



# Comparative Politics

*Domestic Responses to Global Challenges*

FOURTH EDITION

CHARLES HAUSS

# COMPARATIVE POLITICS

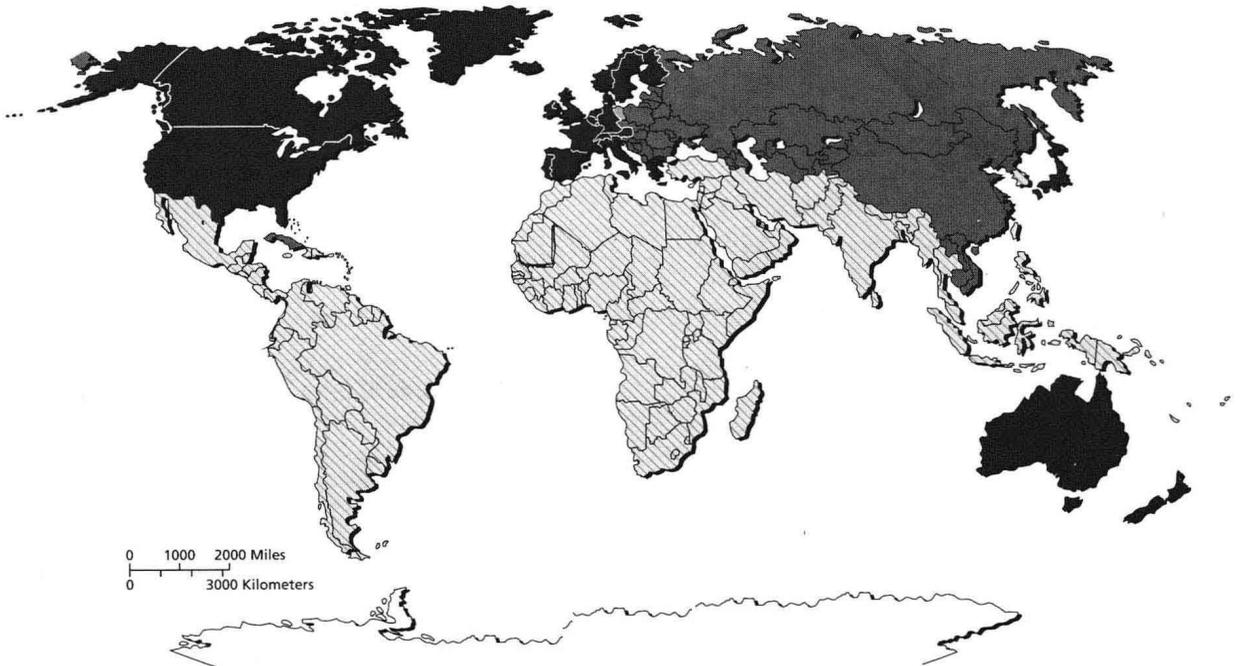
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## DOMESTIC RESPONSES TO GLOBAL CHALLENGES

Fourth Edition

**Charles Hauss**

*George Mason University  
Search for Common Ground*



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*To Gretchen Sandles and Evonne Fei*

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# Preface

## Danger and Opportunity

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This fourth edition of *Comparative Politics: Domestic Responses to Global Challenges* was written in the shadow of the 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. At first glance, this might seem odd, because terrorism does not figure prominently in this book, nor do any of the countries that gave rise to al-Qaeda or the Taliban.

But affect the writing of this book they certainly did.

First, the attacks had an intensely personal impact and, alas, slowed me down in finishing the book. I had completed about a third of the manuscript by that morning and had decided to take the day off from working on the rest to finish an article on Osama bin Laden. I had just outlined the last five pages when the first plane hit. Several hours elapsed before I knew that my wife's office building had not been hit and that she had gotten home safely. Two of our neighbors lost close friends. One of my students lost both her best friend's father and her own father's best friend. Wadsworth's parent company lost eleven people, ten in the World Trade Center and the other on one of planes.

The subsequent days and weeks were depressing. Most of my friends, neighbors, and colleagues were in a daze—going through the motions at work, staring at the television, losing sleep, and trying to figure out what to do and how to cope. For those of us in Washington, things took a turn for the worse in October with the anthrax attacks. One of my colleagues had to take antibiotics because he had been near Senator Tom Daschle's office when the letter addressed to him was opened. I was on the subway one morning shortly thereafter when the discovery of a suspicious powder in the station we were entering forced officials to shut down the system.

Second, and more importantly for the purposes of this book, the attacks shook up my professional life. In addition to writing books like this and teaching political science, I serve as director of policy and research at Search for Common Ground, the world's largest conflict

resolution group. For those of us who have committed ourselves to win/win conflict resolution and cooperative problem solving, the attacks were particularly troubling. Many of my colleagues found themselves questioning their basic principles and their commitment to their work. Others found themselves supporting the war on terrorism as it evolved, the first time they had ever backed a military action.

The effect on me was particularly intense, because Search was scheduled to throw a party on September 13 to launch a book I had just finished on internal conflict resolution. As I dragged myself to the subway on September 12, I was convinced that we had to call the party off. How could we throw a party so soon after so many people had been killed? But on the subway I began to change my mind. I saw my fellow riders looking intently at people who might be of Arab or South Asian origin. Were they angry or fearful or just plain curious? Then, when I got off the Metro and began the six-block walk to our offices at Dupont Circle, I saw humvees and military police officers on every corner.

By the time I got to the office, I had changed my mind. We *had* to go ahead with the launch as a reaffirmation of the need for and power of the work we do. Of course, the attacks were a major setback for those of us who promote peace and cooperation. However, they also reinforced our commitment to finding better ways of settling our disputes and helping people learn how to use them.

At the launch, an amazing thing happened that gave me new hope and helped focus me on a way to make this edition of *Comparative Politics* noticeably better than previous editions (so, yes, I am finally getting to the point of all this).

One of the guests was a childhood friend—a retired U.S. Navy captain who now runs a consulting group that helps the Pentagon brass think more creatively. During the question-and-answer period, we ended up responding together. The career pacifist and career military officer found they agreed on almost everything.

Then, as we moved toward a conclusion, we both started talking about how the Chinese represent what we English speakers mean by the word *crisis*. They bring together two characters: One represents the danger we were all feeling that night, and the other depicts their equivalent of opportunity. If we can put the danger of a crisis into a perspective that lets us think in new and creative ways about it, we might develop inventive ways of addressing it. These, in turn, might lead to dramatic improvements in the way we address not only the problem(s) that gave rise to this crisis but to others as well.

I had used this interpretation of the word *crisis* as a central concept in the conflict resolution book. In light of the events of 9/11, it took on new meaning for this book as well. I had always introduced this theme as part of the final chapter, and it is still only explicitly addressed there.

However, it was constantly on my mind as I revised the other sixteen chapters. Of course, I included material on 9/11 when and where relevant. But danger versus opportunity became a kind of mental template as I decided what to include or leave out and what to emphasize or mention only in passing. What I sought to do was to write a book that is far more balanced than the first three editions.

## The Rest of the Story

Otherwise, I've tried to balance two overlapping and conflicting goals, as I did in the first three editions. On the one hand, I introduce the key concepts in our discipline. On the other, I focus on the major research findings and other evidence that I hope will grab and sustain my student-readers' attention.

Balancing the two is a challenge in any academic field. It is especially difficult in comparative politics, a field in which we academics, like everybody else, are struggling to make sense of the unprecedented acceleration of political change in the "real world." Our task is also difficult because most of us still base our teaching and writing on core concepts that have been around for thirty years or more. Such ideas as political culture or the various dimensions of state power are still vital. However, we have not done as good a job of developing additional ideas that yield similarly powerful insights into the issues that have burst onto the political agenda in the past generation. These issues include democratization, the development of an increasingly interdependent international economy, and environmental decay.

Even when our concepts are up-to-date, comparative politics is difficult for students to master on purely

pedagogical grounds. More than the other parts of the discipline of political science, comparative politics requires students to constantly move back and forth between abstract concepts and an often bewildering array of names, dates, places, and events. Recent research on undergraduates in all disciplines suggests that this is a style of learning most have trouble with.

I have therefore tried to write this book in a way that will help students navigate the confusing intellectual waters that make up comparative politics at the dawn of the new millennium. My hope is that students will come away from the course with a reasonable understanding of some of the most important general trends, an exposure to politics in a number of countries important both in their own right and because they help us see these broader trends, and a desire to dig more deeply into what is such a fascinating and exciting field.

