warsaw Pact) alliances, has been replaced by the uncertainties of a more fragmented map of global power. These international changes have had a far-reaching effect on the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

During the **Cold War**, the rivalry between the Soviet Union and the United States was often fought out and contained in the Third World, as in conflicts in Southeast Asia, the Middle East, Central America, and southern Africa. This situation was certainly politically destabilizing for and caused much human suffering in the Third World, but the superpower standoff also gave the developing nations some bargaining power when it came to securing economic or military aid as the United States and the Soviet Union wooed allies in the Third World.

The end of the Cold War has meant an end to such strategic leverage for the Third World. Indeed, the collapse of communism has diverted economic resources away from the Third World as the developed nations and international organizations channel more funds to help the struggling democracies and market economies of Russia, other Soviet successor states (such as Ukraine), and East-Central Europe. On the other hand, one reason democracy has recently been able to spread throughout much of the Third World is that dictators



can no longer rely on their superpower patrons to keep them in power for strategic reasons.

In short, both the national and international contexts of politics in the Third World have changed profoundly in the last decade or so. Yet (as we will discuss in more detail later) there remain important continuities in the domestic and global situations of the developing nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America that continue to distinguish them in major ways from the world's economically richer and politically more powerful countries.

It is not surprising that in the flash of newspaper headlines and television sound bites, politics in our rapidly changing world often appears chaotic beyond comprehension. Although the study of comparative politics can help us understand current events and dramatic upheavals, it involves much more than snapshot analysis or Monday-morning quarterbacking. *Third World Politics at the Crossroads* describes and analyzes in detail the government and politics in six different countries (Brazil, China, India, Iran, Mexico, and Nigeria) and identifies common themes in the development of these countries that can explain longer-term causes of both changes and continuities in the Third World. The book provides cross-national comparisons and explanations based on four themes that we believe are central for understanding how our world has reached such a crucial political crossroads:

- The interaction of states within the international order.
- The role of states in economic management.
- The pressures for more democracy and the challenges of democratization.
- The political impact of diverse sources of social identity, including class, gender, ethnicity, and religion.

We also hope that these themes, which will be discussed in more detail in Section 4 of this Introduction, will be useful for understanding where the countries covered in this book may be heading politically once they move beyond the crossroads. Moreover, the themes illustrate how comparative politics offers valuable intellectual tools for making some sense of even the most tumultuous times.

The contemporary world provides a unique laboratory for the study of comparative politics in general and of the Third World in particular. We hope that you share our sense of excitement and will join us in this challenging effort to understand Third World politics at the crossroads. We begin by first exploring what comparative politics compares and how comparative study enhances our understanding of politics in the Third World and elsewhere.

## SECTION 2

### *What—and How—Comparative Politics Compares<sup>1</sup>*

To “compare and contrast” is one of the most common exercises, whether in the classroom study of literature or politics or animal behavior—or in selecting dorm rooms or listing favorite movies. In the observation of politics, the use of comparisons is very old, dating at least from Aristotle, who categorized Athenian city-states in the fifth century B.C. according to their form of political rule: rule by a single individual, rule by a few, or rule by all citizens. He added a normative dimension (a claim about how societies *should* be ruled) by distinguishing good and corrupt versions of each type. The modern study of comparative politics refines and systematizes the age-old practice of evaluating some feature of X by comparing it to the same feature of Y in order to learn more about it than isolated study would permit.

The term *comparative politics* refers to a subject matter, a field or specialty within the academic study of politics (political science), and a method or approach to the study of politics. The subject matter of comparative politics is the domestic politics of countries or peoples. This book focuses on the comparative study of several Third World countries, whereas other comparative politics books might focus, for example, on the industrial democracies of Western Europe. Within the study of political science, comparative politics is one of four areas of specialization. In addition to comparative politics, most political science (or government) departments in U.S. colleges and universities include courses and academic specialists in three other fields—political theory, international relations, and American politics.