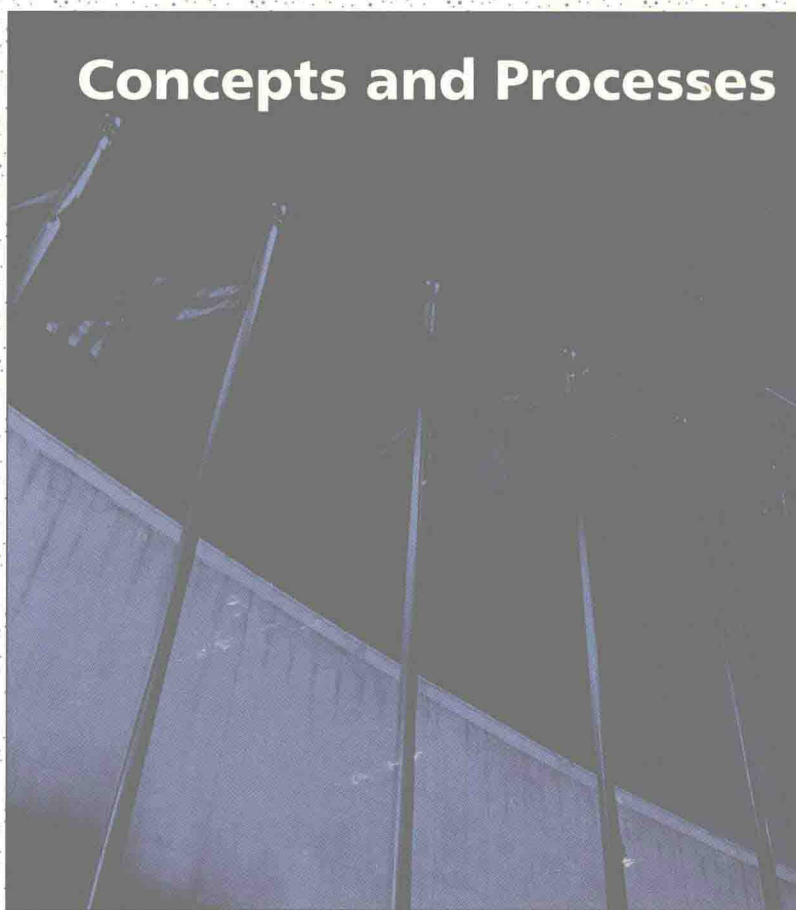




NEW HORIZONS IN
COMPARATIVE POLITICS

Introduction to Comparative Politics

Concepts and Processes



HOWARD J. WIARDA



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COMPARATIVE POLITICS

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Introduction to Comparative Politics



Preface



The field of Comparative Politics, one of the main subfields in Political Science, has gone through some ups, downs, and then ups again in recent decades. During the 1960s Comparative Politics was probably the most exciting and innovative field in the Political Science discipline; but in the 1970s, like the rest of the country, Comparative Politics went into the doldrums. It was afflicted with “malaise” (Jimmy Carter’s term for those times), just as were many of our social, political, and economic institutions.

But since then the field has recovered; Comparative Politics is again one of the most exciting fields in Political Science. There are new and stimulating research terrains such as Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, innovative approaches and methodologies such as corporatism and dependency theory, and fascinating new themes and subject areas such as the transition to democracy in many parts of the world. The field no longer has one single dominant methodology and approach as it had in the 1960s but a variety of approaches and modes of analysis that must now be woven together. Most of us who work in Comparative Politics find these developments healthy, intoxicating, and useful — even while the greater diversity and pluralism of the field make our research and writing more complicated. In an earlier, edited anthology, now updated and available in a second edition,¹ I tried to explain these ups and downs in the field and the reasons for them, and also to provide a critical overview of both the older and the newer approaches.

But we still lack an integrated introductory volume that truly *introduces* students to the field, traces the history of Comparative Politics, assesses the newer approaches to the field in sequential and systematic fashion, and takes account of such new phenomena as the collapse or unraveling of various

¹*New Directions in Comparative Politics*, rev. ed. (Boulder, Col.: Westview Press, 1991).

Marxist–Leninist regimes, the future of the already developed nations, the changed position of the so-called Third World in the present circumstances, and the triumph of democratic, open market societies. These new trends *cry out* for an integrated, updated, readable, challenging and provocative volume that assesses the past of Comparative Politics, while also analyzing and making room for the newer approaches, and surveying the field in its entirety as a coherent whole.

My experience as a teacher has been that while students are often very interested in the diverse countries, regions, and themes that Comparative Politics studies, they do not know how to get a handle on the subject, where to begin, or how to develop a good idea for a term paper and carry it through. This book tries to provide honest and level-headed answers to the questions students raise. Given their interest in the subject, they need some guidance in how to proceed, how to think comparatively, how to use such devices as models to good effect, how to write a well-thought-out paper or thesis, how to bring the main concepts in the field to bear on their reading and research on individual countries, issues, or areas.

Those are some of the things that this book provides. It is meant to introduce new students to the field, although it is hoped more advanced students will use it as well. It is specifically designed for an introductory course in Comparative Politics—to be used *before* the student plunges into a country-by-country comparison or in conjunction with that effort. But it is also designed for junior/senior-level courses on Africa, Latin America, Asia, Europe, or the Middle East—courses for which the instructor *wishes* the students had had the introductory Comparative Politics course but, unfortunately, they did not and are at something of a loss. What these students need is a good, short, readable introductory text to bring them quickly up to speed on the main methods, theories, and approaches in the field before beginning the courses in more advanced regional specializations. Graduate students who are deficient in any of these areas should probably read this text as well.

This book is designed to get students at all levels interested in Comparative Politics. It is not a dry, technical, or methodological treatise—although most of the main methodological issues in the field are discussed. Nor is it arcane and highly theoretical—although all the main theories in Comparative Politics are set forth here. Rather, the book explores in a provocative and challenging way what Comparative Politics is all about. It is practical, down-to-earth, and focused on the nuts and bolts. It is aimed at explaining Comparative Politics, its global field of inquiry, and showing why the discipline is so stimulating and interesting. It addresses all the important topics in the field, contains important suggestions for research studies, and assesses where the field has been, where it is now, and where it is going. These issues are discussed in a straightforward, narrative style where we tell the story of

Comparative Politics, raise many questions about the future of the world and the nations in it, and examine not just how but what to compare.

One of the most interesting developments of the 1980s was the collapse of both authoritarian and Marxist–Leninist regimes in various areas of the globe. Previously, Comparative Politics had had three main types of political regimes to compare and assess: authoritarianism, Marxism–Leninism, and democracy. But with the decline and, in some cases, disintegration of the other two, democracy has emerged as overwhelmingly triumphant in the world. This author has a decided bias in favor of democracy that is apparent at various points in the book. At the same time, however, we need to explore carefully how and why these other systems — authoritarianism and Marxism–Leninism — collapsed; we also need to trace the difficult transition to democracy from these other kinds of regimes, as well as the varied, alternative forms that democracy may take.

This volume can stand on its own as an introductory text in a variety of courses, but it also serves as the introductory book in a new Comparative Politics series that was launched by Brooks/Cole Publishing Company and that will continue to be published by Wadsworth, and for which I serve as General Series Editor. Our plans are to publish a variety of kinds of studies in the series but also to retain its qualities as an integrated series. We plan to publish single-country studies, comparative studies, regional and area studies, thematic studies, and broad overviews. We intend to make these studies lively and readable, to commission books from the foremost scholars in the field, to limit their length so that they are appropriate for classroom use, and, quite frankly, to produce better, more up-to-date, and more accessible volumes than are available through any other series. The series is specifically designed for classroom use, but we hope to make the books sufficiently exciting and innovative that scholars will find them of interest as well.

Special thanks and acknowledgment are due to Brooks/Cole's Political Science editor, Cindy Stormer, with whom the concepts for this series were developed and with whom it has been a pleasure to work. Bill Roberts, president of Brooks/Cole, was kind enough to spend long hours and enjoyable lunches on the Monterey Peninsula explaining to me the intricacies of publishing in today's world; Cat Collins was very helpful as our editorial associate. As Brooks/Cole's Political Science list was merged into the Wadsworth Publishing Company list, Kris Clerkin and Angela Mann helped bridge the transition. Thanks particularly in the preparation of this volume also go to Dr. Iêda Siqueira Wiarda, another Political Scientist and Comparative Politics specialist, who has long served as my first reader and has offered numerous comments on this and other books. In her capacity as Luso-Brazil Specialist in the Hispanic Division of the Library of Congress, she has checked to find the LOC computer listing thirty-six titles under my name; and to my great benefit, she has read and commented on them all.

Robert H. Cox, University of Oklahoma; Rodolfo de la Garza, University of Texas at Austin; Michael Kryzanek, Bridgewater State College; Stephen Pelletier, College of the Holy Cross, and Larman C. Wilson, American University, also offered useful comments on earlier versions of the book. My undergraduate and graduate students in Cambridge and Washington, and at the University of Massachusetts in Amherst, have also helped me think through these issues, explore their ramifications, and expand my understanding. Ms. Irina Schwerzmann has served as an outstanding typist and secretary. The interpretations and assessments offered, however, are my responsibility alone.

HOWARD J. WIARDA
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About the Author



Howard J. Wiarda is Professor of Political Science at the University of Massachusetts/Amherst, Professor of National Security Policy at the National Defense University in Washington, D.C., and a Fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) in Washington, D.C. A long-time associate of the Center for International Affairs at Harvard University, Professor Wiarda was also editor of the Political Science journal *Polity* and was director of Latin American studies programs in Amherst and Washington. Professor Wiarda has been a visiting professor at MIT and George Washington University, has worked in several Washington think tanks, and has lectured extensively at universities in Europe, the United States, Russia, Japan, Israel, and Latin America. He was lead consultant to the National Bipartisan (Kissinger) Commission on Central America, served by nomination of the President of the United States on several White House task forces and advisory panels, and has been a consultant to various foreign-policy-making agencies of the U.S. government. Professor Wiarda is best known for his writings and edited volumes on Latin America, Southern Europe, and comparative and foreign policy studies, including *New Directions in Comparative Politics*, *Politics in Iberia: The Political Systems of Spain and Portugal*, *Latin American Politics and Development*, and *Foreign Policy without Illusion: How Foreign Policy Works and Doesn't Work in the United States*.

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1 ♦ What Is Comparative Politics?

Comparative Politics is a very rich field. It is especially rich because its range of inquiry, its laboratory — really a living, dynamic laboratory — is *all* the world's political systems. As of this writing, this includes some 171 independent countries plus assorted territories, colonies, and other entities.

The majority of these countries are listed in the accompanying Table 1.1, "Basic Indicators for the World's Countries." This table provides basic information on the population of each country, its geographic size, its average per capita (per person) income in a given year (1986) as well as its *rate* of growth per year over the preceding twenty years, its average annual rate of inflation, and its average life expectancy at birth. The table is fascinating to study because it enables one to place one's own country in comparative context, to locate other favorite countries or those in which one is particularly interested, and to see the broad patterns of similarities and differences that exist between countries. (Table 1.2 shows the basic indicators for countries with populations of less than a million.)

Note that the table is arranged starting with the poorest or least developed countries and ranging up to the richest or most developed

(text continues on page 9)

Table 1 ♦ 1 Basic Indicators for the World's Countries

	Population, mid-1986 (millions)	Area (thousands of km ²)	(Per Capita GNP, 1986 (dollars)*	Average Annual Growth Rate, 1965-86 (percent)	Average Annual Rate of Inflation* (percent)		Life Expectancy at Birth, 1986 (years)
					1965-80	1980-86	
					1965-80	1980-86	
Low-income economies	2,493.0t	33,608t	270w	3.1w	4.6w	8.1w	61w
China and India	1,835.4t	12,849t	300w	3.7w	2.9w	5.3w	64w
Other low-income	657.6t	20,759t	200w	0.5w	11.3w	19.1w	52w
1 Ethiopia	43.5	1,222	120	0.0	3.4	3.4	46
2 Bhutan	1.3	47	150	—	—	—	45
3 Burkina Faso	8.1	274	150	1.3	6.2	6.3	47
4 Nepal	17.0	141	150	1.9	7.7	8.8	47
5 Bangladesh	103.2	144	160	0.4	14.9	11.2	50
6 Malawi	7.4	119	160	1.5	7.0	12.4	45
7 Zaïre	31.7	2,345	160	-2.2	24.5	54.1	52
8 Guinea-Bissau	0.9	36	170	-2.0	—	32.9	38
9 Mali	7.6	1,240	180	1.1	—	7.4	47
10 Burma	38.0	677	200	2.3	8.7	2.1	59
11 Mozambique	14.2	802	210	—	—	28.1	48
12 Gambia	0.8	11	230	0.7	8.3	10.9	43
13 Madagascar	10.6	587	230	-1.7	7.9	17.8	53
14 Uganda	15.2	236	230	-2.6	21.5	74.9	48
15 Burundi	4.8	28	240	1.8	8.4	6.4	48
16 Tanzania	23.0	945	250	-0.3	9.9	21.5	53
17 Togo	3.1	57	250	0.2	6.9	6.7	53
18 Niger	6.6	1,267	260	-2.2	7.5	6.6	44
19 Benin	4.2	113	270	0.2	7.4	8.6	50
20 Somalia	5.5	638	280	-0.3	10.3	45.4	47
21 Central African Rep.	2.7	623	290	-0.6	8.5	11.5	50
22 India	781.4	3,288	290	1.8	7.6	7.8	57

23	Rwanda	6.2	26	290	1.5	12.4	5.6	48
24	China	1,054.0	9,561	300	5.1	0.0	3.8	69
25	Kenya	21.2	583	300	1.9	7.3	9.9	57
26	Zambia	6.9	753	300	-1.7	6.4	23.3	53
27	Sierra Leone	3.8	72	310	0.2	8.0	33.5	41
28	Maldives	0.2	6	310	1.8	—	—	54
29	Sudan	22.6	2,506	320	-0.2	11.5	32.6	49
30	Comoros	0.4	2	320	0.6	—	—	56
31	Haiti	6.1	28	330	0.6	7.3	7.7	54
32	São Tomé and Príncipe	0.1	1	340	0.7	—	5.3	65
33	Pakistan	99.2	804	350	2.4	10.3	7.5	52
34	Lesotho	1.6	30	370	5.6	8.0	13.1	55
35	Ghana	13.2	239	390	-1.7	22.8	50.8	54
36	Sri Lanka	16.1	66	400	2.9	9.6	13.5	70
37	Mauritania	1.8	1,031	420	-0.3	7.7	9.9	47
38	Senegal	6.8	196	420	-0.6	6.5	9.5	47
39	<i>Afghanistan</i>	—	648	—	—	4.9	—	—
40	<i>Chad</i>	5.1	1,284	—	—	6.2	1.5	45
41	<i>Guinea</i>	6.3	246	—	—	2.9	—	42
42	<i>Kampuchea, Dem.</i>	—	181	—	—	—	—	—
43	<i>Laos PDR</i>	3.7	237	—	—	—	—	50
44	<i>Vietnam</i>	63.3	330	—	—	—	—	65
Middle-income economies		1,268.0t	37,278t	1,270w	2.6w	21.0w	56.8w	63w
Lower-middle-income		691.2t	15,029t	750w	2.5w	22.3w	22.9w	59w
45	Cape Verde	0.3	4	460	—	—	16.0	65
46	Liberia	2.3	111	460	-1.4	6.3	1.1	54
47	Yemen, PDR	2.2	333	470	—	—	4.8	50
48	Indonesia	166.4	1,919	490	4.6	34.3	8.9	57
49	Guayana	0.8	215	500	-2.0	8.1	10.2	66
50	Solomon Islands	0.3	28	530	—	—	6.9	58
51	Yemen Arab Rep.	8.2	195	550	4.7	—	13.1	46
52	Philippines	57.3	300	560	1.9	11.7	18.2	63