

*Proceeding*

**Alternative Left Theories:  
Comparing Experiences from  
four countries**

**Reviewing the cases of Vietnam, Algeria,  
Mozambique and Cuba**

**Hanoi, May 2013**

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## Preface (Nadja Charaby)

Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung (RLS) started its cooperation with the University of Social Sciences and Humanities Hanoi (USSH HN) in 2002. During the first years the cooperation focused on the reform of higher education and the endeavor to strengthen analytical skills of policy makers. In 2010 the RLS and the USSH HN agreed to start a cooperation that would address more theoretical aspects relevant for the left in Germany and Vietnam. It was called "Alternative Left Theories". The idea was to create an exchange between scholars, activists, politicians and representatives of civil society that analyses the development of left movements, parties, socialist theories and other related topics in recent times and that would combine this with practical approaches and discussions. Although this endeavor has not always been an easy one it gained very positive feedback amongst Vietnamese partners and hence, the idea was born to widen the scope of analysis by comparing experiences of different countries. With the support of Dr. Jörg Wischermann (GIGA / Institute of Asian Studies) a concept note and research framework was developed that guided researchers and research teams from Germany, France, Vietnam, Algeria, and Mozambique in preparing papers for an international conference. Dr. Wischermann's concept note is included in this proceeding. The conference, held in Hanoi on 29 and 30 November 2012 with the title "Alternative Left Theory - Comparing experiences from four countries: Viet Nam, Algeria, Mozambique and Cuba", aimed at discussing conditions of a successful transformation and the role of civil society in this process. This proceeding is a selection of the papers presented during the conference.

I wish to express my thanks for the support that the RLS office in Hanoi received during the preparation and implementation of this conference. Without a trustful and supportive partnership this would not have been possible. Therefore, I would like to express my appreciation for the support we received from the USSH HN, namely Prof. Nguyen Van Khanh (Rector), Prof. Vu Cao Dam (Director of the Center for Policy Studies and Analysis – CEPSTA), Dr. Dao Thanh Truong (Vice-Director of CEPSTA). Further thanks go to Mrs. Marlies Linke (Head of the Asia Desk of RLS) who provided great help and assistance during the preparation as well as to Mrs. Sara Poma Poma (Project Manager Southeast Asia of RLS) who coordinated the logistical requirements for the German participants. Great appreciation belongs to the support and expertise that was provided by Dr. Jörg Wischermann whose initiative and stamina contributed to the successful completion of the event and this proceeding. Without the help of my own team here in Hanoi nothing would have run smoothly. Mr. Nguyen Van Tung (Project Manager of RLS Vietnam) managed tactfully and professionally communication, advised my decision-making and coordinated the implementation on behalf of RLS. Ms. Nguyen Thi Trinh (Office Manager of RLS Vietnam) arranged all required logistics for the international participants. Mr. Dinh Hoang Hai (Junior Project Manager of RLS Vietnam) assisted in taking care of our guests. Last but not least, I wish to express my appreciation towards the participants of the conference who provided their expertise and experience, who travelled from far distances and different places to Hanoi, who discussed with us openly and inspiringly the issues raised during the event and at the end even found time to revise their papers for this proceeding. Namely these are: Prof. AHCÈNE Amarouche, Prof. Dr. Michael Brie, Carlos Cuinhane in cooperation with Prof. Samuel Quive, Dr. Marie Laure Geoffray, Dr. Bert Hoffmann, Prof. Larbi Icheboudene, Dr. Larbi Mehdi, Prof. Siegmund Schmidt, Prof. Dang Ngoc Dinh and Hoang Giang Dang, Prof. Le Ngoc Hung, Dr. Dao Thanh Truong, Nguyen Thi Hien and Bui Thi Phuong.

## Introduction

### Concept Note for an International Conference and a Basic Framework for Analysis for paper presenters (Dr. Joerg Wischermann)

#### 1. Background

In September 1989 in Poland a non-communist government, the first of its kind in the former Eastern Bloc, was sworn into office. In October 1989 the Hungarian parliament adopted legislation providing for multi-party parliamentary elections and a direct presidential election. In November 1989 the GDR imploded. Soon after, on 28 November 1989, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia announced that it would relinquish power and dismantle the single-party state. On May 20, 1990 the first elections were held in Romania and in June 1990 the first free elections since 1931 were held in Bulgaria. Finally, on 26 December 1991, the Soviet Union was officially disbanded, ending the world's largest and most influential Communist state, and leaving People's Republic of China to that position.

However, against all odds the breakdown of the Soviet Union, its allies and the dissolution of the Council of Mutual Economic Cooperation (COMECON) neither led to democracies Westminster style and to freewheeling capitalism in all (former) socialist countries, nor had history come to an end, as predicted by Fukuyama (1992) and some other theorists.

On the contrary, after the surge of the 1980s and 1990s the pace of transitions to democracy and market economy slackened. It was at that time when Carothers coined the term of the "end of the transition paradigm" (2002). A bit later, Gat (2007) even argued that the West was challenged by "authoritarian great powers".<sup>1</sup> Diamond (2008) then talked of a "democratic rollback" and that "celebrations of democracy's triumph are premature."<sup>2</sup>

Even more, development and wellness measures led observers to conclude, that for example socialist Viet Nam may be a model for developing countries the world over (for example the Asian Development Bank 2011). More specifically and as regards the socioeconomic development World Bank analysts ascertain that "Vietnam is a development success story. Political and economic reforms (Doi Moi) launched in 1986 have transformed Vietnam from one of the poorest countries in the world, with per capita income below US\$100, to a lower middle income country within a quarter of a century with per capita income of US\$1,130 by the end of 2010. The ratio of population in poverty has fallen from 58% in 1993 to 14.5% in 2008, and most indicators of welfare have improved. Vietnam has already attained five of its ten original Millennium Development Goal targets and is well on the way to attaining two more by 2015. Vietnam has been applauded for the equity of its development, which has been better than most other countries in similar situations." (World Bank 2012) In a similar way Mozambique's economic and political development since the 1990s was hailed as a success story and a model for Africa: "Mozambique has been seen by donors as a success story of peace, stability and growth since the end of its devastating war in

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<sup>1</sup> "Today's global liberal democratic order faces two challenges. The first is radical Islam (...). The second, and more significant, challenge emanates from the rise of nondemocratic great powers: the West's old Cold War rivals China and Russia, now operating under authoritarian capitalist, rather than communist, regimes. Authoritarian capitalist great powers played a leading role in the international system up until 1945. They have been absent since then. But today, they seem poised for a comeback. (...) Authoritarian capitalist states, today exemplified by China and Russia, may represent a viable alternative path to modernity, which in turn suggests that there is nothing inevitable about liberal' democracy's ultimate victory – or future dominance." (Gat 2007: 59f)

<sup>2</sup> "In a few short years, the democratic wave has been slowed by a powerful authoritarian undertow, and the world has slipped into a democratic recession. Democracy has recently been overthrown or gradually stifled in a number of key states (...). At the same time most newcomers to the democratic club (and some long-standing members) have performed poorly. Even in many of the countries seen as success stories (...) there are serious problems of governance and deep pockets of disaffection." (Diamond 2008: 36f.)

1992. Indeed, it has become increasingly important to the international community as one of the few successes in Africa. Donors have invested a substantial amount of resources and effort in support of Mozambique's economic and political performance, and are understandably committed to sustaining it for as long as possible. Mozambique continues to be highly aid dependent (...), but is considered as a model by the Bretton Woods institutions, having consistently met most donor demands, while at the same time growing at an official average rate of about 8% per year since 1997 (...). During the same period, poverty declined, but at a much slower rate." (Renzio/Hanlon 2007, 4)

Not least against this background, 20 years after the downfall of the Soviet Union talking of "the collapse of communism" looks "a touch Eurocentric", the British historian Perry Anderson noted. And he added: "Viewed in one light, communism has not just survived, but become the success story of the age" (Anderson 2010, 60).

However, those economic and social successes did not come without any setbacks, problems and enormous political and other challenges. Here, once again, we would like first refer to the case of Viet Nam. While on the one hand achieving economic growth rates of averaging 7.3% during 1990-2010 guaranteed enormous economic and social progress, in 2011 Vietnam's Human Development Index (HDI) value was just 0.572, which positions the country at 113 of 169 countries, just ahead of Morocco and just behind Tajikistan, and well behind China which ranks 89 and behind fellow ASEAN member Thailand which is numbered 92 (Schultz 2012, 7f.). Moreover, Vietnam nowadays struggles with several challenges. To name just a few we would refer to macroeconomic instability and high inflation (at present the highest in Asia after Pakistan), corruption, environmental degradation and various legal problems, for example an unclear legal situation in terms of land rights.<sup>3</sup> These facts suggest that Vietnam is in many respects an evolving but also fragile political economy (Schultz 2012, 8), with a political system that seems to lack appropriate and sufficient governance structures. Thus, analysing for example the development of Viet Nam offers promising insights in to what can be achieved following alternative paths, but also the enormous challenges such ways entail. The example of Mozambique suggests that there economic success was accompanied by a high aid dependency.<sup>4</sup> We assume that other cases offer similar inspiring insights and intriguing lessons to be learned.

Among social scientists this perseverance of socialist and post-socialist countries inspired an intense discussion on factors which seem to contribute to the survival and the stability of those and other countries with an authoritarian political regime. This debate set in by the end of the 1990s and revived debates from 1950s and 1960s on specifics of totalitarian and authoritarian regimes.<sup>5</sup> This renewed debate on the stability of authoritarian regimes even intensified most recently with a focus on factors which trigger processes of change. This change in perspective was initiated by the unfolding of the events which are called the "Arab Spring", wherein some countries in the Middle East (Tunisia, Egypt, Libya) changed while it left other political regimes in place, more or less unchanged (Algeria, Syria, the Gulf Monarchies, Morocco and Jordan).

## *2. Objectives*

All in all, based on more than twenty years of experiences in socialist and post-socialist countries and against the background of a debate among social scientists about the survival and the perseverance of authoritarian political

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<sup>3</sup> This gave officials (mainly at district level) the opportunity to expropriate peasants, who they compensated insufficiently for the loss of their land, which in turn led to massive protests in the most recent past.

<sup>4</sup> "According to the OECD-DAC, net Official Development Assistance to Mozambique in 2004 amounted to around \$1.2 billion, which corresponds to 23% of national income. This makes Mozambique the world's eighth most aid dependent country, with an aid to GNI ratio which is four times the average for sub-Saharan Africa. The largest donors are the World Bank, the European Commission and the United States, with more than \$100m per year, followed by Denmark, the UK, Sweden, Norway, the Netherlands and the African Development Bank (who provide between \$50 and \$70m per year)." (Renzio/Hanlon 2007: 4)

<sup>5</sup> Geddes' article on "What do we know about Democratization after 20 years?" (1999) was crucial for the re-start of this debate in the late 1990.

regimes and factors which have an impact on their persistence, there is plenty of reason to “take stock”; to analyse achievements those countries have gained; and to scrutinize failures and shortcomings.<sup>6</sup>

However, what this conference aims at and participants/paper presenters are strongly encouraged to find out is not only which forms of success and/or shortcomings or even failures can be observed; how such success, shortcomings and failures can be assessed and judged; how all this came against the background of the fall of the Soviet Union, the dissolution of COMECON and related mutual assistance. Rather, analysts should try to find out *why* all this happened. Here we assume that factors such as

- The use of *political and economic institutions*, for example what Acemoglu 2012 and Acemogly/Robinson 2012 call inclusive and extractive institutions;<sup>7</sup>
- Applying *mechanisms* which help to embed the state further into society and strengthen state-society relationships (making the state apparatus more dense and more coherent thus intensifying the link between the state and society; bringing various actors into the political system and processes of decision-making by using the mechanism of formal or informal co-optation) or the lack thereof;
- Certain *class/social strata alliances* which at least help to formulate, decide on and implement certain policies or which are opposed to certain policies;
- *Socio-cultural factors*;
- *Geo-political* factors (here we think for example of the role the United States’ decades long embargo against Cuba which helped to preserve the political regime there) and
- *Other factors*;

play(ed) an important role and had an impact on the experiences those countries made after 1989. Here we would like to point out that we understand and use the term experiences as a generic term. Thus, the term “experiences” signifies success, shortcomings, failures as well as factors that led to those results. These are analysed from a historical, but also from an analytical perspective. Thus, the term refers to and the analysis implies not only a description, but also what caused success, shortcomings as well as failures (i.e. *why* all this happened); and *how* all this happened.

However, we would also strongly encourage paper presenters to think about the possibility that the lack of certain factors might help to explain success. Here we think of a certain lack of political participation. More specifically, we assume that certain forms of success in countries like Viet Nam happened due to a combination of economic development or at least a provision of economic welfare for various social strata (which helped to secure a certain legitimacy of the regime) while at the same time political structures were kept more or less unchanged, that is letting people have a limited say in formulation, decision and implementation of policies that directly affect their lives. Wischermann with regard to Vietnam names such a trade-off (social welfare is traded for political exclusion and control) “tacit consensus” between rulers and ruled while Harders with a view to Arab countries calls similar arrangements an “authoritarian social contract” (social welfare provided by the state is traded for political absten-

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<sup>6</sup> We use the term regime in an analytical sense. Referring to Fishman’s seminal definition “A regime may be thought of as the formal and informal organization of the center of political power, and of its relations with the broader society”, A regime determines, who has access to political power, and how those are in power deal with those who are not. The distinction between democracy, totalitarianism, and authoritarianism thus deals with the question of *regime type*. (...) Regimes are more permanent forms of political organizations than specific governments, but they are typically less permanent than the state. The state, by contrast, is a (normally) more permanent structure of domination and coordination including a coercive apparatus and the means to administer a society and extract resources from it.” (Fishman 1990: 428; emphasis in the original)

<sup>7</sup> For the difference between inclusive and extractive institutions, see Acemoglu 2012 and the citation below, p. 9f.



tion). Such arrangements helped to achieve forms of economic success and the regime's perseverance. However, as any form of hegemonic domination its persistence may not last permanently.

We assume that various forms of success helped the regimes to achieve stability. At least from most actors' view in those countries stability is key and seen as essential. In fact such stability fostered further success and helped to outweigh shortcomings if not failures. That is, success and stability are interrelated and should be seen and analysed from a relational perspective.

Stressing the importance of addressing the question, *why* forms of success happened and searching for explanations ("factors") for it, is based on Marx' insight: "Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past."(The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte)

From the various ways to compare experiences from various countries and to carry out an analysis of their experiences we have chosen a rather simple one: We have selected most similar cases and in doing so, we have lumped together countries which still pursue the aim of socialism (Viet Nam and Cuba) and countries which could be called post-socialist (Algeria and Mozambique), but where vestiges of the socialist past are still to be felt.

More precisely, these four countries we will focus on have in common that

- They fought a successful liberation war against one or more European or other colonial powers or a liberation war against the intervention of a Great Power;
- They went through a civil war that followed liberation and which still haunts the memory of many citizens in those countries;<sup>8</sup>
- Their economy is still if not dominated by then at least in this economy State-owned Enterprises and state-related business groups are very influential;
- A strong ruling party that at least was for most of the time (Algeria) but in other cases still is in sole command of processes of managing the process of reforms which started in the late 1980s (Viet Nam, Algeria, Mozambique) or most recently (Cuba);<sup>9</sup>
- In terms of internal decision-making processes in the state apparatus and in the leading party there are signs of Marxist-Leninist vestiges in place (for example the use of the principle of democratic centralism as a mechanism that regulates those processes).

Because we wanted to have a maximum variety of potential factors at hand, we chose countries from four continents. Confining the selection of cases to most similar cases (two socialist and two post-socialist countries) makes the comparison easier. Basically we compare single case studies and the comparison is structured by three leading questions mentioned in section three. Thus what we intend to do is a "structured, focussed comparison".<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Fortunately Cuba could escape from such a development. We see the "Vietnam War" primarily as a civil war in which the United States intervened.

<sup>9</sup> The latest national elections held in Algeria in early May brought the FNL (National Liberation Front) together with the RND (National Rally for Democracy) the overall majority of seats in the National Assembly (288 out of 462 seats), thus the FLN is still or again the leading political power in Algeria, at least in terms of what is decided in the National Assembly.

<sup>10</sup> "The method and logic of structured, focused comparison is simple and straightforward. The method is 'structured' in that the researcher writes general questions that reflect the research objective and that these questions are asked of each case under study to guide and standardize data collection, thereby making systematic comparison and cumulation of the findings of the cases possible. The method is 'focused' in that it deals only with certain aspects of the historical cases examined. The requirements for structure and focus apply equally to individual cases since they may later be joined by additional cases." (George/Bennett 2004, 67)

The overall aim of the conference is to provide “food for thought”. This means for example that we do hope to inspire and to stimulate participants’ thinking about processes which might lead to strong, sustainable and inclusive economic development; to an increase in social and gender equality; to more political participation; and last but not least to an advantageous positioning of the respective countries in geo-political terms. Thinking about such paths of development might lead participants to reflect on problems precipitated by the fact that in some countries economic growth was achieved while political participation remained restricted; to think about developments which led to the more political participation but which were accompanied by modest economic growth and social development; and reflect on how such developments could be avoided. Avoiding or to overcome such an un-balanced development path would help to strengthen stability, help to overcome problems (for example forms of and problems related to macro-economic instability) and foster development (in the above-mentioned sense). In a wider sense, thinking of such a balanced further development is related to and inspired by thinking of new forms of socialism and what Brie for example calls “a “socio-ecological transformation” (Brie 2011).

In our view and as regards new forms of socialism we tend to think that at issue are not only forms of a new economic order (a “solidarity-based, multi sector economy” is one of the alternatives which for example Brie 2011 suggests). Rather, we should also think of and discuss perspectives of what Brie calls a “democratization of democracy” (Brie 2011, 27). Such a “democratization of democracy” does not seem to be necessary in capitalist countries only (as Brie’s article seems to suggest). A democratization of democracy seems also to rank high on the agenda in other countries. In our view the guiding principle of such kind of democratization should be what Beetham calls “the basis democratic principle”, namely the “control *by* citizens over their collective affairs and equality *between* citizens in the exercise of that control” (Beetham 2000, 91; emphasis in the original). What is then needed to make these principles effective in the context of a modern state are on the one hand “institutional arrangements which have over time proved themselves necessary to ensure effective popular control” (Beetham 2000, 91); on the other hand what is needed is “the guarantee of those human rights which we call civil and political, and which are inscribed in such conventions as the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the European Convention on Human Rights” (Beetham 2000, 92). Finally, the society should be “just” in the sense that social arrangements are in place that permit all (adult) members of society to interact with one another as peers. Thus the normative core is what Fraser calls “parity of participation” (Fraser 2003, 36). We expect Brie, who will deliver the key note of this conference, to provide participants with further inputs and ideas as regards possible forms and content of new forms of socialism.

### *3. Research questions and topics*

We suggest that the research in Viet Nam and that the work of the paper presenters from Algeria, Mozambique, and Cuba should focus on answering the following three questions and sub-questions:

- **Question 1:** How did a variety of actors see and understand the events of the downfall of the SU? **Sub-questions** are: **1)** How did which actors “frame” those events? **2)** How did those actors analyse the processes that led to this break-down? **3)** Which lessons were learned?
- **Question 2:** What looks the balance like 20 years after those events (here we are “taking stock” or, in a figurative sense, we are “making up the balance” in a rather general sense)? **Sub-questions** are: **1)** What has been achieved, what has not been achieved, respectively, in terms of economic/sustainable growth and social equality (a), gender equality (b), political participation (c) and geo-political positioning (d)? **2)** How have those achievements been realized by using which political and economic institutions? Can shortcomings and failures be attributed to the lack of or an inappropriate use of certain institutions? **3)** How have those achievements been realized by using which mechanisms? Can shortcomings and failures be attributed to the lack of or an inappropriate use of certain mechanisms? **4)** With whom and against who were those achievements realized and how in terms of classes, social strata, etc. could achievements but also failures be ex-

plained? 5) Which of the “lessons learned” were applied by whom and as regards which issues and which sub-questions?

- **Question 3:** How will those countries look like in ten year’s time? **Sub-questions** are: 1) Which processes of change are discernible? 2) Which processes of perseverance are observable?

Why do we suggest exactly these questions? This is, first, because these questions address in various, distinct ways underlying problems which are discussed in social science and politics worldwide: Which are factors which contribute to development, economic and social progress and which according to those scholars brought with it stability of countries labelled socialist and post-socialist (Vietnam, Cuba, Algeria, Mozambique); which are the factors which might trigger potential changes leading in which direction. As we have seen above, success, but also shortcomings and failures, are closely related to stability; thus, when analysing experiences made in those countries (experiences understood in the broad sense of the term) the reference to factors which according to political and other scientists’ analyses helped to achieve the survival and stability of those regimes and even to various forms of progress, makes sense and is useful. Moreover, we can relate those questions and issues at stake, the analysis thereof, respectively, to various levels of analysis (macro level; organizations or meso level; actors or individual level) and combine those questions with methods to be applied. Thus, these questions are highly operational which in turn will lead us to a basic framework of analysis that should guide the analyses of all paper presenters contributing to the international conference, but also of those participating at the national workshop. Second, we tend to think that irrespective of the international debate on the perseverance of authoritarian regimes those are crucial questions to be raised and answered by whoever intends to analyse past, present and future of countries, which were socialist countries for at least 10 years and more, and moved, though to a varying degree, in the late 1980s (as for example Algeria and Mozambique) towards a different model of politics when various attempts to build up a specific kind of socialism failed and support from the SU came to a hold or was never given to the extent other countries enjoyed (Mozambique). Those questions are also relevant as regards cases like Cuba whose regime survived, according to Hoffmann (2011), due to a strong resistance to any reform and to any attempts to abandon socialism. However, latest reforms might suggest that even Cuba after quite a while has now embarked on this trip towards at least modifying the short-term goal of establishing socialism. Finally, those questions might help to analyse the case of Vietnam, which is still a socialist country but has undergone tremendous changes in the last 20 years or so.

In what follows we will delineate shortly the implications of those above-mentioned questions. Here we will add some citations from the debate on the survival or persistence of authoritarian regimes and related debates. For making the description more readable we have put most of those citations into the GLOSSARY. All cited texts are available and many of them could be sent on request electronically to the authors of the various country-studies. Following the explications of the above-mentioned three questions, sub-questions, respectively, we present a basic framework of analysis, which could help authors of the various papers to answer those questions. We hasten to add that all authors are free to modify or change the framework and to suggest including more or different (sub-) questions, indicators, theories, theoretical frameworks, etc.

**Question 1** addresses historical and analytical problems posed by the downfall of the Soviet Union, here especially the analysis, the capability to analyse, respectively, of processes of political, economic and cultural change and the drawing of conclusions thereof. But it also deals with the problem of learning processes and the willingness to modify ideologies, to give them up or at least to reduce them to what Linz (following the German sociologist Geiger) calls “mentalities”.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Mentality is “intellectual attitude”, ideology is “intellectual content”. Ideologies are systems of belief that are intellectually organized and elaborated, whereas mentalities are ways of thinking and feeling; mentality is a psychic predisposition, form-

Analysts and paper presenters should scrutinize the readiness and capability of the political leadership, representatives of various Civic Organizations (such as think tanks) and scholars alike to analyse carefully the reasons that might have led to the downfall of the Soviet Union and the results of those analyses. Moreover, they should analyse those actors' readiness and capability to analyse the seemingly necessary processes of economic, political, social and ideological change and their (and others') willingness to adapt to changed (outer) circumstances - or the refusal to do so (which might describe the case of Cuba).

Abandoning socialism as an ideology, at least in terms, where this was the case, then raises the question whether, to which extent and in which sense elite and other believed in socialism and its basic elements.

Additionally, we will have to take into account processes which set in much earlier in at least three of the four countries (Vietnam, Mozambique and Algeria). This is because in those countries the crisis of certain models of socialism began or became at least more overt earlier and drastical measures had to be taken years before the Soviet Union collapsed. Here, once again, the case of Viet Nam seems to stand out, since without analysing the causes for problems development of socialism faced in the own country and problems caused by the downfall of the Soviet Union and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON) and preparing for a complete restructuring of for example trade relations, this country probably would have faced even more and even more serious challenges after the rupture of 1989.

Finally paper presenters and analysts should address the possibility that political leadership, representatives of various Civic Organizations (such as think tanks) and scholars studied experiences from other countries which underwent similar processes of change (capitalist and non-capitalist countries alike) and/or which (over many years) enjoyed political stability by means of a long ruling single party (Scandinavia's Social Democrats). Here Shambaugh's (2011) analysis of the Chinese efforts to study successively experiences made in all parts of the world, is highly instructive and gives an idea of what a good analysis of such processes could look like.

Related to the problem that a certain ideology is no longer serving the purposes of the rulers (to legitimize their rule) might be the introduction of a "social contract" between rulers and the people they govern or its reformulation and/or the creation, spread and use of other cognitive structures with a legitimizing function that could help to garner "diffuse support" (Easton) for the regime. Here we refer to the framing and use of a tacit understanding called "informal social contract" (Harders) which served the purpose of rulers especially but not only in Arab countries well for quite a while.<sup>12</sup> But also a "tacit consensus" (Wischermann) which was and seems to be still in place in Vietnam can be seen as such an instrument that helps to legitimize certain forms of rule. All those terms imply that political support and people's abdication of real political participation is traded for social welfare and economic progress. Analysts should explore whether, and if so in which sense such an "informal social contract" or "tacit consensus" was introduced and who did this and in which sense those informal agreements implied processes of giving up former ideological belief systems.

The level of analysis addressing all those questions is basically the macro level and the methods of research to be applied are basically historical analyses based on a "thick description" of events, experiences, conclusions reached, etc.

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less, fluctuating and fluid; content-wise it is not fixed, it is more emotional; related to the present and not leading and referring to the future. Seen this way mentalities are not only different from ideology, but seemingly also a necessary step which authoritarian regimes take when they change from a post-totalitarian to an authoritarian type of regime, downgrading they ideologies, Linz ascertains (1975/2000: 162).

<sup>12</sup> The "informal social contract" (Harders) refers to an arrangement in which no longer social welfare is traded for political exclusion and control but opening up of informal room to manoeuvre (for example building activities in urban areas without any formal or legal foundations) is traded for political abstention.

**Question 2** addresses and implies the most important issues raised in the debate about the survival and perseverance of authoritarian regimes: What has been achieved; what has not been achieved and what is the performance of the regime (a); how those achievements were accomplished, i.e. by which means (institutions and mechanisms) and the use of which institutions and mechanisms, the lack thereof, respectively, led to shortcomings and even failures (b); with whom and against whom those achievements have been reached, i.e. which social strata were supportive of certain policies, and which social strata were opposed to or at least hesitant to embrace those policies, etc. (c). As regards the latter sub-question one might recall Lenin's famous dictum "Who – whom" and its importance to ways of thinking what politics is all about; but one might also refer to Lasswell's definition that "Politics is who gets what, when, where, and how"; or, finally, think of Chantal Mouffe's differentiation between "the political" and "politics".<sup>13</sup>

- (a) Performance basically contributes to the survival of any political regime. In the debate on authoritarian regimes this strand of discussion is the negative version of modernization theory (Gerschewski 2010: 47). Using economic terms it basically says that a certain amount of increase in welfare helps to foster the legitimacy of any regime, and that implies also the legitimacy of authoritarian regimes. However, too much increase of economic wealth leads into a transition zone where transition to democracy begins, theory says. In numbers: A per capita GDP of US\$ 1.000 helps to stimulate "specific support" (Easton) for authoritarian rulers, but does not help to undermine it. However, not enough or the sudden stop of economic growth might foster the risk of a coup d'état or kind of a rebellion by disgruntled (parts of the) people.

Participating scholars will not only analyse what has been achieved in terms of sustainable economic growth, but also scrutinize achievements in terms of social equality, gender equality, democratic participation and geo-political positioning. Since the countries to be analysed have at least a socialist legacy if they do not still pursue a socialist orientation at least in terms of their economy and distribution of wealth in the society, achieving social and gender equality as well as an acceptable degree of people's participation is crucial for any of those regime's legitimacy. The analyses will be mainly, but not only based on the use of a variety of well-known indices, i.e. quantitative data analysis; we should, however, also take into account assessments based on qualitative data. Here I refer to especially to the issue of gender equality. It is in this context that institutionalist and status-based approaches should be used. Additionally the application of cross-sectional approaches should be taken into consideration. Qualitative data-based analyses should also dominate analyses concerning the issue of what has been achieved in terms of political participation. Here we suggest focussing on the "room to manoeuvre" Civic Organizations/Civil Society Organizations (hereinafter CSOs) enjoy. In addition we should explore to which extent and in which sense inclusive citizenship has been achieved. The term inclusive citizenship can be used in various ways (see Lister 2007; 2008).<sup>14</sup> The way we suggest using it follows Kabeer's (2005) understanding of this term, reached by means of using "grounded theory", and focussing on values that underpin it: Justice, recognition, self-determination and solidarity. Here analysis could focus on what has been called societal outsiders, namely drug addicts and People living with HIV/AIDS (PLWHIV). An alternative would be to focus on one of these groups of "outsiders" and additionally on the situation of disabled people. The question to be answered is then in which sense and to which extent "those people" are treated in a "just" way; are "recognized" in the sense that they enjoy respect (in Nancy Fraser's sense); have the opportunity to exercise some degree of control over their live; finally in which sense and to which extent "those people" have the opportunity to identify with others and to act in unity with them in their claims for justice and recognition. The issue of performance is directly or indirectly

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<sup>13</sup> "By 'the political' I mean the dimension of the antagonism which I take to be constitutive of human societies, while by 'politics' I mean the set of practices and institutions through which an order is created, organizing human coexistence in the context of conflictuality provided by the political" (Mouffe 2005: 9)

<sup>14</sup> For our understanding of "inclusive citizenship" see the respective entry in the GLOSSARY.

linked to the more general and abstract issue of legitimacy any political regime enjoys. This issue is notoriously under-researched, not least because legitimacy is very difficult to measure, especially in countries under authoritarian rule. Here researchers and paper presenters might make use of data gathered and analysed by the World Values Survey (WVS) (Algeria 2002; Vietnam 2001; Mozambique: the sixth wave 2010-12 is underway; for Cuba see Moreno/Brady/Ribar 2011, who also refer to data of the WVS). However, for a variety of reasons these data might be used very cautiously and this issue might be left out of analyses presented at the conference due to methodological and related problems.

- (b) There is whole collection of studies available which claim that a variety of institutions (such as parties, elections, but also introduction of patterns of “grassroots democracy”, and, especially successful in the past and in the present alike, the mechanism of co-optation) and a variety of mechanisms help to stabilize the regime(s) (organization level or meso level).<sup>15</sup> However, before turning to the advantage specific institutions offer for authoritarian regimes, Acemoglu/Robinson’s arguments (2012) concerning the impact institutions in general have as regards the development of economic, social, political progress might be instructive: Their thesis is “that the key to prosperity is in institutions, not culture, nor in geography. Moreover, history is also equally clear that bad institutions were in place not because of leaders’ mistakes but by design: because they played a useful and economic role for the benefit of the politically powerful in society. More explicitly, some types of economic institutions, which we call inclusive, provide incentives for investment and innovation, and they provide level playing field so that the majority of a nation’s population can develop their talent. These institutions generate prosperity. But most society are ruled not by inclusive institutions, but by extractive institutions, which create insecure property rights, don’t allow contracts, discourage innovation and technology adoption, and most importantly, instead of creating a level playing field, they create a very tilted playing field, advantaging a small segment of society, and sometimes even coercing people to work at low wages in occupations they shouldn’t be in (. . .). These extractive economic institutions are supported and kept in place by political institutions which concentrate power in the hand of the elite so that they are able to create these economic institutions and maintain them, despite the fact that they are to the disadvantages of many people. Without political institutions that are themselves extractive (. . .) extractive economic institutions would not survive. It is in this sense that we argue that prosperity is all about political institutions and politics.” (Acemoglu 2012: 1f.)

More specifically, Gandhi/Przeworski’s (2007) arguments might shed some further light into the importance specific institutions have for the survival of authoritarian regimes. They write that “autocrats maintain institutions to solicit cooperation or to extend their tenure in power. In either case most autocrats construct several institutional trenches. The first trench may be a royal family council, when the threat to the incumbent comes from his family, a junta when the threat comes from other high-ranking military or a party committee when it comes from civilian rival. But when the danger germinates from civil society, authoritarian rulers need a second line of trenches; a legislature that encapsulates some opposition, a party that mobilizes popular support for the dictatorship, or even multiple parties. Hence, whenever they need to, autocrats govern with political institutions.” (Gandhi/Przeworski 2007: 1293) Former research on authoritarian and totalitarian regimes had ignored those institutions; because they thought those institutions had no significance or importance in such regimes and called them “window dressing” (Brezinski). It is in this context that paper presenters should analyse which of those institutions were used with which intention and in which sense and to which extent those intentions were achieved. Analysts could focus on inner-elite rivalries and action pursued by so-called regime-outsiders and in

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<sup>15</sup> For an overview on research which analyzed as to how institutions elections help to mediate and defuse social cleavages in authoritarian regimes see the respective entry in the GLOSSARY.



which sense and to which extent institutions like parliaments and parties helped to negotiate and reconcile different interests and perspectives; in which ways and by making use of which institutions policy concessions were hammered out and spoils were distributed. However, analysts should also scrutinize whether and which actors (for example so called regime-outsiders) were formally or informally co-opted;<sup>16</sup> to which extent and in which sense those co-opted actors helped for example to improve the quality of policy-formulation and –implementation, and to which extent those actors were included in or excluded from which decision-making processes. If those actors remain excluded from most important decision-making processes (and those decisions are still made in inner circles of the ruling party without any participation of co-opted actors, we assume), co-optation obviously serves the purpose to bring into the political realm for example various regime-outsiders and to improve the regime's legitimacy in terms of policy-formulation and –implementation without changing the most important decision-making structures. Another mechanism which helps to link the state further with the society is a "dense state apparatus" with a wide reach and a high degree of "corporate coherence". The latter in Evans' view implies beliefs or mentalities which helps tying the aspirations of bureaucrats and for example entrepreneurs to the goals of the state (Evans 1992, 163). The level of analysis is macro and meso level.

(c) Hyden (2010:254), but also Köhler/Warkotsch (2011) stress that institutions need to be seen as based on, rooted in and expressions of power relations, class-based and other alliances (level of system, i.e. macro level; meso level): „Much of the literature on institutions in the past two decades, however, has tended to overlook context and accepted choice is autonomous. The mainstream premise is that formal rules determine choice" (Hyden 2010: 254). This critique is echoed by Köhler/Warkotsch (2011), who refer to Walder who coined the term „non-institutional origins of institutions" and who suggest "understanding institutions and institutional configurations such as political regimes as contingent upon the distribution of power among social actors, whether characterized as classes or in other terms" (Köhler/Warkotsch 2011: 26). To explain for example various „Arabbellions", Köhler/Warkotsch suggest looking „for the difference among those cases not in the institutional structures as such, but rather in the interaction between institutional structures and the changing constellations of forces supporting or opposing authoritarian rule in each country" (Köhler/ Warkotsch 2011: 26). Thus, we suggest analysing classes- and other social strata-based analyses which could help us to understand which achievements have been reached based on which classes- and other coalitions; which achievements have not been reached because of the strong opposition from which classes- and other coalitions; which institutions were built and used based on which classes- and other coalitions; which institutions were hindered to come into use by which class- and other coalitions, etc. Here Schmidt's analysis of processes that took place in Mozambique (Schmidt 2011: 4f.) and Liverani's (2008) and Cavatorta/Durac's analyses (2010) of events in Algeria are useful examples of how class-and social strata based analyses can be used to explain the perseverance of an authoritarian regime and how specific institutions (for example Civil Society Organizations, formed especially by members of the middle class) were and still are used by specific social classes and strata to strengthen such a regime.

**Question 3** addresses one of the most discussed failures of discussions on authoritarian regimes since the end of the 1980s: The failure to predict the downfall of the SU and regimes in the Eastern bloc or at least the conditions for the probability of such a downfall. This dilemma most recently returned, when no single agency, institution or scholar predicted the "Arab Spring" and the downfall of the regimes in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, the uprisings in Syria and rebellions elsewhere in the Middle East.

Probably, as Goodwin (2011) argues, it is impossible to predict revolutions because of the "preference falsification" (Kuran) or other mechanisms at work, and it might be not social scientists' task to predict such events.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> For a definition of cooptation, see the respective entry in the GLOSSARY.

<sup>17</sup> "Preference falsification" refers to the fact that people may not reveal publicly their private preferences, whether out of fear or shame. "Preference falsification" does not prevent us from knowing whether a population generally opposes a par-

However, we could and should discuss prospects of those four countries and the discussion thereof could, as kind of a collective thought experiment, focus on potential various outcomes, situated on a continuum reaching from a return to former days of socialism to a completely changed economic and political system.

Thus, trying to answer both questions (How will Viet Nam, Algeria, Mozambique, and Cuba look like in ten year's time? Which processes of change are underway, which processes of perseverance are discernible?) will not enable us to predict more or less exactly any possible change or the perseverance of the status quo. However, answering especially the second question may help us to come to better founded, nevertheless probably highly contested, conclusions about the potential future of those countries. This, in turn, could be a welcomed contribution of this conference to political decision-makers' thinking about what the future might hold and what they should or could do to influence potential prospects.

The methods to be applied to answer those questions will be mixture of developing at least plausible scenarios and methods of a sober, social scientists' analyses of processes of change, processes of perseverance, respectively, to be discernible at present.

Thus, in the first stage of this part of the conference, the paper presenters are asked to delineate their ideas how their respective country will look like in ten year's time – in terms of the economic, political and socio-cultural order and the geo-political positioning of the respective country. Here their first step might be an appraisal of the current situation. Here the respective scholar could start from what has been discussed in answers given to Question 2 and summarize those findings. Second step could be the delineation of what in the respective scholar's view the country will look like in ten year's time. Analysts may outline up to three scenarios to describe possible developments.

Step three and following these more "lofty" assessments and turning to the sub-question of changes underway and/or tendencies of perseverance we suggest that analysts focus on and describe developments that might lead to the outcomes which those scenarios imply. Analysing changes underway and/or tendencies of perseverance should help to make their predictions more analytical in nature and more "grounded". It is in this context that we think authors might be well advised to make use of Harders' (2011) excellent "framework of analysis" (which helps her to analyse current development in the Middle East, especially in Egypt). To a certain extent this framework does not only help to analyse changes a regime is undergoing, but also the perseverance of a political regime. From a theoretical point of view Harders' (2011) assumes a relationship between structures, actors and the dynamics of the respective situation and suggests understanding those as frames, resources and opportunities (Harders 2011: 15).<sup>18</sup>

We would like to conclude this concept note with the assurance that all these ideas concerning how which questions could be answered should be seen as suggestions. A variety of potential ways to answer **Questions 1 to 3** were presented because we would like to offer all participating scholars an overview on what various scholars confronted with the problem to answer such difficult questions have chosen in terms theoretical approaches, frameworks, methods, indices, etc. If participating scholars would come up with different ideas, methods and insights gained from their use, the organizers of this conference would be delighted.

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ticular political regime (Goodwin 2011: 453). However "preference falsification" makes it difficult to discern "the precise distribution of individual revolutionary thresholds" (Kuran 1995: 1538), "that is the likelihood that an individual who opposes a regime would join some kind of movement against it if a certain number of others did as well" (Goodwin 2011: 453). A very similar argument has been made by Charles Kurzman in his book "The Unthinkable Revolution in Iran" (2004). He argues that the willingness of individuals to join a protest cannot be known in advance, thus estimations can not be known. "For this reason, revolutions will remain unpredictable." (Kurzman 2004: 170)

<sup>18</sup> For a description of Harders' excellent framework of analysis, see the respective entry in the GLOSSARY



#### 4. A basic framework for analysis

Question/Sub-question	Level of Analysis	Indicator(s)	Theory/theoretical approaches/frame-works	Type of study
<p><b>Q 1. How did various actors see the downfall of the SU?</b></p> <p><i>Q 1.1. How did the political leadership, leading personal from various Civic Organizations and scholars “frame” the collapse of the Soviet Union?</i></p>	Macro/Micro		Framing approaches (Gamson/Snow) <sup>19</sup>	Analytical bases on a mainly historical, dense empirical description
<p><i>Q 1.2. How did which actors analyse the processes that led to this break-down?</i></p>	Macro/Micro			Analytical bases on a mainly historical, dense empirical description
<p><i>Q 1.3. Which conclusions were drawn from those analyses by whom? (“Lessons learned”)</i></p>	Macro/Micro			Analytical bases on a mainly historical, dense empirical description
<p><i>Q 1.4. Did those political actors (which ones) analyse and compare those processes with experiences made in other, capitalist and non-socialist/socialist countries alike, countries in Asia, Latin America, and Europe?</i></p>	Macro/Micro			Analytical bases on a mainly historical, dense empirical description
<p><i>Q 1.4.1. If so which conclusions did which actors draw from which cases?</i></p>	Macro			Analytical bases on a mainly historical, dense empirical description
<p><b>Q 2: “Taking stock” – “Making up the balance”</b></p>				

<sup>19</sup> For an overview what is meant by “framing approaches”, see the respective entry in the GLOSSARY.

Question/Sub-question	Level of Analysis	Indicator(s)	Theory/theoretical approaches/frame-works	Type of study
<p><b>Q 2.1. What has been achieved/what has not been achieved in terms of</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Sustainable economic growth and social equality (i.e. sustainable and inclusive economic growth)</li> </ul>	Macro	GDP/per capita  GINI coefficient	Modernization theory and related theoretical frame-works	Mainly quantitative
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- gender equality</li> </ul>	Macro/micro	Gender Inequality Index; CEDAW implementation documentations incl. "Shadow Re-ports"; Gender Equity Index; SIGI (Social Institutions and Gender Index)	Institutionalist Gender Theories which are status-related (Lorber 1994; 2000); <sup>20</sup> Intersectionality Approaches (Crenshaw 1998; Yuval-Davis 2006; McCall 2005) <sup>21</sup>	Quantitative; qualitative; case studies
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- regional and geopolitical positioning</li> </ul>	Macro	Leading positions in regional Forums/Alliances		Statistics; case studies
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- political participation;</li> </ul>	Macro/meso micro	Room to manoeuvre for Civic Organizations/civil society/CSOs; related laws/ regulations;  Citizenship	Various Civil Society Approaches (preferable action-centred ones; for this and a critique of realm-based approaches, see for example Wischermann 2010: 5-12)  Inclusive Citizenship (Kabeer 2004; Lister 2007, 2008)	Quantitative, but also qualitative studies  Quantitative, but also qualitative studies
<p><b>Q 2.2. The Use of which institutions helped to realize which achievements /the use of which institutions led to which failures?</b></p>	Macro/meso	Inclusive/extractive institutions;  parties; elections; parliaments	Acemoglu 2012; Acemoglu/Robinson 2012  Geddes 1999; Gandhi/Przeworski 2007; Brownlee 2007	Qualitative studies;  Case studies

<sup>20</sup> For Lorber's institutionalist understanding of gender, see the respective entry in the GLOSSARY

<sup>21</sup> For an understanding of the Intersectionality approach on gender, see the respective entry in the GLOSSARY.

Question/Sub-question	Level of Analysis	Indicator(s)	Theory/theoretical approaches/frame-works	Type of study
- <b>Q 2.3</b> <i>The use of which mechanisms helped to realize which achievements /the use of which mechanisms led to which failures?</i>	Macro/meso/micro	Measures that help to embed the state further into society (for example a "dense state apparatus" and an increase of "corporate coherence")  Formal/informal co-optation of political actors, for example members of CSOs or CSOs	Evans 1992; 1995  Selznick's (1949) and Merkel et al's (2011) definition <sup>22</sup>	Qualitative studies; Case studies
<b>Q 2.4.</b> <i>With whom and against whom have those achievements been gained/failures realized?</i>  <i>- Class/social, strata coalitions supportive of, opposed to certain policies, respectively</i>	Macro/micro		Hyden 2010; Köhler/Warkotsch 2011; Schmidt 2011; Liverani 2008; Cavatorta/Durac 2010	Qualitative studies; Case studies
<b>Q 3</b> <b>What will Viet Nam, Mozambique, Algeria and Cuba look like in ten year's time?</b>	Macro/meso/micro		Scenarios	Mainly qualitative, but also quantitative
<b>Q 3.1.</b> <i>Which processes of change are underway?</i>  <b>Q 3.2.</b> <i>Which processes of perseverance are recognizable?</i>	Macro/meso/micro  Macro/meso/micro		Harders' (2011) analytical framework (structures/"Political Opportunities", actors/ "continua of participation", situational dynamics	Mainly qualitative, but also quantitative

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<sup>22</sup> For Selznick's definition and understanding of cooptation, see the respective entry in the GLOSSARY.

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## Key Note

### Socialism in the 21st century – a European view of experience and problems (Prof. Dr. Michael Brie)

The flame of the October Revolution that once lit up the whole world is extinguished. The flag that now flies over the Kremlin is no longer the Red Flag of the working class, but the white, blue and red colours of the Russian bourgeoisie. There was a time when one third of the human race lived in countries that took their cue directly from the Soviet example. Today there is not a single socialist country left in the whole of Europe. In the very continent which saw the rise of the socialist and communist movements 200 years ago socialism lies in ruins. And it was not only Soviet-style socialism which suffered a devastating defeat in Europe. The great programme to humanize capitalism democratically by means of the welfare state has been on the defensive for more than twenty years. Its project for economic democracy was dropped from the agenda forty years ago. Thus both wings of European socialism, the revolutionary and the reformist, find themselves in a profound crisis. At the same time a crisis of capitalism has occurred the like of which Europe has not seen since 1929. Is there still amid the ashes of our shattered hopes a spark which could be fanned to a new flame? Allow me to discuss the question of whether there is life after death for socialism in Europe. I would like to take a closer look at three problems that can shed light on the future of a European socialism in the 21st century: First, I want to look back and identify two sources of socialism in Europe. Secondly, I will briefly describe the main causes of the failure of Soviet socialism. Thirdly, I shall discuss approaches that could be of importance for a fundamental revival of socialism in Europe. What I have in mind is an alternative, socio-ecological path of development.

#### *1. Two sources of European socialism*

European socialism was the child of a twofold Revolution – the political Revolution in France from 1789 to 1799 and the Industrial Revolution in Britain in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. With these two revolutions and France's great series of wars, first to defend the Revolution and then to achieve pre-eminence in Europe, the modern capitalist age was born. Before the eyes of a single generation a whole new world was created, actively involving millions of people, more than ever before in history. Such a society in which everything seemed to be possible had never existed in human history. Prosperity for all, freedom for every man and woman, democratic co-determination and self-determination of all nations were proclaimed. Little seemed to stand in the way of their implementation.

Now was the time for every social force to state clearly which of the many possibilities was to be made a reality. And it was at this moment that modern European socialism arose. It arose together with and alongside the other basic intellectual currents of the Modern Age – conservatism and liberalism. And when I speak here and in my subsequent remarks of socialism, I do not mean just the Marxist brand of socialism, but the broad and extremely multifarious current which in Europe was fed from two main sources.

These two sources were:

*first*, the radical interpretation of human rights from the viewpoint of the disadvantaged, oppressed and exploited sections of society and the plans for a socialist or communist order which would leave capitalism, imperialism, racism, patriarchy, destruction of the natural environment and war behind it;

*secondly*, the movements for the transformation of all social relationships which stood in the way of the realization of these human rights, especially the European working-class movement, but also the women's movement, the anticolonial, anti-racist and later antifascist movements.



These two sources constantly flowed into each other till they merged to form that single current that came to be called socialism. Human rights from below in the radical interpretation are the constantly self-renewing *normative* point of reference for any socialism that stands for the idea of a comprehensive liberation of humanity from exploitation, tyranny, paternalism and war. This kind of socialism, however, lives only through and in those movements that take *practical* action against exploitation, tyranny, paternalism and war. The idea is nothing without the mass revolt, the protest, the struggle, the reshaping of society; while the movements lack orientation and vision without the idea of human rights.

When on 26 August 1789 the French National Assembly proclaimed the *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen*, its very title contained a fundamental contradiction which has since dominated western capitalist societies and featured in their struggles: The Declaration speaks of men and it speaks of citizens. The first article begins with the sentence: "Men are born and remain free and equal in rights." But these human rights are really only civil rights, i.e. the rights of citizens and private-property-owning citizens at that. Society is conceived of as a market society and implemented as capitalism, which brings about a modern patriarchy and a modern racism and imperialism. It is the successful nation-state that is able to protect its citizens against war, conquest and enslavement. It was, however, the nation states of Spain, Britain, France, Germany and Japan which created a system of global colonialism and in some cases did not shrink from genocide. The national liberation movements of the 18<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries ultimately prevailed, but it is still the case that people are only free if in their countries civil rights have been comprehensively implemented in the form of human rights. So far no country in the world can claim to have fully achieved this.

The reduction of human rights to civil rights is based on two premises: First, the citizen as an owner of means of production disposes positively of the basic conditions of his own freedom. Democracy does not have to enable him to gain access to these goods, just to protect him against losing them. In this case there is no difference between freedom *from* oppression (negative freedom) and freedom *for* a self-determined life. And secondly, once he has the status of a property owner, all individual's freedoms and rights are guaranteed. The draft *Code Civil* of 1794 states succinctly: "Three things are necessary and sufficient for a man: to be master of his own person; to possess goods enabling him to meet his needs; and to be able to dispose of his person and goods in his own interest." The state does not have to actively create these freedoms, just to guarantee them.

These two conditions of an identity of human and civil rights – to the extent they ever existed for a given class – are permanently destroyed for the majority of society by the supremacy of capital investment. The constant expropriation of the working people, of the peoples of whole continents, is the basis of capitalist property. In a bourgeois society the unpropertied class is always by far the largest social group. The primacy of negative freedom asserted in liberal discourse is seen by the propertyless as a negation of their positive freedom. It becomes the tyranny of the owners of capital, of men, of the privileged nation, i.e. of all those who have wealth and power at their disposal. The result is exploitation and subjugation.

This fact of permanent expropriation has consequences for human rights. In the 19th century this was most clearly shown by the "social question", the situation of the wage-earners. Those who have nothing but their labour power can, according to bourgeois law, at least call that "their own". But since wage-earners can only support themselves by selling their labour power on a temporary basis, their property is profoundly "unbourgeois": they do not dispose of the essential condition of production, namely the means of production. The moment wage-earners succeed in organizing themselves they see how scandalous it is to link human rights to private ownership of the means of production. It was the working-class movement in Europe which constituted itself first and foremost as a socialist movement. It was the first major movement to put universal suffrage on the agenda and support the cause of a comprehensive welfare state.

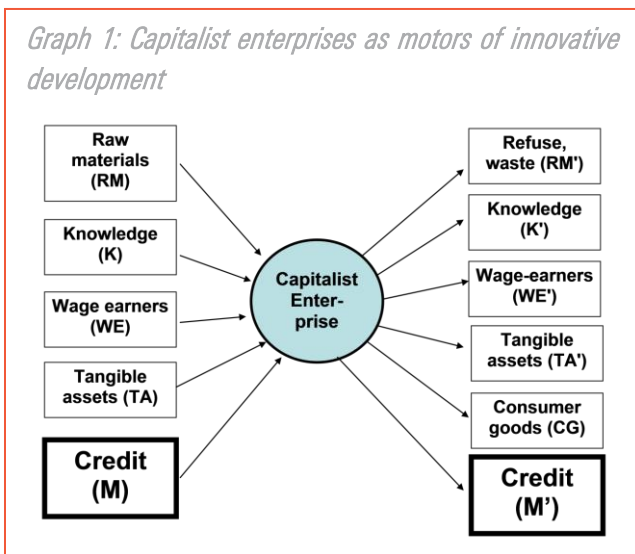
However, workers were not the only class to be brought onto the historical stage by the reduction of human rights to civil rights: there were also women and slaves and the colonized peoples in general. Napoleon's *Code Civil* severely restricted the rights of married women by subjecting them to the authority of their husbands as master of the house, so that men became de facto the sole actors in bourgeois society. The first declaration of human rights as rights applying equally to women brought its author, Olympe de Gouges, to the scaffold. But slaves too were denied their human rights on the grounds of their status as chattels. Thus one of the results of the French Revolution was the founding of the first independent state – Haiti – by former black slaves who demanded the same rights for themselves.

The fundamental contradiction in bourgeois society is the contradiction between the assertion of universal freedom for all men and a reality in which enforceable rights are reserved for those who own property. This is expressed by the struggle in both the economy and society between those who support the cause of a universalization of economic, social and cultural stakeholder rights and those who want to exercise these rights as a privilege – whether based on “wealth” (plutocracy), “gender” (patriarchy), “merit” (meritocracy), “ethnic allegiance” (“nationalism” or “racism”) or “geographical advantages” (competitive nationalism). Solidarity and emancipation are the aims of all those fighting against the linking of human rights to private property and the bourgeois state and for the universalization of stakeholder rights for each and every individual in social wealth, regardless of wealth, gender, ethnicity or citizenship.

The contradiction between proclaimed equality and real inequality has given rise, now and in the past, to social struggles aimed at securing equality of access to the basic conditions of a free life (democratic rights, employment, environment, health, education, social security, peace, etc.) as comprehensively as possible and at using the power of the state to reduce the inequalities in control over the means of production and living conditions to a level which really helps enhance the common weal and improve the situation of the weakest members of society. But this flies in the face of capitalism. As Jacques Roux proclaimed in his *Manifeste des Enragés* before the Convention of the French Republic in 1793: “Freedom is nothing but a vain phantom when one class of men can starve another with impunity. Equality is nothing but a vain phantom if the rich, through monopoly, exercise the right of life or death over their like. The republic is nothing but a vain phantom when the counter-revolution can operate every day through the price of commodities which three quarters of all citizens cannot afford without shedding tears.”

These words are as topical now as they ever were. They point to the necessity of overcoming capitalism as the tyranny of capital investment over the economy and society. For the core belief of socialism, which distinguishes it from all other movements, is that a really comprehensive implementation of human rights ultimately requires not only formal equality, but real equality, which is impossible as long as the conflict of interest between capital and labour, between capital and the natural living conditions of humanity, between capital and the majority of the people in the world, has not been replaced by a far-reaching socialization of the means of production and a comprehensive economic democracy. But what socialization and economic democracy mean today, in the 21st century, is still an open question.

*Graph 1: Capitalist enterprises as motors of innovative development*



If the radical interpretation of human rights and the social liberation movements were the two sources of socialism in Europe, this socialism not only has a history, but also a future. For the beacon of human rights can never be extinguished until the conditions for their realization for every man and woman, for the weakest members of our societies and of the world's population – indeed for everyone – have been created. This, the essence of socialism, is impossible under capitalism. And as long as this is the case there will always be new social, political and intellectual movements aimed at overcoming it. These two basic ideas also find expression in the *Internationale*. "The Internatio-

nale unites the human race" and "Our own right hand the chains must shiver."

## *2. The causes of the failure of Soviet state socialism in Europe*

Any discussion of socialism worthy of the name ought to be informed by an awareness of the difficulties of talking about it in a theoretically consistent and practically responsible way after the demise of state socialism, the collapse of other socialist projects in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and the resurgence of capitalism. The left should not be too eager to seek easy answers again.

In view of the creeping decline of the Soviet Union into inefficiency and stagnation, there is no basis for the naïve assumption that every non-capitalist society must be at least as capable of development as a social order characterized by capitalism. And it is enough to look at the many alternative socialist experiments of the 20<sup>th</sup> century to recognize that the failure cannot just be laid at the door of the "European Soviet model" or the power and brutality of the opposing forces. There are above all two questions that remain: (1) How can the conflicting interests be "socialized" in a spirit of solidarity without suppressing them and erecting a new system of domination? (2) How should conscious shaping and long-term planning be secured without destroying openness and the capacity for development?<sup>23</sup>

The collapse of the Soviet socialist model in Europe was not caused by a subjective failure, by the incompetence of the ruling parties and their leaders, or by individual errors, but by the fact that that socialism, through its centralization of all economic, political and intellectual power, suppressed the source of all development, the wellsprings of all renewal, the precondition for any social innovation –freedom – or, as Rosa Luxemburg prophetically wrote in 1918 in her critique of Bolshevism: "The negative, the tearing down, can be decreed; the building up, the positive, cannot. ... Only experience is capable of directing and opening new ways. Only unobstructed, effervescent life falls into a thousand new forms and improvisations, brings to light creative forces, itself corrects all mistaken attempts. The public life of countries with limited freedom is so poverty-stricken, so miserable, so rigid, so unfruitful, precisely because, through the exclusion of democracy, it cuts off the living sources of all spiritual riches and progress. (Proof: the year 1905 and the months from February to October 1917) There it was political in character; the same thing applies to economic and social life also. The whole mass of the people must take part in it." (The Rosa Luxemburg Reader 2004, 306)

<sup>23</sup> This is not the place for a critical analysis of the various contemporary socialist or communist projects which would be a special task going beyond the scope of this paper.

Capitalism was the first society in the history of the world to make freedom the basic condition of society, but it was freedom for the few to privately dispose of the social wealth produced by the many. In its specifically capitalist form the continuing innovative renewal of economic, political and intellectual life initially becomes the essential feature of society. Or as Marx had already written in 1848 in the *Communist Manifesto*: "The bourgeoisie cannot exist without constantly revolutionizing the instruments of production, and thereby the relations of production, and with them the whole relations of society. Conservation of the old modes of production in unaltered form, was, on the contrary, the first condition of existence for all earlier industrial classes." and "It compels all nations, on pain of extinction, to adopt the bourgeois mode of production; it compels them to introduce what it calls civilization into their midst, i.e. to become bourgeois themselves..."<sup>24</sup> This is precisely what happened in Europe in 1989. As the countries of European Soviet-style socialism did not have the capacity for development that Western capitalism had, they ended up having to adopt this capitalism and become bourgeois societies.

Capitalism only takes hold of society when there can be free access to the factors of production and they can thus be uprooted from their traditional contexts.

This goes equally for land, raw materials, and instruments of production, especially for labour power. Capitalism can only spread if the traditional bonds between means of production and labour power are broken ("primitive accumulation" of capital) and can be combined in a new way on the basis of credits via markets (capital markets, labour markets, markets for means of production). And it itself is characterized by its subjecting these combinations to the profit motive.

The valorization of factors of production becomes a condition of development and innovation. Capitalism is thus at once continually destroying (the present) and creating (the future) (Joseph A. Schumpeter). The second characteristic of capitalist reproduction is the possibility of continual renewal. The disembedding of resources (land, natural raw materials, knowledge, labour power, etc.) from each concrete social context is a condition of this innovation. But it is innovation under conditions of profit maximization and destroys at the same time the fragile security of workers, production sites and whole regions, threatening the reproduction of man/woman and nature alike.

In European Soviet state socialism the party state took over the driving force of competitively oriented markets. This at times made possible a rapid extensive development but came up against one fundamental problem: The state, as soon as it became simultaneously creditor and entrepreneur, lost the possibility of the rational formation of prices and with it the estimation of real costs and real yield. It itself pursued its goals "whatever the cost" and at the same time removed from the economic units subordinated to it the possibility, the interest and the need to work according to standards of efficiency and develop themselves in an independently innovative way. European Soviet state socialism thus necessarily led to stagnation and decline.

A relative separation of state and economy as well as access to productive assets as special property distinct from the state and from other enterprises are the conditions for an efficiency-oriented innovative development in essential areas of the production of goods. At the same time, this requires that the state guarantee the property rights equally of creditors and of enterprises and customers in their relation to one another and among one another. Without a stable assignment of duties and without the security that promises for the future will be kept, capital valorization and the reproduction of enterprises are impossible. Moreover, without this the motor of innovative development is undermined.

However, the possibility and necessity of free decision-making as a precondition for innovation and social renewal are not confined to the economy, but apply even more to the political and intellectual areas, as Rosa Luxemburg pointed out to the Bolsheviks in 1918. One's own freedom is only assured if the freedom of others is assured as well. The freedom to organize, the possibility of approaching citizens directly with new ideas and perspectives, the

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<sup>24</sup>(<http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1848/communist-manifesto/ch01.htm>)

protection of the person against arbitrary treatment and political persecution, are indispensable if societies are to compete with one another successfully in the long run. And this competition with the leading capitalist countries is, as 1989 showed, pursued relentlessly on their part.

### *3. Approaches to a fundamental renewal of socialism in Europe*

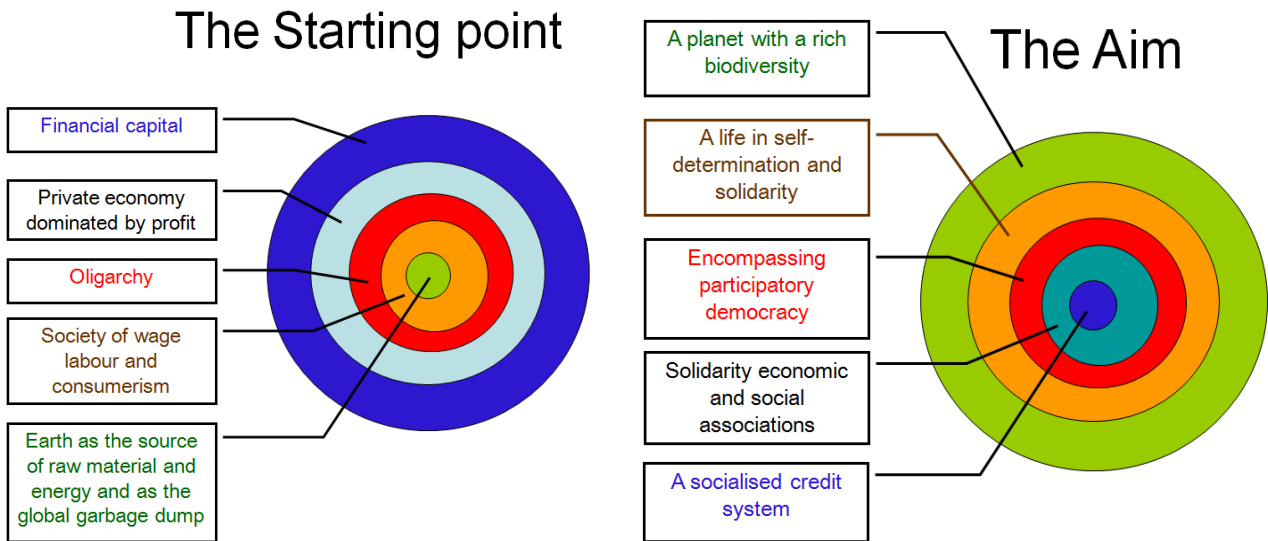
The understanding of capitalism developed here implies at the same time an understanding of socialist transformation politics. There is no one answer, however it is presented. The search for *one* "correct" form of socialization leads one astray. Neither a centralized planned economy by bureaucracy/party nor an "equivalence economy" (Heinz Dieterich), cooperatives / peer-to-peer economy or Michael Albert's "parecon" is "the" solution, because mediating the very different social contradictions inherent in any society capable of innovation and renewal requires very diverse forms. Care for the elderly, education and the instruction of coming generations, the promotion of art and culture, the provision of public transportation infrastructures, the construction and maintenance of housing, the cultivation and distribution of food, a free internet, long-term large-scale research or the development of software for operating systems, etc., etc., cannot all be taken care of in one and the same way. The relations of property and power will be just as different in each case as the related modes of production and ways of life are different. And the effective observance of universal human rights and its solidary realization will in each concrete case be carried out in very differentiated forms. Socialism is in this understanding, in contrast to capitalism, nothing less than a world of increased diversity, freed from subordination to capital. It is a "world in which many worlds have a place". (The Zapatistas' Fourth Declaration of the Lacandon Jungle 1996)

If we want to draw up a formula for socialist reproduction analogous to Marx's "general formula of capital", it would be the one which he himself expressed in the *Manifesto*: "In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all." (Marx / Engels Manifesto of the Communist Party) The "self-interrogation" of capital in the process M-C-M', as the dominant form of production of social wealth would be replaced by I-S-I'. It would be characteristic for the socialist production of wealth that every individual (I) would be humanly enriched and further developed (I') in contexts of action that contribute to the solidary development of others (S). In this way, freedom, equality and solidarity would be given a social basis. The decisive question is how the substance of this general formula of socialism can look. Put differently: In what relations of property and power, in what forms of socialization, in what modes of production and life and, finally, in what civilizational forms can the general formula of socialism be realized? The general formula for capital found its basis in the transformation of many resources into commodities (especially labour power and land, later also knowledge), in the form of joint-stock capital and limited liability companies, in a tax state, in the civil law code, in the central banks and in the development of a comprehensive financial industry, in a society of producing and consumption, oriented to performance in the labour market, etc. There arose a civilization of having<sup>25</sup> and littering. This civilization should be totally reversed in a deep structural transition from financial-market capitalism to a solidary or socialist society (Graph 2).

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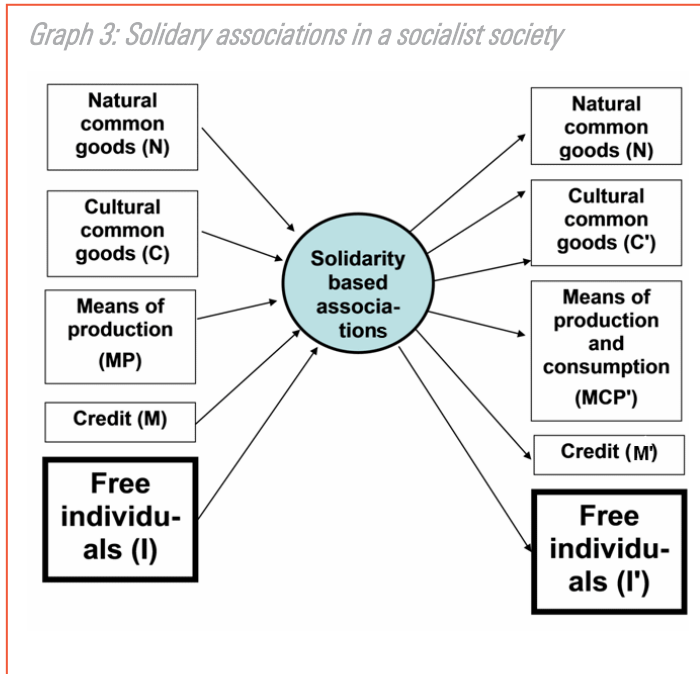
<sup>25</sup> Erich Fromm, *To Have or to Be?* New York: Harper and Row, 1976.

Graph 2: The Transition from Financial-Market Capitalism to a Solidary Society (Socialism)



The problem to be solved is how to retain the innovative and developmental capacity of modern societies as they first arose in their capitalist form, and even to increase it, freeing it from the limitation of its attachment to profit maximization and consumption of market goods, *and at the same time* introduce a radical shift to a complete civilizing structure. It is a matter of overcoming financial-market capitalism, in which under the rod of shareholder value an acquisitive and consumer society is governed by oligarchies and the earth is transformed into a mere pit mine of ever scarcer raw materials and energy and, finally, into a garbage dump. The vision is a society in which the earth becomes a home for everybody, a place for cities of free men and women, and a universe of beautiful

Graph 3: Solidary associations in a socialist society



landscapes, in which a solidary social and cultural life is led which is embedded in the society in which everyone can participate. On the basis of a participatory democracy the decision will be made in such a society on how the conditions for solidary participation are generated, distributed and consumed, and what social resources (credits, taxes) are necessary for this.<sup>26</sup> Proportionate to this transition free associations of socialism would in fact emerge in stages out of the private, state or cooperative enterprises of capitalism, free associations in which people come together for common economic, social, political and cultural purposes and at the same time for individual development (Graph 3).

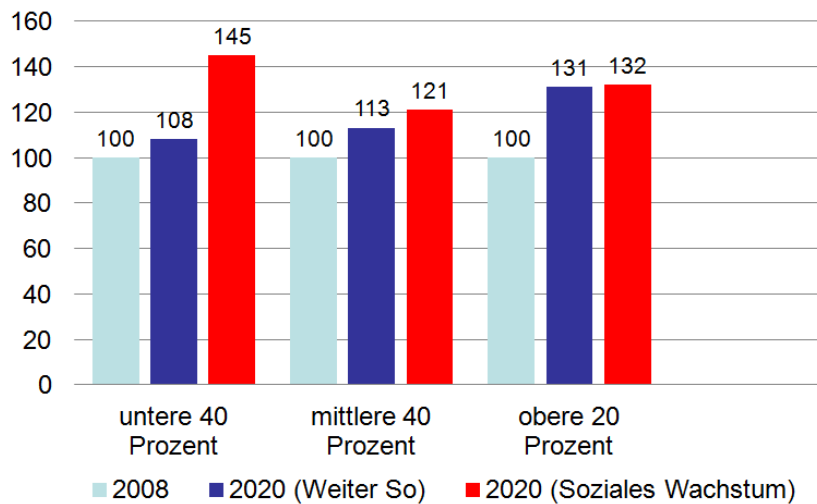
The social movements of the present day, the trade unions and left parties as well as other emancipatory forces in Europe, have put a whole series of proposals

<sup>26</sup> In this connection see Erik Olin Wright's concept, in which socialism is understood as a society in which social power dominates. It would be based "on the capacity ... to mobilize people for voluntary actions". Erik Olin Wright, *Envisioning Real Utopias*. Verso: London 2010, p. 113. When such a social power is able to control economic and political power, socialist tendencies will be established as dominant.



for transforming property relations on the table. Among them are unconditional cancellation of the so-called debt of the South, closer control of finance capital and its taxation as well as limits on its mobility, control over transnational corporations, rolling back the global investor class in favour of the interests of employees, regions and municipalities,

*Graph 4: Raising incomes of social groups depending on whether a more-of-the-same or a social growth scenario is adopted in Germany (2008 to 2020) (Friedrich Ebert Foundation study)*



the re-socialization of intellectual property rights, debt relief for public budgets, and much more. Eighty billion dollars annually (this is less than a tenth of global arms expenditures) would alone suffice to free all people from undernourishment in the next ten years, provide them with clean drinking water and ensure them basic medical care. However, the net transfer of capital from the South to the North at the same time amounts to 200 to 250 billion dollars

annually.<sup>27</sup>

What is the current crisis in Europe about? First of all it is about preparing the way for a change of direction in social development. This would mean adopting the following key criteria from a socialist point of view: achieving direct gains for the weakest members of society and core groups of wage-earners by ushering in a new boost for growth and a transition to sustainable development while curbing the over-accumulation of private assets in the hands of the upper classes and raising public expenditures so as to stimulate domestic demand; not expanding the private luxury of the few but introducing a "luxury of the public sector" (public services, public spaces, public control, public accountability), strengthening democracy and making a greater contribution to the solidary development of the southern hemisphere.

The objection that is always raised against all approaches that are not primarily aimed at unleashing and deregulating the markets is the thesis that alternative policies would lead to less affluence. But this is wrong. Economists commissioned by the SPD-friendly Friedrich Ebert Foundation have developed a social growth model consisting of four key measures:

*First*, raising social productivity through massive investments in education, especially for the poorly educated sections of the population, including migrants, and in the expansion both of nursery education and life-long learning. It is a question of investing in society's human assets.

*Secondly*, employment should be expanded, especially for women and older people. Unwanted part-time employment should be reduced so as to ensure the compatibility of family and career. All this requires the expansion of public or publicly supported services (education, health, care, etc.), especially of the human-oriented areas, where mainly women are employed.

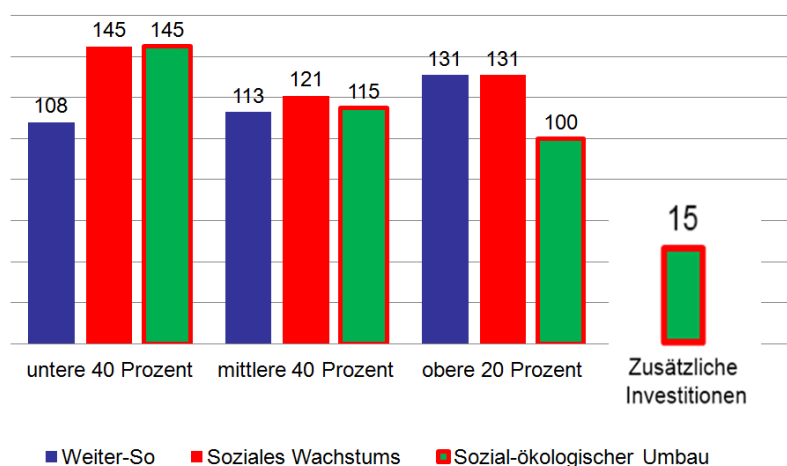
<sup>27</sup> William S. Fisher, Thomas Ponniah (eds.), *Another World is Possible*, op. cit., p. 32.

Thirdly, steps must be taken to strengthen domestic demand and restore the balance of trade. In developed countries sustainable growth is only possible on the basis of a stable domestic demand and mass-consumption.

Fourthly, the precondition for a rise in domestic demand is seen in a more equitable distribution of wealth. The wage ratio must be raised again as must the incomes of those groups at the lower end of the scale.

In this econometric model the gains in growth are reflected as gains in individual incomes, as the following chart shows.<sup>28</sup> It is just that they are unequally distributed. If we make the 2008 incomes equal 100 per cent, they would – in a more-of-the-same scenario that continues the present, strongly market-oriented policy – increase by only 8 per cent for the lower 40 per cent, while they would increase by 31 per cent for the upper 20 per cent. A social growth scenario, on the other hand, would raise the incomes of the lower groups by almost 50 per cent, while the rise in the case of the other groups would be no less.

*Graph 5: Change in incomes of social groups depending on whether a more-of-the-same or a social growth scenario is adopted in Germany or socio-ecological restructuring over the next fifteen years (model by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation)*



This model from the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, however, takes no account of the question of a radical ecological restructuring of society. The revolution in attitudes to nature, the ecological transformation, will – in tandem with the creation of equal opportunities in life for all – be the most important challenge of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The highly developed countries will simply have to reduce their consumption of natural resources to a tenth of their present level. The developing countries will also have to reduce their consumption of resources in one or two decades. Although this sounds like a threat, it can be turned into

completely new opportunities. A new prosperity is possible, a richer and more fulfilled life. But the ecological restructuring, the transformation of the entire technological structure of our societies, of our modes of production and ways of living, of our towns and villages, will require a new policy of growth – a growth aimed at saving resources.

If we factor in the growing requirements of a socio-ecological transformation in Germany, this would only be possible if the incomes of the upper fifth of society did not continue to rise. Instead a considerable proportion of the growth gains would have to be invested in an ecological restructuring of the production and transport systems and a revamping of the whole system of supplying power to buildings. This would cost an estimated 10 to 15 per cent of GDP, i.e. 200 to 300 billion euros (see chart 5). The incomes of the great majority (eighty per cent of the population) would rise as steeply as in the Social Growth model. Socio-ecological restructuring, however, would also secure the wealth of future generations, the swift restructuring of the power and transport systems and the phasing-out of resource-intensive areas. The plundering of our natural resources has to stop. The leftist vision of a solidary society cannot be achieved without a fundamental transformation of the systems of ownership and governance. The overcoming of the immediate causes of the threefold crisis of financial market capitalism – affecting

<sup>28</sup> Eine soziale Zukunft für Deutschland. Strategische Optionen für mehr Wohlstand für alle. FES Diskurs February 2009. Cf. also: Wachstum durch Ausbau of sozialer Dienstleistungen. Michael Dauderstädt. Wiso direkt, February 2012.



reproduction, integration and democracy – must be combined with the aim of laying the foundations of an alternative path of development which sustainably unites democratization, socialization and strengthening of the social and political rights of the individual while reducing and overcoming the use of force in intra- and inter-societal conflicts. The positions developed by left-wing socialist and social democratic forces, trade unions, social movements and reform-oriented forces in this connection (chart 6) are aimed at:

1. ending the supremacy of financial funds and shareholder value, bringing capital movements back under control and strengthening the stakeholders in the large corporations (above all the work forces, regions, etc.); this includes taxing short-term financial transactions and reining in speculation;
2. ending the process of transforming nation-states into states whose primary aim is to compete with one another for capital by expanding social, ecological and democratic standards, extending public financing, and placing state finances on a healthy footing by increasing revenues;
3. launching a European initiative to contribute to a new international monetary and financial system based on the proposals put forward by Keynes in 1944 with a view to restoring the balance of trade and overcoming the supremacy of the dollar;
4. expanding the public sector as a basis for giving the great majority of the population a stake in the educational and health services; providing an up-to-date infrastructure; achieving an ecological transformation; and providing a publicly owned, poverty-proof social security system;
5. democratizing investment decisions by means of a strong public banking system, comprehensive co-determination in offices and factories, long-term planning of basic social aims, and taking steps towards a real economic democracy;
6. ensuring a completely new balance between satisfying, gainful employment, family life and care for others, social commitment, and leisure.

The present crisis of capitalism in Europe offers an opportunity to usher in a profound socio-ecological restructuring of our existing society. This restructuring would be helped by those tendencies that point in the direction of a new, thoroughly democratic society genuinely based on freedom, a society that ensures basically equal development conditions for all the world's inhabitants now and in future. Such a double transformation in capitalism and beyond would create the basic conditions for a socialism of the 21st century.

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## Algeria

### Les obstacles politiques et institutionnels à un développement autonome en Algérie (Prof. Ahcène Amarouche)

La question des obstacles politiques et institutionnels à un développement autonome en Algérie plonge ses racines dans l'histoire ancienne et ses prolongements au sein du mouvement national. Mais c'est depuis l'indépendance du pays qu'elle a montré toutes ses facettes.

Nous proposons d'en expliciter les tenants et aboutissants en cherchant à la resituer dans son contexte historique et à en montrer la portée sociétale au travers de ses développements postindépendance.

L'exposé s'articulera autour des trois points suivants :

1. Portée et limites d'un régime autoritaire de gouvernement. Il s'agit dans ce point de préciser le cadre théorique dans lequel s'insère l'analyse du régime autoritaire en pays sous-développé, anciennement colonisé ayant cherché à réaliser un développement autonome ; ce qui est le cas de l'Algérie.
2. Conflits politiques, luttes claniques et dissensions interpersonnelles. Sous cet intitulé, il ne s'agit pas tant de relater les différents événements ayant conduit le pays à vivre de façon quasi-permanente une crise politique et institutionnelle, que de caractériser les forces sociales et politiques sources de l'immaturation des institutions ;
3. Rente et contraintes internes au développement autonome. Il s'agit de montrer ici, en s'appuyant sur un exposé succinct des processus économiques et de leurs mutations depuis l'indépendance, comment la rente pétrolière a permis au régime autoritaire de s'autonomiser par rapport à la société pour, finalement, disqualifier les processus qui, à l'origine, devaient conduire à un développement autonome.

Nous dirons enfin deux mots en conclusion sur le positionnement géostratégique de l'Algérie dans le bassin méditerranéen pour mesurer le poids des contraintes externes dans le développement autonome.

Précisons d'emblée ce qu'on entend par développement autonome. Il ne s'agit pas de le confondre avec l'économie autarcique. Il a rapport avec une économie où les biens et services marchands exportés sous forme d'outputs ne se réduisent pas à un seul produit (pétrole, gaz, tourisme par exemple) et où les biens et services marchands importés sous forme d'inputs et de biens finaux ne couvrent pas toute la palette des besoins de l'économie et de la société. Une économie donc qui s'insère positivement dans la division internationale du travail ; ce que reflète l'équilibre structurel de la balance commerciale (qui n'exclut pas des déséquilibres conjoncturels) plutôt que l'équilibre de la balance des paiements.

L'hypothèse à la base de la présente recherche est que la forme rente du surplus économique ne permet l'emploi productif de celui-ci que dans la perspective de son remplacement par une forme plus en rapport avec le développement autonome, soit le profit en tant que catégorie marchande, soit une forme socialisée de ce dernier ; l'une et l'autre servant à financer l'investissement productif. Comme catégorie de la répartition, la rente est à contrario davantage mobilisée dans la sphère de la consommation, ce qui la place au centre des rapports politiques à fort contenu clanique au sens où le caractère personnel prédomine sur le caractère impersonnel des rapports économiques.

## 1. Portée et limites d'un régime autoritaire de gouvernement

Un régime de gouvernement est un mode d'exercice de l'autorité à l'échelle d'une nation. Pour être pérenne, il ne peut se passer d'une forme quelconque de légitimité, c'est-à-dire de la reconnaissance de son existence comme socialement fondée. Dans la mesure où ils structurent durablement la société, les rapports de propriété – c'est-à-dire la capacité d'influence *nette* sur autrui (Hugon, 1999) que confère aux hommes la possession d'objets extérieurs – constituent la matrice de base, formant système, où prend source toute forme d'autorité. On définira les droits de propriété comme la forme juridique explicite des rapports de propriété et les institutions comme l'expression plus ou moins explicite, plus ou moins cohérente et plus ou moins complète de la concordance entre rapports de propriété et droits de propriété.

On entendra alors par régime autoritaire de gouvernement le mode d'exercice de l'autorité résultant de l'absence de concordance entre les rapports de propriété et les droits de propriété. Dans les pays où une telle concordance n'existe pas, un pouvoir de fait s'établit en effet sous la forme d'un régime de gouvernement dont la fonction sociale est de suppléer au manque de règles instituées par la violence légitime (réelle et/ou symbolique) au sens de Max Weber (Weber, 1998). On postulera qu'en pareille situation, les institutions ne sont ni stables, ni pérennes. D'où le recours à la force brutale (coups d'Etat) ou à une conjuration politique itérative contre les tenants du régime en place. Le régime autoritaire n'en a pas moins un caractère de nécessité historique, étant donné l'état des forces sociales en présence et le niveau de développement des forces productives et de maîtrise sociale des techniques. Néanmoins, la mission historique du régime autoritaire peut différer selon le contexte socio-historique, voire géopolitique.

Dans ce qui suit, nous ne traiterons que du régime autoritaire modernisant<sup>29</sup> de gouvernement. Celui-ci se caractérise par un mode d'exercice de l'autorité où l'inexistence de droits effectifs de propriété pousse les pouvoirs publics à prendre en mains la modernisation du pays par l'industrialisation. Cela se traduit par l'arbitraire plus ou moins assumé par le régime consistant à mener au pas de charge l'industrialisation, quitte à différer l'appropriation privative des richesses créées. D'où la forme étatique de l'industrialisation. Il en résulte une ambiguïté dans les rapports économiques et jusque dans l'exercice de l'autorité qui finit par se résoudre dans la crise. Selon que le régime a accompli sa mission historique ou non, cette crise peut être salutaire ou au contraire catastrophique pour le pays en ce sens qu'elle fait accéder la société à une étape qualitativement supérieure d'organisation institutionnelle ou que s'effondrent les institutions existantes sans alternative viable pour le régime autoritaire. L'issue dépend évidemment des conditions de départ autant que de la position géopolitique (ou géostratégique) ultérieure du pays. Quant aux conditions de départ, elles ne sont pas que d'ordre matériel mais aussi d'ordre social et historique. Quant à la position géopolitique, elle est dictée par des enjeux pouvant dépasser, et de loin, les considérations économiques régionales.

Cette façon de caractériser le régime autoritaire de gouvernement doit néanmoins être nuancée : pas plus qu'il n'y a d'Etat de droit dans l'absolu, il n'y a de régime autoritaire absolu. La réalité est beaucoup plus mouvante : s'il existe une ligne de partage entre un régime démocratique ayant cours dans un Etat de droit constitué et un régime autoritaire, on ne peut dire pour autant que celui-ci a cours dans un Etat de non-droit sans verser dans la contradiction : la notion même d'Etat n'est-elle pas en effet consubstantielle à celle de droit ? Parce que Etat et droit sont dans ce rapport de *consubstantialité*, un tel régime ne peut se passer tout à fait du droit sans cesser *ipso facto* de représenter l'Etat. Aussi ne connaît-on aucun régime autoritaire qui ne se drapait de la loi. Si, pourtant, les tenants d'un tel régime en viennent constamment à transgresser la loi, c'est parce que les rapports réels de propriété débordent largement leur expression juridique – les droits de propriété – rendant ainsi de fait caduque la loi dont ils continuent néanmoins de se prévaloir extérieurement. Leur identification à l'Etat est source

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<sup>29</sup> Par opposition au régime autoritaire qui ne se donne pas pour mission d'industrialiser le pays, régime que nous qualifierons de rétrograde.

potentielle de toutes les dérives autoritaires ultérieures, en sorte que *la raison d'Etat* finit parfois par submerger la loi. Tout cela résulte du fait que la notion même d'Etat ne s'est pas encore élevée au rang de catégorie conceptuelle représentant la *personnalité morale* de tout le peuple en laquelle siège l'autorité. Celle-ci est encore essentiellement attachée à la personne du chef dont elle est pour ainsi dire l'attribut naturel. Dans un tel contexte, aucune médiation institutionnelle autonome ne vient tempérer la rigueur des relations sociales. C'est la personne même du président qui assure (directement ou par personnes interposées) les médiations sociales nécessaires au fonctionnement des institutions, ce qui ne manque pas de leur conférer un caractère personnel prononcé. Comme il ne fait pas que représenter l'Etat mais s'identifie à lui, le président concentre entre ses mains tous les leviers de commande, tel un personnage mythologique. C'est ce qui fait que, malgré les luttes sourdes pour le pouvoir, émaillées d'intrigues pouvant se conclure par l'élimination physique du chef, le président est révééré comme un patriarche et agit comme tel.

La plupart des régimes autoritaires modernisant de gouvernement sont apparus dans un contexte sociohistorique particulier : celui où commence à prendre forme dans le pays l'idée d'Etat-nation en réaction à la menace ou à la domination étrangère. Mettant provisoirement un terme aux dissensions que provoquent dans le corps social en gestation la précarité des conditions et la multiplicité des intérêts en présence, le régime autoritaire ne semble avoir d'autre raison d'être que d'accélérer la formation de l'Etat-nation. Aussi loin que l'on remonte dans l'histoire des régimes autoritaires modernes, leur genèse paraît intimement liée à la formation de l'Etat-nation. Que ce soit l'Allemagne de Bismarck, le Japon du Meiji ou la République turque (sans parler de celles de la Corée, de l'Egypte et de bien d'autres pays encore) la même force est à l'œuvre sous les formes les plus diverses. Dans tous ces cas, l'avènement d'un régime autoritaire apparaît comme la condition primordiale de l'industrialisation, seule à même de conférer au pays une place dans le concert des Etats-nations modernes ; comme l'expression de la volonté collective – donc politique – du changement social. Mais cette condition ne peut à elle seule enclencher le processus de changement institutionnel. Car pour provoquer pareil changement, l'industrialisation doit conduire à une certaine maîtrise des forces productives, qui fait défaut.

Bien que cette maîtrise ne soit pas affaire de simple volonté politique, elle n'en est pas moins indispensable pour mener à bonne fin, de façon accélérée, l'industrialisation du pays. C'est ce qui explique que, en pays à régime autoritaire, l'Etat se soit directement impliqué dans la mise au travail des producteurs, changeant ce faisant la nature des rapports de travail à l'œuvre dans les économies de marché qui l'environnent. De puissance publique qu'il était, l'Etat devient aussi agent économique mais il n'acquiert cette nouvelle qualité qu'au prix d'une confusion entre droits publics et droits privés ; celle-ci s'ajoutant à la confusion déjà constatée entre les rôles respectifs de l'Etat et des tenants du régime du moment. Cette double confusion est sans aucun doute à la base des retournements de situations qui se sont produits dans certains pays à régime autoritaire : malgré les avancées fulgurantes réalisées sur la voie de l'industrialisation, ces pays sont aujourd'hui dans un tel état de délabrement économique que leur existence même en tant qu'Etat-nation est parfois menacée. Il en est ainsi en particulier, on l'aura compris, de nombreux pays d'Afrique anciennement colonisés ayant accédé tardivement à l'indépendance politique et qui se sont lancés dans une industrialisation tous azimuts. Ils sont maintenant confrontés à une violence sociale aveugle, travaillés qu'ils sont depuis de nombreuses années déjà par des luttes politiques dont le véritable enjeu est moins le pouvoir que la mainmise sur l'Etat qu'il est censé représenter. L'Algérie n'a pas échappé à ce sort en dépit des avancées plus poussées qu'ailleurs en Afrique de l'industrialisation. On traitera des causes de cette situation dans les sections II et III ci-après.

## *2. Conflits politiques, luttes claniques et dissensions interpersonnelles*

L'histoire de l'Algérie n'en finit pas d'accoucher des institutions de l'Etat-nation. Bien avant l'indépendance, des voix se sont élevées, de plus en plus nombreuses à partir de 1920-1930, pour

clamer le droit à l'existence d'une nation algérienne encore virtuelle. Ce fut le crédo du courant radical du mouvement national qui se radicalisait davantage au fur et à mesure que grandissait la conscience du déni de justice que l'ordre colonial avait érigé en mode de contrôle social vis-à-vis des populations autochtones. D'autres voix, sans méconnaître cette virtualité, optaient pour l'assimilation de l'Algérie à la France si reconnaissance était obtenue de sa spécificité culturelle et culturelle. C'est l'option du courant réformiste du mouvement national animé par les Ulémas<sup>30</sup>, le Parti Communiste Algérien (PCA) et l'Union Démocratique du Manifeste Algérien (UDMA).

## 2.1 Brève rétrospective historique

L'histoire de l'Algérie est jalonnée d'invasions étrangères. Le pouvoir a changé de mains au gré de ces invasions, bien que le pays ne pût jamais être unifié ni *a fortiori pacifié* avant la colonisation française. Il connut d'incessants soulèvements qui, par leur caractère localisé, ont favorisé la dislocation de la résistance à l'occupant plutôt qu'ils ne la renforcèrent. L'immensité du territoire, la faiblesse des moyens de communication et d'autres facteurs telle la faible densité démographique ont contribué à diviser la population en autant de groupes ethno-linguistiques hétérogènes qu'il y a de régions présentant des traits physiques distincts. Le pays était devenu au fil du temps une mosaïque de tribus aux parlers différents et aux us et coutumes disparates. Partout où le relief le permettait, les populations autochtones se sont repliées sur elles-mêmes en occupant jusqu'aux sommets les flancs de collines et les versants de montagnes dont elles tiraient collectivement leur maigre pitance. Avec le recul qu'on en a, ce repli stratégique semble bien avoir été dicté par un instinct de survie communautaire, de préservation du moi collectif de ces populations face à des envahisseurs autrement plus armés qu'elles. C'est sans doute ce qui explique que la propriété privée ne se soit implantée dans le pays que marginalement et que les droits de propriété n'aient pas été institutionnalisés.

On sait le rôle qu'a joué l'apparition de la propriété privée dans la structuration des sociétés modernes autour de la production/reproduction de leurs conditions d'existence. Tout autre est le type d'organisation adopté par les communautés ayant habité la Numidie depuis les temps les plus reculés. Là, c'est la propriété collective qui a prédominé, avec une forme de démocratie directe dont on trouve maints témoignages dans les sociétés kabyle, mozabite etc. des temps modernes. Nulle autorité n'a pu émerger pour tout à la fois s'arroger le droit d'exercer le monopole de la violence légitime et susciter pour ce faire la production des moyens matériels requis par l'exercice de la violence institutionnalisée. Si, pourtant, les armes n'ont pas manqué, c'est parce que chacun avait le droit d'en fabriquer. Mais leur fabrication atomisée n'a bénéficié que d'un savoir-faire limité ne débouchant pas sur une conceptualisation à même d'en assurer la pérennité. Plus problématique encore était, dans ces conditions, l'accumulation des savoirs propices à de nouvelles applications techniques. Ce ne fut donc pas seulement l'armée qui souffrit de cette situation (si tant était qu'il existât une armée régulière) mais toute la société. Elle fut dans l'incapacité de mener une résistance organisée à toutes les invasions étrangères dont elle fut l'objet. Le pays ne cessa jamais pourtant d'être un champ de bataille où les armées étrangères affrontèrent la résistance populaire et s'affrontèrent entre elles pour le contrôle d'un territoire voué à être au cœur des stratégies des puissances à l'œuvre dans toute la méditerranée.

Quand donc le mouvement national était apparu, il n'eut de réalité que politico-idéologique. Son assise sociale n'a certes pas cessé de s'élargir mais lui manquait la base économique et cette force matérielle que représente la maîtrise sociétale des techniques ainsi que l'accumulation des connaissances à la base du développement technologique.

Sans cette maîtrise et en l'absence d'un principe d'ordre imposant aux protagonistes du mouvement national une direction précise, celui-ci a fini par sombrer dans des luttes intestines gouvernées par les ambitions de ses principaux animateurs. Quand la guerre éclata enfin, ceux-ci ne purent surmonter leurs différends que le temps pour la

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<sup>30</sup> Association de savants en théologie dans l'Algérie coloniale.

lutte armée de s'organiser et de gagner toute l'Algérie. Mais dès 1957, année où fut assassiné Abane Ramdane par ses frères d'armes, les dissensions sont allées grandissantes jusqu'à l'indépendance.

## **2.2 Le mouvement national à l'épreuve de sa mission historique**

Le mouvement national est né, en Algérie, aux tous débuts du 20<sup>e</sup> siècle comme mouvement contestataire du statut de l'indigénat. Porté par une élite, fort peu nombreuse au demeurant, instruite des valeurs de la république française dont la révolution de 1789 avait été le creuset, il n'avait encore d'idéologie nationalitaire<sup>31</sup> que ce que laissait transparaitre le mot *algérien* par lequel il se définissait sans heurter de front le mythe fondateur de l'Algérie française. Aussi est-ce sur le thème de la discrimination sociale et politique que l'élite algérienne de confession musulmane a d'abord construit son discours nationalitaire. Sans même insister ici sur la position assimilationniste du tout premier groupe d'Algériens formé autour du « Manifeste Jeune Algérien » en 1912<sup>32</sup>, on doit relever l'adhésion à cette idée de plus d'un parti au sein du mouvement national qui s'était étoffé au fil des ans. L'UDMA, le PCA et les Ulémas s'opposèrent en cela au Parti du Peuple Algérien devenu Mouvement pour le Triomphe des Libertés Démocratiques (PPA-MTLD) acquis à l'idée d'indépendance que lui légua la défunte Etoile Nord-Africaine des années 1920-1930. Il se produisit un schisme dans le mouvement national qui se scinda en deux courants dont le plus populaire revendiquait l'indépendance.

Formant le courant radical du mouvement national, le PPA-MTLD a certes porté l'idée d'indépendance. Mais il était comme paralysé par les luttes internes entre tendances rivales : d'un côté, la tendance légaliste voulait mener un combat pacifique contre le colonialisme et obtenir l'indépendance par la voie politique, d'un autre côté la tendance radicale prônait la lutte armée pour faire aboutir cette même revendication *ici et maintenant*. A ce différend d'ordre politico-stratégique, s'ajoutaient toutes sortes de dissensions quant au mode d'organisation, au style de direction etc. sans parler du conflit apparu à la fin des années 1940 entre les militants berbérophones et les militants arabophones sur la question identitaire (Ouerdane, 1993)<sup>33</sup>. Miné par ces contradictions, le PPA-MTLD était entré dans une crise profonde, prélude à son éclatement. Le parti semblait être condamné à se disloquer alors même que la conscience nationale à la formation de laquelle il avait grandement contribué s'était aiguisée. Celle-ci avait maintenant débordé le cadre organique de parti, échappant ainsi à toute tentative de la contenir ou de l'instrumentaliser. Il ne restait qu'à lui donner un nouveau cadre d'expression et c'est ce que fit le Front de Libération Nationale (FLN), né dix ans après les massacres du 8 mai 1945.

Mais une limite objective contrariait l'expression du nouveau nationalisme. Cette limite, c'est l'absence d'une base économique propre à assurer la maîtrise sociétale du développement des forces productives par les élites indigènes, maîtrise qui aurait servi ultérieurement à l'Etat-nation algérien à conduire à bonne fin le développement autonome.

De par son insertion complète dans la division internationale du travail de type colonial, l'Algérie ne disposait en effet ni d'un système productif un tant soit peu étoffé, ni même d'un marché intérieur structuré. Cette situation n'était pas le produit de la seule colonisation française: elle était déjà la résultante de l'occupation turque. En outre, et aussi paradoxal que cela puisse paraître, l'esprit d'indépendance et de liberté de ses farouches habitants des premiers temps – les Amazighs – n'a pas favorisé l'éclosion d'un Etat pérenne apte à contrer les invasions étrangères; ce qui aurait supposé qu'il fabriquât armes et munitions intégrant le progrès technique et qu'il développât une organisation hiérarchique à même de donner corps au principe de commandement qui est à la base de toute structure sociale un tant soit peu efficace.

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<sup>31</sup>Nous disons nationalitaire plutôt que nationaliste pour signifier l'absence de volonté de rupture de l'élite algérienne de confession musulmane d'avec la nation française comme ce sera le cas ultérieurement avec l'apparition des partis politiques radicaux tel le PPA-MTLD puis le FLN.

<sup>32</sup> Ce groupe fut dirigé par l'Emir Khaled, petit-fils de l'Emir Abdelkader.

<sup>33</sup> Ce conflit est relaté par les historiens sous l'appellation de crise berbériste de 1949.

Le principe de commandement ne structure pas seulement l'armée. Il est aussi au cœur de l'organisation politico-administrative de la société pour autant que celle-ci possède effectivement une telle organisation. Il se présente alors comme principe d'autorité incarné par un Etat exerçant la violence légitime. Force est de reconnaître qu'un tel principe a manqué à l'Algérie tant au cours de son histoire ancienne que depuis la guerre d'indépendance à partir de laquelle commence son histoire récente. Pour ne nous intéresser qu'à cette dernière, on notera que, si l'histoire de l'Algérie indépendante et de ses institutions est fortement marquée par la guerre de libération au cours de laquelle l'institution militaire a pris le pas sur les institutions civiles du fait même des nécessités de l'heure, l'armée n'a intégré pleinement le principe de commandement dans son organisation hiérarchique qu'après l'indépendance, *travaillée* qu'elle était, durant toute la guerre, par des contradictions internes et par des conflits de leadership entre ses dirigeants.

### **2.3 Conflits de leadership pendant et après la guerre d'indépendance**

Durant la guerre en effet, deux conceptions de l'Algérie se sont opposées, représentées par de fortes personnalités, appuyées par de puissants groupes de pression – d'autant plus puissants que l'accès aux armes leur était plus ou moins facilité en l'absence d'une direction unifiée.

- La première conception est associée au nom d'Abane Ramdane – à savoir la prééminence du politique sur le militaire. Celle-ci fut formulée lors du Congrès de la Soummam dont il a organisé les assises le 20 août 1956. Mais elle se heurta à l'opposition implicite des chefs militaires de l'intérieur qui affrontaient l'armée française sur le terrain. En outre, une véritable armée s'était formée à l'extérieur, aux frontières est et ouest du pays, structurée comme n'importe quelle autre armée, équipée de pied en cape et disposant d'une logistique sophistiquée. Dans l'impossibilité où elle était de mener une guerre classique contre l'ennemi, elle ne se préparait pas moins à entrer, le moment venu<sup>34</sup>, dans la course au pouvoir contre l'Armée de Libération Nationale (ALN) de l'intérieur, décimée par l'ennemi. Une autre option défendue par Abane Ramdane – celle de la prééminence de l'intérieur sur l'extérieur – tombait ainsi d'elle-même en désuétude.
- La seconde conception est évidemment celle associée à l'armée de l'extérieur. Ce fut elle qui s'empara du pouvoir en juillet 1962 non sans avoir eu maille à partir avec ce qui restait de l'ALN de l'intérieur. C'est sur la frontière ouest que s'était constituée l'ossature de commandement de cette armée sous l'autorité d'un chef charismatique – le colonel Houari Boumediene, chef d'état-major nommé par le Gouvernement Provisoire de la République Algérienne (GPRA) – qui a bénéficié de « solidarités nouées au sein de la garnison d'Oujda entre certains militaires et certains technocrates réfugiés au Maroc » (Etienne, 1977). *Le clan d'Oujda*, tel est le nom donné par les historiens à ce groupe de personnes dont le destin allait être intimement lié à l'histoire de l'Algérie indépendante. Le clan d'Oujda s'assura dès avant l'indépendance l'appui moral et politique d'Ahmed Benbella qui allait devenir le premier Président de la République algérienne.

Mû par des ambitions personnelles nourries d'une « projection fantasmagorique, voire hallucinante de soi » (Yefsah, 1990), celui-ci avait cru trouver dans l'armée des frontières le tremplin qui le propulserait au sommet de l'Etat. Mais c'est l'armée qui se servit finalement de lui le temps pour le groupe d'Oujda de placer ses hommes à tous les postes de commandement au sein des appareils disposant de quelque autorité. Moins de trois ans après l'indépendance, l'armée des frontières, devenue Armée Nationale Populaire (ANP), reprit à Benbella le pouvoir qu'elle avait mis dans ses mains.

Si, durant son *règne* déjà, les institutions légitimes créées par le GPRA avaient été neutralisées – après avoir été investies par les hommes du président – elles furent purement et simplement supprimées avec le coup d'Etat militaire du 19 juin 1965 par lequel Benbella fut déposé. Le pouvoir échut désormais en totalité aux militaires qui n'allaient plus jamais le lâcher même lorsque de nouvelles institutions virent le jour et des élections ont commen-

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<sup>34</sup> On se situe ici aux tous derniers instants de la guerre.



cé à être organisées pour donner le change aux tenants de la démocratie formelle. Ce n'est certes pas le lieu ici de rapporter par le menu les faits et actes par lesquels on avait réussi – en instrumentalisant le FLN devenu parti unique et l'Union Générale des Travailleurs Algériens (UGTA), unique syndicat – à donner un semblant de réalité à une démocratie toute de façade. Plus directement en rapport avec notre sujet est la mise en œuvre d'une stratégie industrielle censée assurer au pays un développement autonome.

### *3. Rente et contraintes internes au développement autonome*

A l'indépendance, le GPRA fut déchargé de la conduite de la transition par le duo : Benbella-Boumediene qui s'est emparé du pouvoir. L'un concentra entre ses mains toutes les responsabilités politiques au sein de l'Etat et du Parti, l'autre les charges militaires en passant du poste de Chef d'état-major de l'armée durant les dernières années de la guerre à celui de ministre de la défense nationale. Cette prise de pouvoir inopinée préluada aux convulsions futures dont le pays ne semble pas encore sorti.

Cependant, le colonel Boumediene gagna en autorité morale avec sa décision de nationaliser les sociétés pétrolières étrangères opérant en Algérie, annoncée le 24 février 1971. Par suite, le lancement de deux plans quadriennaux (1970-1973 et 1974-1977) lui permit de faire adhérer toutes les franges de la société à sa politique d'industrialisation accélérée dont les promesses de développement se concrétisaient déjà dans la création de dizaines de milliers d'emplois industriels. Bien que la revalorisation des prix du pétrole sur le marché mondial intervenue en 1973 ait amorcé le processus de conversion de l'économie du pays en une économie de rente (avec les effets pervers qui allaient en découler), la dynamique d'investissement industriel restait forte et les perspectives de sortie du sous-développement étaient réelles. Mais la fragilité des institutions qu'il avait créées allait apparaître au grand jour dès le lendemain de son décès.

#### *3.1 Une légitimité politique sans base sociale sur fond de promesses de développement*

L'idée à la base de toutes les organisations de masse créées sous l'égide du FLN était de mobiliser, dans un esprit nationalitaire mis à l'abri des contradictions de classes (Kaïd, 1970)<sup>35</sup> la société civile pour soutenir le parti et le gouvernement dans leurs efforts de développement. Cependant, si l'adhésion à ces organisations était volontaire, les rapports sociaux qui s'y nouaient ne le furent pas au sens de Walzer qui définit la société civile comme un « espace relationnel – associational networks – *spécifique*<sup>36</sup> au sein d'une communauté politique ; cet espace [prenant] corps autour d'un faisceau de rapports sociaux volontaires et d'un ensemble de réseaux qui donnent vie et sens à cet espace » (Walzer, 1998). Bien qu'elles fussent malgré tout, pour certaines, des lieux de luttes homériques<sup>37</sup> où se faisaient jour les contradictions sociales qu'on voulait précisément étouffer, les organisations de la société civile n'en représentèrent pas moins le versant « société civile » de ce qu'on pourrait qualifier, à la suite de Gramsci, de *bloc historique* (Gramsci, 1975)<sup>38</sup> en formation ; lequel se renforcera ultérieurement par d'autres organisations de la « famille révolutionnaire ». Mais alors que la structure économique de ce bloc, composée des entreprises d'Etat couvrant la quasi-totalité des secteurs d'activité, commençait à peine à traduire dans les faits le principe du noircissement systématique de la matrice interindustrielle mis au cœur de la stratégie de développement de l'Algérie et de son option pour un développement autonome, sa superstructure juridico-institutionnelle

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<sup>35</sup> L'auteur tente de justifier sinon l'absence de contradictions de classes en Algérie, du moins leur caractère secondaire ou à tout le moins non antagonique.

<sup>36</sup> C'est nous qui soulignons (A.A).

<sup>37</sup> Si la Centrale Syndicale, par exemple, jouait le rôle de courroie de transmission des instructions du parti et du gouvernement, les instances locales de cette organisation (sections syndicales d'entreprises, parfois fédérations de branches) étaient à l'origine de grèves ouvrières de grande ampleur. Cf. sur ce point Chikhi (S), *Question ouvrière et rapports sociaux en Algérie*, Revue NAQD, n°6, septembre 1993-mars 1994.

<sup>38</sup> L'auteur définit ainsi le bloc historique : « l'ensemble complexe, contradictoire et discordant des superstructures est le reflet de l'ensemble des rapports sociaux de production » (page 193).



n'allait pas tarder à diffuser des comportements sociaux à base d'attentes sociales non corrélées à l'économie : le desserrement de la contrainte de ressources induit par l'entrée massive de revenus pétroliers, commençait à produire des effets pervers d'autant plus importants que les capacités d'absorption de l'économie étaient limitées.

Au total, et pour la période qui nous occupe ici (les années 1962-1980), l'impression générale qui se dégage est que si la structure économique du bloc historique en formation était quasiment achevée, sa superstructure juridico-institutionnelle et politico-idéologique n'était pas parvenue à éliminer des champs social et culturel les traits les plus caractéristiques des contradictions sociales au profit de l'*homo algerianicus* fantasmé par les dirigeants. Au vu de ce qui allait se produire ultérieurement, l'explication paraît simple à présent : bien qu'elle ne puisse être rapportée de façon univoque à la structure économique comme les murs d'une maison à ses fondations, la société ne se développe pas moins dans une relation organique avec le « système des besoins » (Frydman, 2004) qui gouverne l'économie en sorte qu'on ne peut parler à son endroit d'une société productrice, reproductrice et transformatrice des institutions que dans la mesure où elle est également productrice de ses propres conditions d'existence – matérielles, culturelles et morales. Il n'y a pas jusqu'aux créations culturelles les plus anodines qui n'aient pour ancrage, dans la société, le travail. Or justement, la « vaste promesse de mise au travail des gens » (Hamel, 1983) portée par la stratégie algérienne de développement et son option pour un développement autonome était en train de se concrétiser et avec elle un foisonnement d'activités et d'idées au sein de la société civile hors bloc historique. Mais le décès de Houari Boumediene allait tout remettre en cause !

### **3.2 Logique industrielle et traditions politiques et culturelles**

Concernant l'industrialisation, c'est à l'Etat qu'avait incombé dès l'indépendance la responsabilité de définir et de conduire le projet initial dont le but était d'endogénéiser les principes techniques à la base de l'industrie moderne. Aux raisons proprement économiques de ce choix s'adjoignirent les nécessités d'ordres social et politique d'édifier un Etat-nation à même de satisfaire aux attentes de la population nées de l'issue victorieuse de la guerre de libération. Le but affiché était de recouvrer l'indépendance économique, ce qui ne paraissait possible que si l'Etat s'investissait pleinement dans cette entreprise. Il fallait affronter sur le terrain même de l'économie des puissances établies, ayant défini un ordre mondial dont elles tiraient le plus grand profit. Celles-ci se sont constituées de longue date en Etats-nations fortement charpentés, aux institutions dotées d'autorité et de volonté à même de leur assurer une place dans la hiérarchie des puissances. Par ailleurs, l'Etat algérien était apparu au sortir de la guerre comme la seule force organisée de la société, force dont on attendait qu'elle satisfît des demandes sociales nombreuses et variées. Il semblait naturel qu'il prît en mains les destinées du pays et qu'il traduisît en actes le projet qu'avaient porté tout au long de la guerre les forces combattantes représentant toutes les franges de la société. La stratégie algérienne de développement est née de cette conjonction de facteurs internes et externes dans une sorte de défi à l'ancien occupant.

Mais l'industrie a évidemment sa propre logique. Porteuse d'un système de places défini par son *modus operandi*, elle assigne à l'opérateur un poste incluant une responsabilité technique et/ou sociale dans son système de places. En même temps qu'elle lui confère un certain pouvoir, la place que l'opérateur occupe dans ce système exige de lui qualifications et compétence techniques à même de permettre au système de machines d'atteindre l'objectif de production en vue duquel il est organisé.

Il n'en va pas de même en Algérie où le système de machines auquel font défaut les conditions sociotechniques pour fonctionner comme tel est resté pour ainsi dire à l'état fœtal. Les usines, complexes industriels et autres systèmes de machines ne pouvaient atteindre les performances qu'on leur connaissait ailleurs – performances techniques, organisationnelles ou financières – qu'après une longue période de maturation au cours de laquelle on fit appel à la coopération technique étrangère. Celle-ci eut l'effet contraire de celui attendu dans la mesure où il n'y eut qu'un faible transfert des connaissances en raison du mode de coopération adopté (usines clé en mains puis produit en main). Conséquence : la main-d'œuvre qualifiée algérienne occupa moins les postes techniques

définis par le système de machines que les postes administratifs définis par les réseaux relationnels à base de rapports traditionnels, à l'œuvre dans toute la société. C'est aux postes de commandement les plus élevés (postes politiques) que les personnes s'inscrivant dans les réseaux relationnels chercheront à se placer pour n'avoir pas à dépendre de celles qui ont des responsabilités techniques (Henni, 1993). Ce n'est d'ailleurs pas seulement dans l'industrie que se vérifie ce schéma : tout ce que la société compte de pouvoirs s'organise selon ce double registre parce que l'industrialisation, qui a vocation à projeter sur toute la société sa propre rationalité, a échoué dans cette entreprise face à la rationalité traditionnelle. On ne peut dès lors pas s'étonner de la résurgence actuelle du communautarisme (dont l'expression idéologique moderne est l'islamisme) et de sa volonté d'en découdre avec toutes les formes de la modernité que l'industrialisation a amenée dans son sillage. Le sacré, en lequel se retrouvent les communautés, devient le pivot autour duquel s'organise la société. Mais c'est parce que, aussi, l'Etat n'a jamais véritablement tranché la question du type de socialité qu'il voulait voir s'instaurer dans le pays en initiant l'industrialisation. L'ambiguïté était déjà dans les rapports de travail dont la forme salariale, qui structure les sociétés modernes, est associée au système de machines.

Aussi, la crise du système productif en formation allait-elle coïncider presque exactement avec le décès du Président Houari Boumediene. Mais si, dès 1978, le besoin de réforme du système économique s'était fait sentir, le résultat de la réforme de 1980 a été des plus décevants, n'ayant mis en cause ni - *a fortiori* - modifié en quoi que ce soit la nature du dit système ou son mode de fonctionnement. Plus porteuse de promesses de changements systémiques, la réforme de 1988 n'a pas davantage réalisé les espoirs qu'elle a suscités au départ. Cette réforme, fortement appuyée par les organismes multilatéraux de financement tels le FMI et la Banque Mondiale, s'inscrivait dans le processus global de libéralisation économique qui se déroulait à l'échelle planétaire. Quant au Programme d'Ajustement Structurel auquel elle a conduit, s'il a bien satisfait aux exigences de ces organismes en matière de rétablissement des équilibres macro-financiers, il n'a en revanche ni enclenché la dynamique devant aboutir à une restructuration de l'économie à même de la placer sur le sentier de croissance sur des bases productives, ni donné un coup d'arrêt au processus de paupérisation qui était apparu à la faveur de l'application des mesures de restrictions budgétaires incluses dans le premier volet de ce programme (mesures dites de stabilisation macroéconomique).

### ***3.3 La restructuration organique et financière des entreprises publiques : une réforme faussement libérale***

Dès avant le décès du Président Boumediene, des critiques se sont élevées contre la stratégie algérienne de développement pour dénoncer le gigantisme des sociétés nationales supposé être la cause de leur inefficacité productive. Etant à l'origine spécialisées dans des activités relevant d'une seule et même branche, celles-ci se sont développées au fil des années dans des directions multiples, chacune cherchant à inclure dans son champ d'action les activités en amont et en aval de la leur pour se prémunir contre les problèmes d'approvisionnement en intrants de toutes natures nécessaires à la fabrication de leur produit de base. Le résultat a été que « certaines entreprises publiques se sont retrouvées avec un degré de concentration verticale et horizontale propres aux multinationales » (Baba-Ahmed, 1999), ce qui mettait en grande difficulté les administrations de tutelle censées exercer sur elles un contrôle pointilleux mais qui, de fait, n'avaient pas le pouvoir de le faire. En un sens, et contrairement aux apparences, la restructuration organique des entreprises publiques visait à rétablir l'Administration dans ses fonctions de contrôle bureaucratique davantage que de régulation économique.

Le résultat a été que toutes les entreprises de grande taille existantes au moment de la réforme ont été dissoutes et leurs unités érigées en entreprises sur la base du principe de la séparation des fonctions de production et de commercialisation. Les 70 sociétés nationales existantes en 1980 ont donc donné naissance à 375 nouvelles entreprises tous secteurs d'activité confondus comme le montre le tableau suivant.

Secteur d'activité	Avant la restructuration	Après la restructuration
Agriculture	7	23
Industrie, Mines, Energie	17	126
Industries légères	9	51
Industries légères	6	45
Hydrocarbures, Energie	2	30
BTP, Hydraulique	12	101
Habitat/Construction	5	36
Travaux publics	4	36
Hydraulique	3	29
Information, Culture, Tourisme	8	45
Information/culture	2	24
Tourisme	6	21
Divers	26	80
Santé	1	4
Commerce	7	28
P&T	1	2
Finances	8	12
Transport	9	34
Total	70	375

Source: Document de travail de la Commission du Parti chargée de la restructuration organique et financière des entreprises publiques.

Sur les 375 nouvelles entreprises, l'industrie, le BTP et le transport en comptaient 232, ce qui laissait supposer que le noyau dur du système productif algérien allait, sinon être renforcé, du moins sauvegardé. Il n'en fut rien pour la raison simple que la restructuration organique des entreprises publiques s'est soldée par un simple démembrement des sociétés nationales existantes et que les nouvelles entités créées en leur lieu et place en étaient réduites à n'assurer qu'une seule des deux principales fonctions dévolues à toute entreprise : la production ou la commercialisation<sup>39</sup>. Cette spécialisation n'a pas manqué de révéler toutes ses limites tant du point de vue du mode de régulation étatique auquel les autorités se raccrochaient encore avec âpreté, que du point de vue du mode concurrent de régulation économique, celui fondé sur la prééminence des lois du marché.

Parmi les effets pervers constatés :

1. La séparation des fonctions de production et de distribution rendit les entreprises de production entièrement dépendantes des entreprises de commercialisation pour ce qui est de l'écoulement de leurs pro-

<sup>39</sup> L'investissement continue d'être du ressort de l'Administration centrale ainsi d'ailleurs que son financement.

duits. Les premières subirent de plein fouet les conséquences de la pratique des prix administrés largement sous-évalués malgré la surévaluation du dinar qui leur permettait d'importer inputs et équipements à moindres frais, tandis que les secondes virent se constituer des stocks d'inventus à cause de la rupture du lien avec le marché qui résultait de cette nouvelle organisation de l'économie. Les entreprises de distribution de certains biens de consommation durable (électroménager) et de certains biens intermédiaires (matériaux de construction) allaient jouer un rôle particulier dans la montée en puissance de la bourgeoisie entrepreneuriale et commerçante. Celle qui s'est développée dans le BTP par exemple, principale activité productive restée de tous temps ouverte au secteur privé, s'est enrichie comme jamais en pratiquant l'achat auprès des Entreprises publiques de Distribution des Matériaux de Construction (EDIMCO) à des prix administrés de matériaux de construction frappés par la pénurie (ciment, rond à béton) pour les revendre en l'état aux auto-constructeurs, qui foisonnaient en raison de la pénurie de logements. On ne peut donc pas s'étonner de ce que la restructuration organique des entreprises publiques n'ait produit d'effets positifs ni en termes d'efficacité productive ni en termes de rentabilité financière mais qu'elle ait servi à opérer un transfert de rente du secteur public vers le secteur privé.

2. De nombreux cadres de l'administration centrale des entreprises se virent signifier une nouvelle affectation et durent pour certains d'entre eux abandonner d'eux-mêmes leurs fonctions pour ne pas se voir obligés de rejoindre leur nouveau lieu de travail<sup>40</sup>. Le démembrement des anciennes sociétés nationales fut en soi un motif de déperdition de la mémoire collective des entreprises publiques qui ne disposaient désormais plus que des bribes de leurs archives. Cette déperdition fut aggravée par l'éparpillement de l'encadrement humain qui fut aussi la cause de la dilapidation du *capital-expérience*, accumulé tout au long de la décennie antérieure.

En conséquence, la production matérielle (en unités physiques) des principaux biens de l'industrie a connu une évolution erratique, la tendance générale étant à la stagnation, signe de ce que le système productif algérien avait atteint ses limites dans sa configuration d'alors. