## Contents

### Part I  Klaus von Beyme

1. **Walking on Two Legs** ........................................ 3  
   1.1 Personal Background ..................................... 3  
   1.2 Studies on Western Democracies ............................ 5  
   1.3 Studies in Communist Systems and the Transition to Democracy ... 8  
   1.4 Implications of Political Theory in the Comparative Perspective ... 11  
   1.5 Conclusion ............................................. 12  
   References .................................................. 15

2. **The Author’s Major Publications** .............................. 19  
   2.1 Authored Books ......................................... 19  
   2.2 Edited and Co-edited Books in English ....................... 21  
   2.3 Articles in English ....................................... 22

### Part II  Key Texts by Klaus von Beyme on Comparative Politics

3. **Empirical Political Theory** ................................. 31  
   3.1 A Chronology of Shifting Paradigms ........................ 32  
   3.2 The Geography of Paradigm Shifts .......................... 34  
   3.3 Theory and Method: Levels of Theoretical Analysis ............. 34  
   3.4 Political Trends and Their Impact on Theory-Building in the 1990s ............................................. 37  
   References .................................................. 39

4. **The Evolution of Comparative Politics** ........................ 41  
   4.1 Introduction ............................................ 41  
   4.2 Comparisons in Pre-modern Times .......................... 42  
   4.3 Comparisons in the Work of Thinkers in Classical Modernity .... 44  
      4.3.1 Scientific Comparison as Controlled Experiment ........ 44  
      4.3.2 Typologies and Classifications, The First Step to Comparison ............. 48
4.3.3 Typologies in Comparative Social Sciences .......................... 49
4.3.4 Matrix: Institutional Mix for the Mitigation
of Territorial Conflicts ........................................ 50
4.3.5 From the Comparisons of ‘Polities’
and ‘Politics’ to Comparisons of ‘Policies’ ................. 50
4.4 Comparison in Post-modern Theories ....................... 53
4.5 Conclusions: Political Influences on the Evolution
of Comparative Politics ........................................ 54
References .................................................. 57

5 Neglected Functions of Normative Political
Theory in Empirical Research ................................. 59
5.1 Political Reasons for the Decline and Resurrection
of Normative Political Theories ............................ 59
5.2 The ‘Rapprochement’ Between Normative Theory
and Empirical Research ....................................... 61
5.3 The Normative Duplication of Social and Political Reality .... 66
5.4 Conclusion .............................................. 70
References .................................................. 71

6 Theodor W. Adorno: Political Theory as Theory of Aesthetics .. 73
6.1 Introduction ............................................ 73
6.2 Studies in Fascism ...................................... 75
6.3 Political Theory as Theory of Aesthetics .................... 77
6.4 Philosophical Work on ‘Negative Dialects’ ................... 80
6.5 A Vision of Good Society? ................................ 82
References .................................................. 84

7 Historical Forerunners of Policy Analysis ...................... 87
7.1 Introduction ............................................ 87
7.2 The Discovery of Policy and the Heritage of Aristotle ....... 88
7.3 ‘Reason of State’ and ‘Sovereignty’ as New Concepts
in Political Theory .............................................. 89
7.4 The Special German Development
of a Polizei-Staat (State of Police) ........................... 90
7.5 Development and Traditions of Polizeiwissenschaft ........... 90
7.6 The Decline of the Tradition of Polizeiwissenschaft ......... 92
7.7 Conclusions ............................................. 94
References .................................................. 95

8 Political Institutions: Old and New .................... 97
8.1 From Old to New Institutions ................................ 97
8.2 The Evolution of Theories of Institutions .................. 100
8.2.1 Theories and Methodological
Approaches to Institutions ................................. 100
8.2.2 National Traditions and Transnational Diffusion of Institutions and Theories About Institutions .... 103
8.2.3 Institutional Crises and the Para-theories of Institutions .................................. 104
8.3 Conclusion: Personal Academic Experiences and Prospects for Institutional Studies ...................... 106
References ................................................................................................................. 109

9 Representative Democracy and the Populist Temptation .......... 111
9.1 Introduction .......................................... 111
9.2 Historical and Contemporary Forms of ‘Defective’ Representative Democracies .................. 113
  9.2.1 Historical Forms ................................ 113
  9.2.2 Terminological Chaos Revisited: Typologies of Representative Democracies ........... 113
  9.2.3 Contemporary Forms of Defective Representative Democracies ...................... 117
9.3 Neo-normative Models of Representative Democracies .......... 119
9.4 Populism as Challenge to Representative Democracy .......... 121
References ................................................................................................................. 128

10 Political Scientists as Advisors to Politicians .................... 131
10.1 Scholars as Political Advisors: My Personal Experience ........ 131
10.2 The Place of Scientific Advice in the Decision-making System .................. 136
10.3 The Predicament of Policy Advisors: Incomplete Knowledge in Transformation Processes .... 140
10.4 Conclusions: The Future of Policy Advice in Democracies .... 142
References ................................................................................................................. 144

11 The Concept of Political Class: A New Dimension of Research on Elites? ................................. 145
11.1 Introduction .......................................... 145
11.2 Empirical Evidence for the Existence of a Political Class ........ 150
  11.2.1 Social Homogenisation ....................... 151
  11.2.2 Political Class: What It Does: Tendencies of Separation from the Non-Elites .... 154
11.3 Conclusion ........................................... 158
References ................................................................................................................. 161

About the Author .................................................. 163

About the Book .................................................. 165