

# **Modernisation, Authoritarianism, and Democracy: The Enigmatic Triangle?**

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# Alicia Bárcena:

- No la época de cambios sino el cambio de épocas

# What is modernisation?

- “...modernization is like the elephant, difficult to define but easy to recognize when one sees the beast.”
- (Goh Keng Swee. The Economics of Modernization. Singapore: Federal Publications, 1995 (1-st. ed. – 1972), p. 1).



# Modernisation -

- as the social-historical movement towards the level of economy, social relationships and political system, which were attained in the most technically, economically and socially advanced countries of Western Europe and North America in the mid-XX century and onward.

**Samuel Huntington,  
“Political Order in Changing Societies” ,  
New Haven, London: Yale Univ. Press,  
1968, p. 35:**

- “political modernisation” ≠  
“political accompaniment” to  
modernisation**

# Political authoritarianism:

- a domination of the executive authorities over the legislature
- any opposition activity is suppressed or, at best, restricted
- the executive authorities “recognise”, to more or less degree, a right of people for privacy if it does not exceed boundaries of political loyalty

# Types of authoritarian regimes

- - traditional authoritarianism;
- - neo-traditional authoritarianism;
- - authoritarianism of/for development;
- - post-neo-traditional authoritarianism

# Traditional authoritarianism

## Social-economic base

- - Agrarian economy with the patrimonial relationships (relationships of personal dependency), outward-looking and subjugated to the world market;
- - Peripheral position in the world system in quality of the raw materials/ commodities supplier

## Character features

- - Personalised power (“sultanistic regime”);
- - A lack of institutions or sham character of them;
- - Suppression of any opposition to authorities;
- - Violence as the main principle of rule;
- - Blockade of any development , except one aimed at enrichment of the ruler and his closest circle



# Neo-traditional authoritarianism

## Social-economic base

- - Disintegration of the old system based upon traditional agrarian production;
- - Outward-looking but backward economy, dependency on subjugation to the centre of the world-system;
- - Linkage to the Fordist-Keynesian modernisation in the core countries

## Character features

- - Personalised power (“sultanistic regime”);
- - A lack of institutions or sham character of them;
- - Suppression of any opposition to authorities;
- - Violence as the main principle of rule;
- - “Economisation” of the state power, appropriation (illegal, in particular) of the assets owned by “disliked” entrepreneurs

## **Authoritarianism of development – 1 (the developmental populism - el populismo desarrollista)**

### **Social-economic base**

- - The collapse of dependent development model (1929-33) and insistent necessity of industrialisation for the sake of survival;
- - ISI and the developmental state, the national industrial bourgeoisie and the urban middle class together with the working class;
- - the compromise with the traditional structures (traditional export and industrial import)

### **Character features**

- - The direct communication between people and leader (J.D. Perón);
- - the social compromise and active redistributionist policy;
- - institutionalisation subordinated to the system of personal power;
- - the nationalistic rhetoric, demonstrative anti-Westernism in combination with anti-communism, restriction (but not complete oppression) of opposition

# Military-bureaucratic authoritarianism

## Social-economic base

- - The crisis of ISI and the start of associated-dependent development;
- - The alliance of TNCs, the military top and civil bureaucracy with support of the middle classes;
- - The attempt to implement the mass consumption society in combination with the elitist modernisation (for advantage of the upper and upper-middle classes)

## Character features

- - The oppression of opposition, dismantlement of the institutions inherited from the period of populism;
- - The institutionalisation according to the regime's goals;
- - The doctrine of national security for legitimisation of the established regime;
- - The consciously directed destruction of all forms of solidarity, atomisation of individuals

# Chile: the costs of modernisation -1 –



- Santiago de Chile, calle Londres, 38 – “La Casa de torturas”



## Chile: the costs of modernisation -2



- Santiago de Chile, calle Londres, 38 – La tabela memorial



## Chile: the costs of modernisation -3



- Santiago de Chile, calle Londres, 38 – El nombre de una muchacha asesinada aquí

# Authoritarianism of development - 2

## Social-economic base

- - The alliance of foreign capital and local bureaucracy (+ army in the cases of South Korea, Taiwan, and Indonesia);
- - the local entrepreneurs who needed in the state protection;
- - while modernisation evolved, the new middle class grew

## Character features

- - Oppression of all opposition that resisted to modernisation;
- - Institutionalisation and the strong legal system (“dragon laws” as the laws!);
- - mass education and inclusion of the large masses into development (school teacher more important than policeman)

# Post-neo-traditional authoritarianism

## Social-economic base

- - Unaccomplished modernisation and disintegration of modernity (modernisation for the narrow top strata);
- - Unity of power and property, privatisation of the state, power as the main resource;
- - Voluntary subjugation of the ruling groups to the centre of the world-system

## Character features

- - Personalised power (“sultanistic regime”);
- - A lack of institutions or sham character of them;
- - Suppression of any opposition to authorities;
- - Violence as the main principle of rule;
- - “Economisation” of the state power, appropriation (illegal, in particular) of the assets owned by “disliked” entrepreneurs



# The system of bureaucratic capitalism

- **The principal features:**

- - a unity of power and property,
- - engagement of officials into business, directly or through relatives, cronies, etc.
- - administrative/ political power as the main resource

- **The historical “motherland”:** – Shanci province in China, the 1920s-30s, where the military ruler, general Yen His-shan, created this system;

- **The typical cases:**

- - Indonesia
- - some Arab countries



# The portrait of the Russian ruling class

Senhor Gato Gatuno





...and his political leader

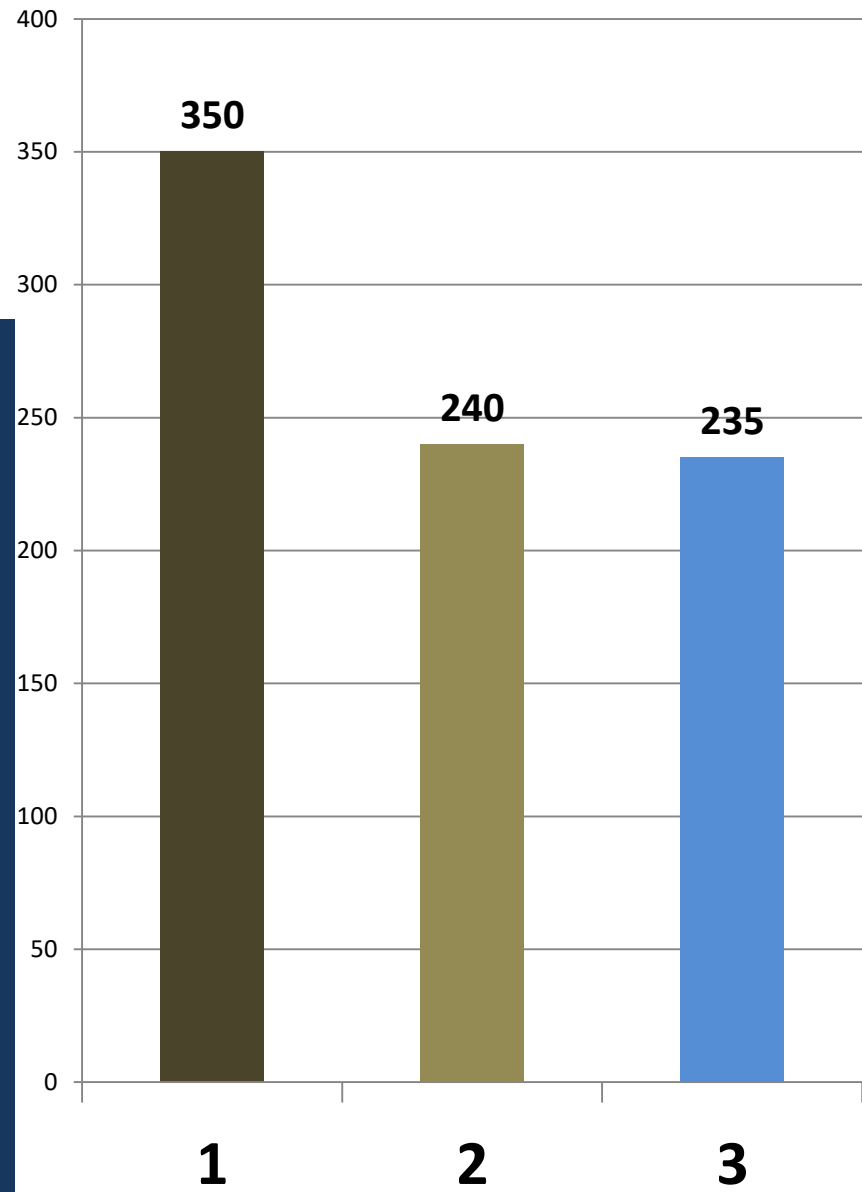


# **The annual volume of corruption in Russia, 2009-2010, billions US\$**

**1 – Estimations made by non-state experts**

**2 – Estimations made by Mr. Alexander Bucksman, the first deputy of the General Prosecutor of the Russian Federation**

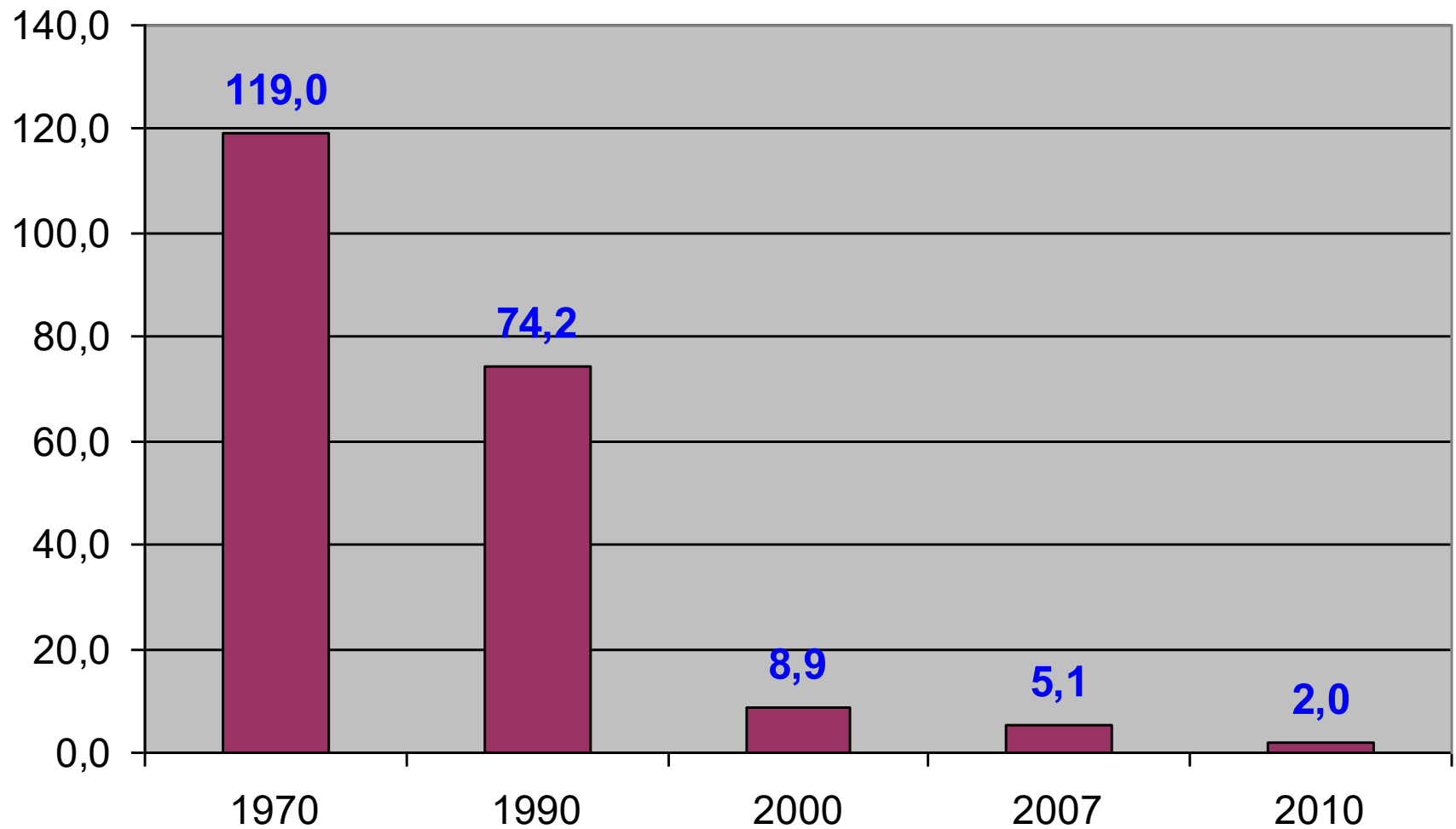
**3 – The incomes of the Russian Federal budget, 2010**



# Some indicators of social development – Algunos indicadores del desarrollo social

	Life expectancy at birth – La esperanza de vida al nacer, 2012	Public expenditures for health/Gastos públicos para salud, %% GDP/PIB, 2010
<b>France</b>	<b>81.7</b>	<b>9.3</b>
<b>Brazil/Brasil</b>	<b>73.8</b>	<b>4.2</b>
<b>Honduras</b>	<b>73.4</b>	<b>4.4</b>
<b>Guatemala</b>	<b>71.4</b>	<b>2.5</b>
<b>Russia</b>	<b>69.1</b>	<b>3.2</b>
<b>Ukraine</b>	<b>68.8</b>	<b>4.4</b>

# Output of machine-tools and equipment in Russia, thousands/year



# The “Sovereign” Democracy in operation...



- Protestas contra la guerra con Ucrania -1



# The “Sovereign” Democracy in operation...



- Protestas contra la guerra con Ucrania -2: “La guerra con Ucrania es locura” = “The war with Ukraine is desperation”



# The “Sovereign” Democracy in operation...



- Protestas contra la guerra con Ucrania -3