

## Gov 97 Week 9: Future of Democracy

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### (1) Recap

- We've looked at the relationship between political and economic institutions from several angles
  - Within a state: capitalism and democracy
  - Across states: economic development and democracy
  - Economic conditions as determinants of political stability and change
- Marshall: citizenship in the 20c combines political rights, civil rights and social rights
  - But these elements can come apart, can be in tension

Economy → polity	Polity → economy	Political actors
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Friedman: civil rights as necc for political rights</li> <li>• Lipset: economic development produces economic and social changes necc/conducive to democracy</li> <li>• Fish: oil has detrimental effects on democracy</li> <li>• Brownlee et al: oil has detrimental effects on democracy</li> <li>• Ziblatt: socioeconomic conditions have an effect on how well political institutions function</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A&amp;R: the type of political institutions determine the type of economic institutions (unclear), which determine the type of economic devt</li> <li>• Bates: democratic political institutions produce economic policies which benefit the majority (e.g. farmers in Nigeria)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lindblom: business groups can challenge the government's control of economic policy</li> <li>• Streeck: economic policy the result of distributional conflicts</li> <li>• McFaul: the outcome of regime change depends on who wins</li> <li>• Rustow: democracy emerges from a negotiated transition (?)</li> </ul>

- Note: two general conceptions of democracy
  - As check on executive power (Friedman, A&R, Fish)
  - As majoritarian control (Bates?, Lipset, Brownlee et al?)
    - Though this can be complicated, e.g. Lindblom, Streeck

### (2) Russia and China (McFaul & SW, Holmes, Perry)

- What are the democratic elements in these systems?
  - Russia: multi-party system, elections, proportional representation
  - China: govt responsive to public opinion, village elections, petitions and protests
  - Q: what is needed for democracy – formal institutions, political contestation, free media/speech
- What are the non-democratic elements in these systems?
  - Russia: intimidation of opposition parties, control of media, direct appointment of regional governors
  - China: intimidation of opposition members, one-party state, crackdown on media/censorship
- For Russia → What went wrong?
  - McFaul & SW: Putin was authoritarian
  - Holmes: Putin was corrupt

- Fish: oil → corruption → less democracy
- Institutionalist vs modernization approach
- For China → Is there a Chinese model? Can there be economic and social rights without political rights? Can we delink democracy from capitalism?
  - Perry: a different way of conceptualizing state-society relations: (1) basic right to subsistence; (2) petitions and protests as a mode of political activity (cf. Walzer on non-deliberative political activity)
  - Could responsiveness fulfil some of the functions of democracy – a government for the people, even if not by the people?
  - Of course, China is corrupt – going through some high-profile corruption cases – Bo Xilai, Zhou Yongkang. *The Economist*: the 50 richest people in the National People’s Congress are worth ~\$95 billion, 60x as much as the 50 richest members of America’s Congress.
    - China’s GDP per capita (PPP): \$9800 (2013 est).
    - US GDP per capita (PPP): \$52800 (2013 est – that’s 5.4x higher than China’s).
    - Russia’s GDP per cap: \$18100 (2013 est)
    - Russia grew 3.4% in real terms in 2012, and 1.3% in real terms in 2013.
- What is the function of elections in these states?
  - E.g. provides information, legitimizes the government, simulates “managed democracy” (Holmes – more to simulate management than democracy)
- Is nationalism an anti-democratic force?
- Should Russia and China be democratic?

(3) Activity: pick your policy

Sent in advance:

For this week, we'll be focusing on the two articles on Russia (McFaul and Stoner-Weiss, and Holmes) and the article on China (Perry).

1. Russia: What went wrong with the democratic transition in Russia? Consider the two models proposed in the articles: Russia as an authoritarian state (McFaul and Stoner-Weiss) vs Russia as a personalistic dictatorship of some kind/a kleptocratic state (Holmes). Was it a problem with institutions - a failure of institutions, or of institutionalization? With the economy? (Compare Fish on the relation of oil and democracy.)

2. China: Consider two points in the Perry article: an alternative conception of legitimacy (that is, alternative to democratic legitimacy) and an alternative mode of political activity (protests and petitions instead of elections). Are they persuasive to you? Is there a "Chinese model" - a way of getting economic growth without democracy - and without excessive reliance on natural resources?

