

# *Lecture notes for*

## **WEEK 5**

### **Democracy and its Forms**

- What is **democracy**?
- What kind of democracy?
- Democratization and the democratic process

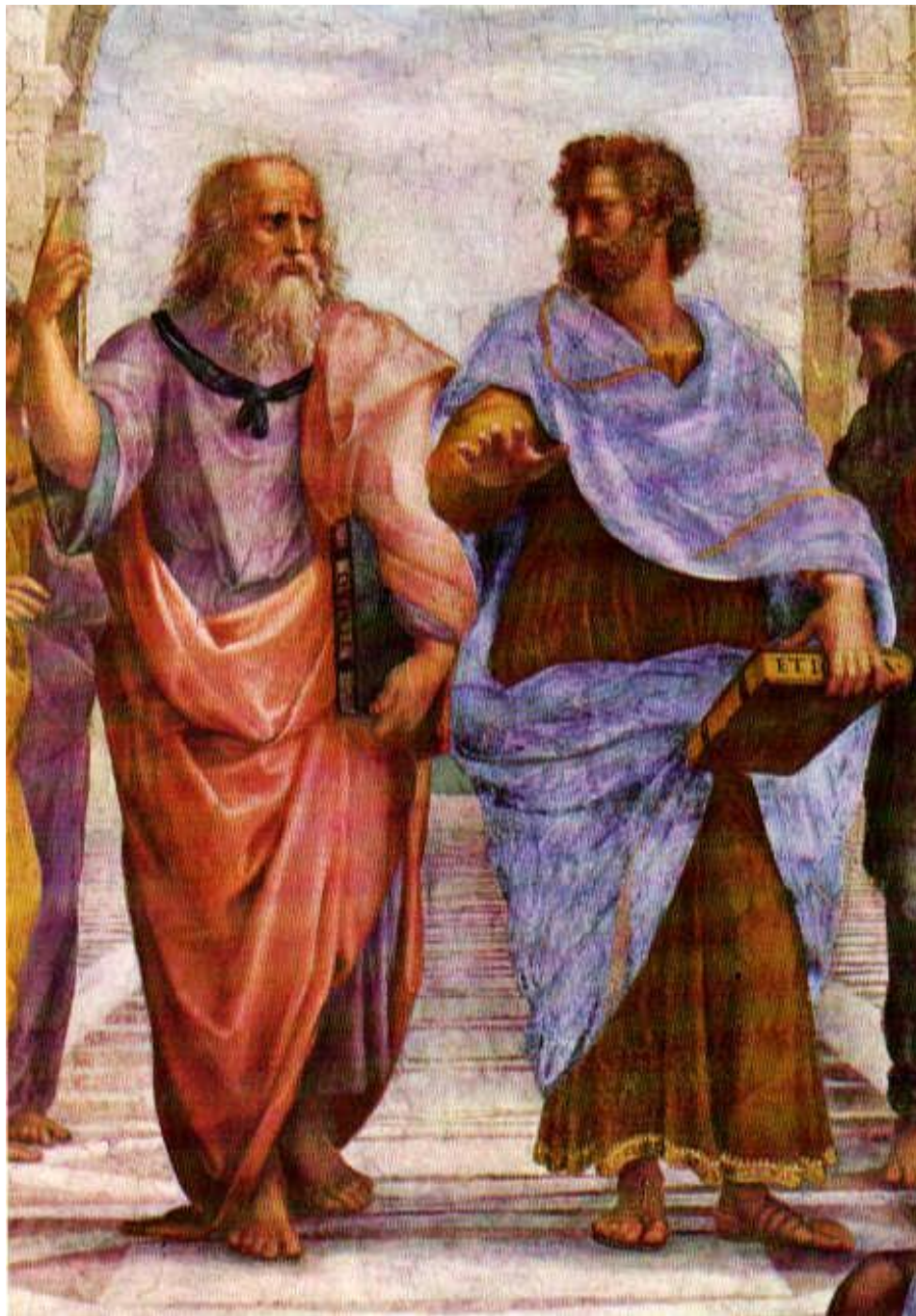
## *Democracy:*

- **What is the best political arrangement?**
- **Is it *democracy*?**
- **... What is *democracy*...?**
  - *Is it only to have elections?*
- What does it take to have a real / “good” democracy?

# *Democracy:*

- What is **democracy** ?
  - from Greek *demos* (people) + *kratos* (rule)
- ... we also need to distinguish the ancient and modern meanings of the term
- for classical Greeks, it was a system/constitution in which *demos* (the poor part of the population) exercised power in their own interest as against the interest of the rich and aristocratic
  - for them it meant what we call now “*direct democracy*”

# Plato and Aristotle



# Democracy

- Various definitions:
  - Power of the poor;
  - Society of equal opportunities;
  - Social assistance to the poor;
  - Majority rule and minority rights;
  - Elections.
- a. Lincoln: “government of people – from people – for people

## *Democracy:*

- *representative vs. direct democracy*
- **modern democracy** is
- **representative democracy**
- = a system of government based on the election of decision-makers by the people
- the former represent the latter

## *Democracy:*


- **representative** vs. **direct** democracy
  - **direct democracy** (DD)
    - in DD (or also "participatory democracy") all citizens may vote on every important governmental decision (as in the ancient Athens)
    - plebiscites, referenda are elements of DD
- = similar to Aristotle's "democracy" or "polity"

# *Democracy:*

- *A general definition of modern (representative) democracy:*
- = a political system, based on political representation in which the opportunity to participate in election of political leaders is shared among all adult citizens
- **basic elements of modern democracy:**
- political competition of parties and individuals in elections
- elections should be “fair & free”
- political equality; universal adult suffrage
- majority decision



# *Democracy:*

- *Other elements of modern democracy:*
- **multiparty system** (=more than one effective party)
- **the free media** (= no censorship)
- **freedom of speech and assembly** (=people have the right to say their opinion and form their own organizations)
- **protection of human rights and minorities**
-  modern democracy is **representative & liberal**
- and requires the rule of law (= constitutionalism)

## *Democracy – evolution:*

- *a history of modern democracy:*
- in the 2nd half of the 19th c., modern democratic process takes root in Europe
- it is only after WWI when **universal suffrage** spreads to major E-an countries
- in Germany in the 1930s, democracy turned into Nazi totalitarianism  
= an evidence of weakness of democracy...

## *Democracy – evolution (optional):*

- the *'third wave of democracy'* (Huntington)
  - - started Spain and Portugal in 1970s
    - continuing after the 'collapse of communism'
- however, some problematic or semi-democratic regimes in some Eastern European and Central Asian countries (some of them are outright non-democratic)

## *Democracy (optional):*

- *other useful terms:*
- **deliberative democracy**
  - this concept has recently been extensively explored...
- **democracy vs. 'polyarchy'** (= *Western democratic system*)

## *Democracy checklist– beyond formal democracy:*

- *Summary: a good democracy should include at least:*
- rule of law / constitutionalism
- free and fair elections
- equality before the law
- protection of minorities & of human rights
- separation of powers (institutional checks and balances)
- government responsiveness / accountability... (= no misuse /abuse of power, minimum corruption)
- real political competition & multi-party political system
- freedom of the press and other political freedoms

*Democracy – seminar question (optional):*

- What about **corruption & democracy**?

## *Seminar: Democracies vs. non-democracies:*

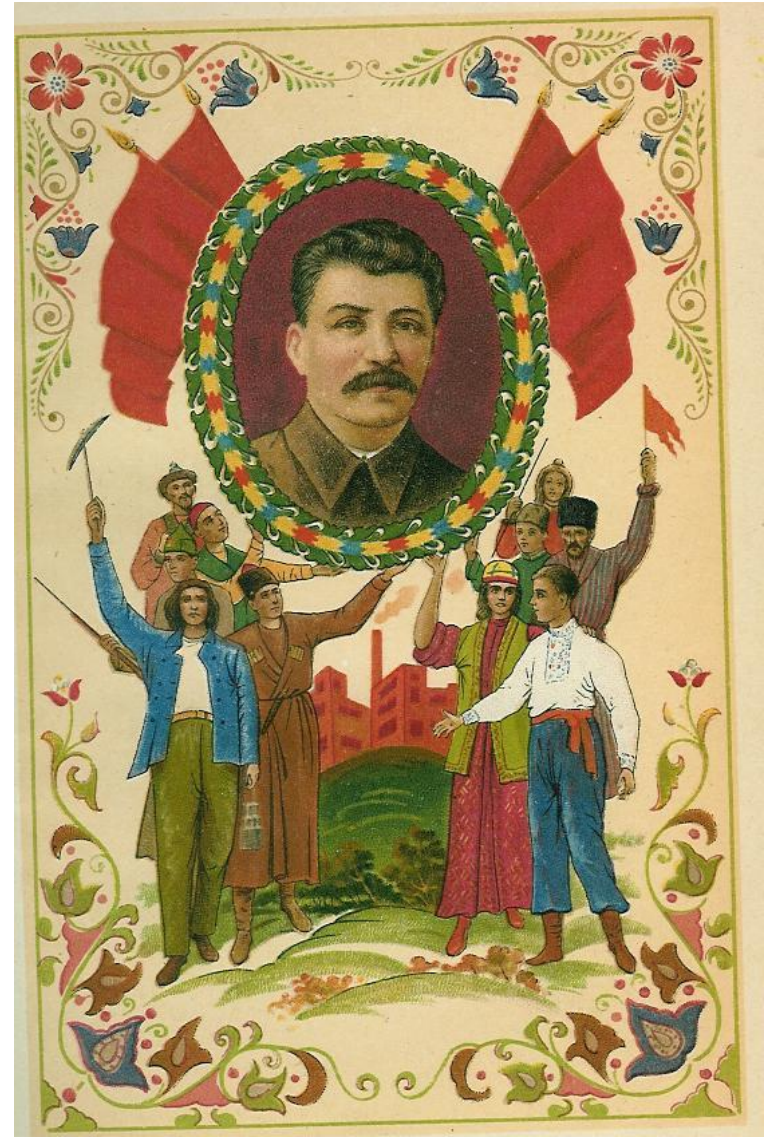
- **Typology of modern political systems / regimes**  
*(simplified):*
- **If not a democracy – so what?**
- **democratic vs. partly-democratic vs. non-democratic systems**
- *non-democratic systems:*
- **authoritarian systems, dictatorships , totalitarian systems (tyrannies)**
  - also, military regimes (Myanmar /Burma)

## *Democracy vs. totalitarianism:*

- What is a **totalitarianism / totalitarian system / regime?**



*Seminar /self-study: totalitarian regimes:*



# The structure of rule

## (1) Totalitarianism:

- Most extreme way of a dictatorship
- Seeks total external and internal control: “Everything in the state, nothing outside the state, nothing against the state” (Mussolini)
- Ideological indoctrination (e.g. mass media, mass-mobilization)
- Ideological leadership

- **Totalitarianism**

- State control
- of individuals

- Methods of
- Enforcement

- Modern
- Technology

- State Control
- of Society

- Dictatorship of
- One-Party Rule

- Dynamic Leader

- Ideology

# A Government of Total Control

## Totalitarianism, Centralized State Control

- **Totalitarianism**—government that dominates every aspect of life
- Totalitarian leader often dynamic, persuasive

## Police Terror

- Government uses police to spy on, intimidate people, use brutal force or even murder people

## Indoctrination

- Government shapes people's minds through education (use schools)



## Some statistics

25-26 million people were repressed in the Soviet Union

17 million went through GULAG

17 million were deported (and raskulacheny)

799 455 were executed on the basis of political charges

866 692 of them were executed in 1937-1938

153 000 were killed during WWII

In 1932 – The Law on three wheatears” – 5 400 were killed

## **Propaganda and Censorship**

Government controls all mass media  
(newspapers, radio)

crushes opposing views; censor info. from  
becoming public; used arts to promote views

## **Religious or Ethnic Persecution**

Leaders of various religious, ethnic minorities  
“enemies of the state” (Communists =  
atheists)

Churches were destroyed; church leaders  
were sent into exile or killed

# Stalin Builds a Totalitarian State

## Police State

- Stalin's kept tight control on the country
- Created a secret police
- police attack opponents with public force, secret actions



**Great Purge**—terror campaign against Stalin's perceived enemies (real and imaginary)

- Many were sent into exile or killed





# Stalin Seizes Control of the Economy

## New Economic System

**Command economy**—government officials makes all economic decisions

## An Industrial Revolution

**Five-Year Plans**—Stalin's plans for modernizing the economy (bottom right)  
Result: large growth in industrial power; shortage of consumer goods (clothing, housing, food)

This will secure a stronger national defense & opposition to Stalin's power

## An Agricultural Revolution

In 1928, government creates **collective farms**—large, owned by state

Peasants (kulaks) resist this change; 5–10 million die in crackdown

By 1938, agricultural production rising



## *Self-study /seminar: Former “socialist” countries:*

- **no real democracy** – elections are not free (instead: “*nomenclature*” appointments for key positions) \*)
- **no real market economy!** - (most of) the “means of production” nationalized & run by the state; = ‘centrally-planned’ economy)
- no independent political parties
- censorship; the regime & its leaders were criticized
- excesses of Stalinism + totalitarianism ended in the 1950s
  - but in some countries ‘neo-Stalinism’ occurred, with semi-totalitarian features



# Daily Life Under Stalin

## Positive Effects

### Gains at Great Cost

- People better educated, gain new skills
- Limited personal freedoms; few consumer goods

### Women Gain Rights

- Communists say women are equal to men
- Women forced to join labor force; state provides child care
- Many women receive advanced educations, become professionals
- Women suffer from demands of work, family



# Total Control Achieved

## Powerful Ruler

- By mid-1930s, Stalin has transformed Soviet Union
    - totalitarian regime; industrial, political power
- \*Stalin controls all aspects of Soviet life:
- 1) unopposed as dictator, Communist Party leader
  - 2) rules by terror instead of constitutional government
  - 3) demands conformity, obedience

# Authoritarianism:

- • Less extreme than totalitarianism (Linz 1970):
  - - Limited political pluralism
  - - Absence of a regime-guiding ideology
  - - Absence of political mass-mobilization
  - - Limited political leadership

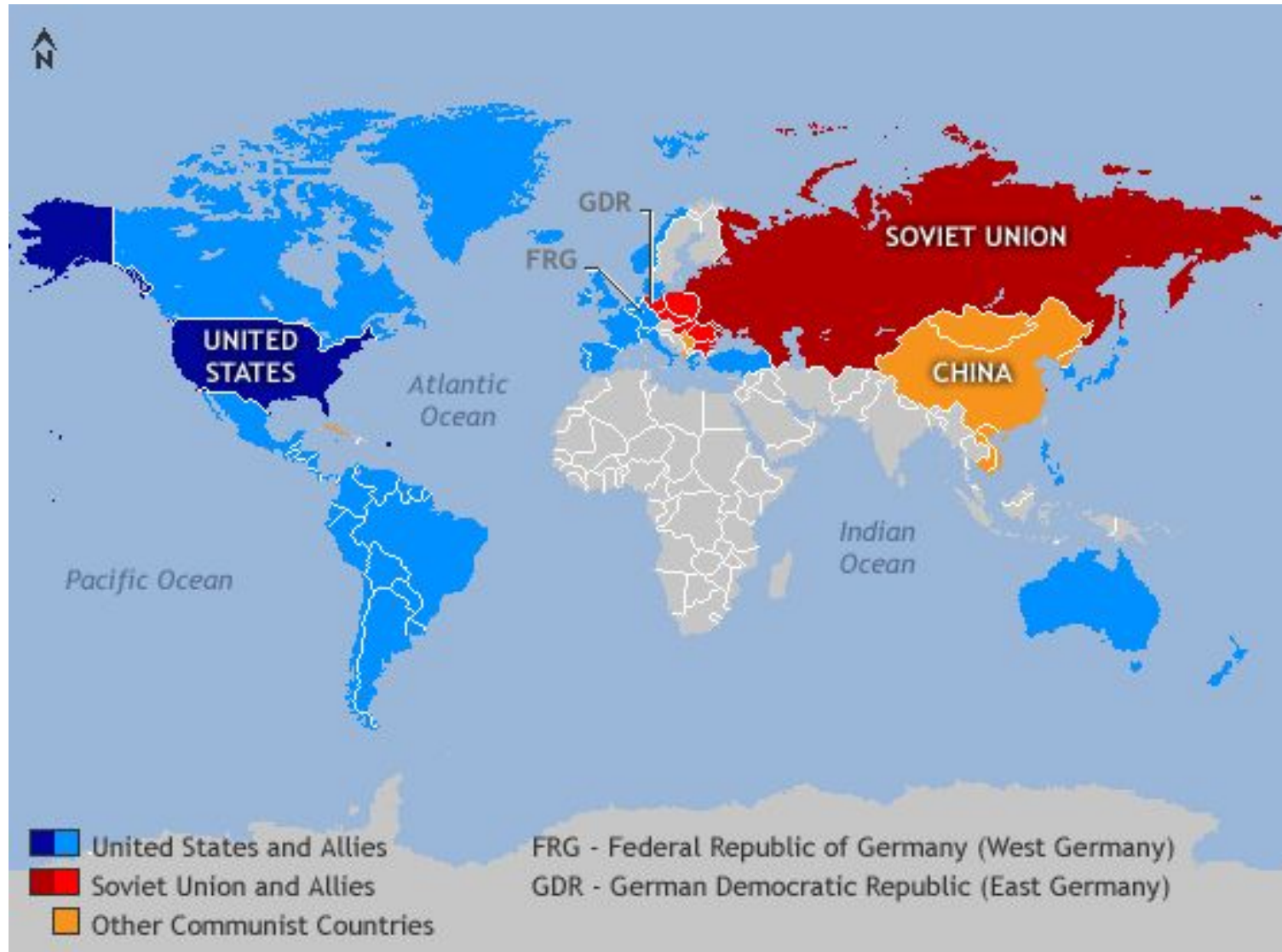
# Authoritarianism

- Exercising control:
  - • Monitoring and/or enforcing political loyalty
  - • Typical for military rule:
    - - Giving policing and judicial powers upon military
  - • Typical for one party rule:
    - - Party's Politburo as de facto government
    - - Extensive membership used to monitor and enforce policy

# Authoritarianism

- Policies:
  - Authoritarian regimes tend to implement more diverse and extreme policies than democracies
- Genocide by the Nazis
- Great Leap Forward by Mao
- Generally a higher level of intervention in economy and society

# *Seminar: Former “socialist” countries:*



## *Seminar – Democracy (optional):*

- ***Is Kazakhstan a democracy?***
- It really depends which criteria we apply...
- Most experts accept that KZ political system includes elements of representative democracy
- but the system is young, not yet fully developed
- some standard features of democracy are lacking... \*



## *Seminar – Democracy (optional):*

- ***“Corruption threatens development of our state, its economic growth, and political stability. We will conduct the most rigid and resolute struggle against it.”***
- *N. Nazarbayev*