In so doing, I have tried to do three things:

- Write as timely a book as possible. Although I agree that historical sources of today's politics are extremely important and that the study of politics should not be a hostage to current events, the fact is that we live in remarkable times. Indeed, we academics probably should be fixated on current trends because they seem to be putting so many of our concepts and so much of our conventional wisdom into question—something I have seen not only professionally as a teacher and as an author but also in my other life as an activist.
- Incorporate new theoretical concerns, including some that are not traditionally seen as part of comparative politics. The most important of these is captured in the book's subtitle. Political scientists have created what amounts to an intellectual fire wall between comparative politics and international relations. Although each has its own focus, we can no longer study one without including the other. We will understand less and less about any country's politics if we fail to explore the way international geopolitical, economic, cultural, and environmental factors constrain what the country's leaders and citizens alike can do.
- Make the alternation between the empirical and the theoretical as easy as possible. Because most readers of this book will be Americans, I have included a brief chapter on the United States that they can use as a frame of reference. Each chapter after the first has a series of features highlighting the comparative implications of the material in it. Each also has a section entitled "Critical Thinking Exercises" at the end that is designed to help stu-

dents compare and think about general and theoretical issues. Each chapter includes dozens of relevant web sites for further exploration of the topics and countries under consideration, in part because all students should learn how to use the Internet effectively, but more importantly, because I have found that students learn a lot about asking and answering their own questions by using the web. More pedagogical material and additional links can be found on the web site created for this book at (<http://politicalscience.wadsworth.com/hauss>) and on the CD-ROM that accompanies it.

In trying to reach those goals, I frequently found myself going back to the sentence by Marcel Proust that I use to open chapter 1: “The real voyage of discovery consists not in seeking new lands, but in seeing with new eyes.”

This book and this course are both about seeing with new eyes. Even the most well traveled student (or instructor, for that matter) will not have visited all the countries covered here. I certainly haven't. More importantly, even those who have traveled the most will not have learned all that much unless they have learned how to drop their intellectual, cultural, and political blinders and to see the places they have visited, the place they started from, and their own selves in a new light, one that allows them to question and reinterpret everything they previously took for granted.

## Supplements for Instructors and Students

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### *Instructor's Manual and Test Bank*

Prepared by Ken Wedding, contains chapter outlines, commentary, teaching suggestions containing web links and InfoTrac College Edition sources, pre-tests, and student activities. The test bank includes multiple-choice, short answer, and essay questions. There are also 40 transparency masters with approximately 40 key figures from the text (this is also available on the text web site under Instructor Resources).

### *ExamView*

Create, deliver, and customize tests and study guides (both print and online) in minutes with this easy-to-use

assessment and tutorial system. ExamView offers both a Quick Test Wizard and an Online Test Wizard that guide you step-by-step through the process of creating tests, while its unique ‘WYSIWYG’ capability allows you to see the test you are creating on the screen exactly as it will print or display online. You can build tests of up to 250 questions using up to 12 question types. Using ExamView's complete word processing capabilities, you can enter an unlimited number of new questions or edit existing questions.

### *CNN Video for Comparative Politics*

Short lecture launching clips get students interested in issues pertaining to comparative politics.

### *Comparative Politics Interactive CD-ROM*

A new CD-ROM packaged free with the text contains demographic data on countries both in and not in the text. The CD includes MicroCase exercises (one at the end of each Part), map exercises covering 19 countries, InfoTrac College Edition exercises, Internet exercises, and additional resources including a comprehensive selection of constitutions from countries around the globe. Exploring sections at the end of each part in the text link the material in the text to the CD-ROM.

### *Web Site*

<http://politicalscience.wadsworth.com/hauss>

The text has a fully integrated web site, Comparative Politics Online. This web site links to other major Internet-based resources in comparative politics in general and the countries covered in the book in particular. The site also has a discussion forum that allows students using this text to “talk” to and study with their colleagues on other campuses. The author monitors the site and encourages students to communicate with him via email. The web site also contains a study guide, hyperlinks to the sites mentioned in the text, brief chapters on Canada and Nigeria, and updates to each country in the book.

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# Acknowledgments

Authors who write books this long that cover so much ground rack up massive intellectual debts to the people whose evidence and ideas they have relied on. I am no exception.

The debts start with the two friends who contributed the chapters on Japan and on Iraq. Roger Bowen and I started teaching introductory comparative politics together at Colby College in the late 1970s. Since then, we have both moved on—he is now president of the Milwaukee Public Museum ([www.mpm.edu](http://www.mpm.edu)). We taught the course together for so long that it is hard to tell where his ideas end and mine begin. Guilain Denoeux joined our team at Colby (where he remains) during the Gulf War, when we had just added Iraq to our curriculum. He supported the war; I opposed it. More importantly, the fact that our students could see us disagree with each other while at the same time obviously enjoying working together went a long way toward making the course a success.

I also have to thank colleagues at the two institutions I have taught at since leaving Colby—George Mason University in Virginia ([www.gmu.edu/depts/pia](http://www.gmu.edu/depts/pia)) and the University of Reading in the United Kingdom ([www.rdg.ac.uk/AcaDepts/lp](http://www.rdg.ac.uk/AcaDepts/lp)). At George Mason, colleagues such as Scott Keeter, Jim Barry, Fran Harbour, Peter Mandaville, and Yehuda Lukacs have helped me figure out the ever-more-complicated world of comparative politics and international relations, and improve my teaching. At Reading, Joel Peters, Barry Jones, Philip Giddings, Bob McKeever, and the rest of my colleagues took me in as a visiting scholar and professor for the three years my wife served on the staff of the U.S. Embassy. I owe Joel a special debt, not only because we are writing a book on international relations and doing some political work on reconciliation and conflict resolution together, but because he taught me the finer points of cricket, soccer, and rugby—both codes.

Ken Wedding has been a good friend since we first started grading advanced placement exams together in

the late 1980s. I am delighted that he has been able to work on the instructor's manual and CD-ROM again for this edition of *Comparative Politics*, and I'm hoping that we can work together even more now that he has retired from Hopkins High School.

I have also been able to draw on the criticisms of nearly thirty colleagues who have evaluated one edition or another of this book. While I thank them all, I am particularly grateful to the instructors who were highly critical of earlier editions, because I learned the most—and changed the most—because of them. The reviewers for this edition were Leslie Anderson, University of Florida; Michael Gold-Biss, St. Cloud State University; Hazel M. McPerson, George Mason University; and Michael Kenney, University of Florida.

For earlier editions, they were Nozar Alaolmolki, Hiram College; Steve D. Bollard, Western Kentucky; Alan D. Buckley, Santa Monica College; John M. Buckley, Orange Coast College; William E. Carroll, Sam Houston State University; Kristine K. Cline, Riverside Community College; Richard Deeng, Temple University; Jana Eaton, Unionville High School; Larry Elowitz, Georgia College; Edward Epstein, University of Utah; Joshua B. Forrest, University of Vermont; E. Gene Frankland, Ball State University; Kristina Gilbert, Riverside Community College; Phil Huxtable, University of Kansas; Amal Kavar, Utah State University; Frank P. La Veness, St. John's University; Clinton W. Maffett, University of Memphis; Margaret Martin, University of St. Thomas; Marian A. L. Miller, University of Akron; Richard M. Mills, Fordham University; David J. Myers, Pennsylvania State University; Jeffrey R. Orenstein, Kent State University; Bradley Scharf, Seattle University; and Carrie Rosefsky Wickham, Emory University.

This edition has been enhanced by my growing involvement as a conflict resolution practitioner. That begins with my colleagues at Search for Common Ground: Roger Conner (my boss and old friend/political nemesis from my own undergraduate days), Rob Ferish (who has

to share an office with me, poor soul), Shamil Idriss, and John and Susan Collin Marks. Outside of Search, Guy and Heidi Burgess, Michelle LeBaron, Kevin Avruch, Bernie Mayer, Peter Woodrow, David Last, and Jay Rothman have been the source of great ideas and moral support, especially since September 11.

This book also could not have seen the light of day without the talented team at Wadsworth. Publisher Clark Baxter convinced me to write the first edition of this book more than a decade ago. Clark gave me the freedom to do it my way while still teaching me the tricks of the trade he has learned in more than a quarter century in publishing. Our relationship has strengthened over the years to the point that I value him as a friend as well as a boss. David Tatom took over as the main political science editor once Wadsworth acquired two other publishing houses, and he gave me firm grounding for developing the CD-ROM. Sharon Adams-Poore kept me on my toes when I began falling behind on the CD-ROM and the web site. Mindy Newfarmer helped me develop the ideas for the CD-ROM. Melanie Field of Strawberry

Field Publishing again managed to overcome my sloppiness and put all the pieces together in what is by far the most visually attractive of the four editions. And Tom Briggs was the best copy editor I've ever worked with—even though he is the only person I know who doesn't use email.

Finally, I have to thank the two women to whom this book is dedicated—my wife, Gretchen Sandles, and her daughter, Evonne Fei. Gretchen is an accomplished political scientist in her own right and has taught me most of what I know about the former Soviet Union. Evonne's impending college tuition bills provided the impetus to begin the book. Her Christmas present to me the year I was finishing the first edition gave me the idea with which to end it.

I had a wonderful time writing and revising this book, and I hope you find that same pleasure in reading it.

*Falls Church, Virginia  
June 2002*

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