3. Is nationalism an anti-democratic force? This was a point brought up in the lecture in relation to both Russia and China.

4. What role do elections play in non-democratic countries? Why do one-party states have elections?

And as a reward for reading this far: Putin action-man [pictures](#), as a nice illustration of the Holmes reading. Also [Putin 2012 campaign videos](#).

## Policy Pick-n-Mix: Egypt

**You are an IMF official considering an aid package for Egypt. What policies would you recommend to Egypt as part of the aid package? (These can be conditions for aid, or just recommendations made to the Egyptian government.)**

### Political recap:

2005: Mubarak elected for a fifth consecutive term, promises democratic and constitutional reforms in response to anti-government demonstrations.

2006-8: Increase in the number of arrests of Muslim Brotherhood members, the main opposition party. Arrests of independent and opposition journalists.

Feb 2011: Mubarak resigns from the presidency and hands power to the army council, after anti-government demonstrations in Tahrir Square.

2012: Islamists win the most seats in parliamentary elections, and the Muslim Brotherhood candidate Mohammed Morsi wins the presidential election in mid-2012.

2012-3: The Islamists consolidate power: the new cabinet excludes secular and liberal members of parliament; Morsi issued a decree stripping the judiciary of the right to challenge his authority (though he rescinded this after popular protests); the new constitution boosts the role of Islam and restricts freedom of speech and assembly.

Jul 2013: Morsi is removed from power by the military, following violent protests. Clashes between security forces and pro-Morsi supporters. The new government introduces a law restricting public protests, declares the Muslim Brotherhood a terrorist group.

Jan 2014: A new constitution bans parties based on religion. Protests and demonstrations have continued all this while. New elections are slated for May.

### Economic impact:

The 2011 uprising wasn't just over political and constitutional reforms, but also economic needs – because of high poverty and near-poverty rates (affecting about 50% of the population), high unemployment (over 13%) and especially youth unemployment (over 25%), and high inflation (over 11%). The demands of Tahrir Square were for “bread, freedom and social justice”.

Political instability has affected tourism and investment, two main sources of economic growth for Egypt. The Egyptian economy grew 1.8% in 2013, compared to 5.1% in 2010.

According to the Heritage Institute, economic freedoms in Egypt have eroded since 2010, particularly in investment freedom property rights, and freedom from corruption. Corruption is pervasive at all levels of government. The rule of law is unstable, and judicial independence not firmly institutionalized. Judicial procedures tend to be protracted, costly, and subject to political pressures. Property rights are not effectively protected.

Morsi was initially working with the IMF on an aid package to stimulate economic growth, but turned it down because it was conditional on Egypt reducing energy subsidies, trimming the state bureaucracy, raising taxes and instituting a more progressive income tax, and investing in infrastructure. The IMF terms were very unpopular in Egypt. Currently, Egypt spends 25% of its budget on public-sector salaries, and 50% on debt service and subsidies for food and energy.

**Policies: pick three in order of priority. You can also pick policies not listed below.**

- 1) Focus on restoring political stability, even if that means allowing the army to remain in power and to exercise its authority over the protesters. Elections can be held after political stability is restored.
- 2) Hold free and fair elections as quickly as possible.
- 3) Move from a system of proportional representation to a winner-take-all system for parliamentary elections, to strengthen the government.
- 4) Restore political rights, e.g. the right of free speech and free assembly, the right of public protest.
- 5) Lift the ban on religious parties.
- 6) Ensure that that ban on religious parties remains in place; introducing religion into the government, public policy or the law will hinder democratization.
- 7) Remove the army from political power and from the economy as quickly as possible. (The army's business activities have expanded since 2011 – from the manufacture of bottled water and furniture to larger infrastructure, energy and technology projects.)
- 8) Focus on reducing corruption in all levels of government, including the army.
- 9) Focus on strengthening the rule of law and judicial independence. This would make property rights more secure.
- 10) Focus on reducing food and energy subsidies, increasing liberalization and competition in all sectors of the economy, investing in infrastructure, and attracting investment.
- 11) Focus on creating jobs and lowering the poverty rate. Reducing public-sector salaries and subsidies can come later, after economic growth picks up.
- 12) Focus on strengthening social safety nets – e.g. improving access to health care and housing.
- 13) Focus on education – on increasing enrolment in schools and universities, on teaching democratic (and secular?) values to students.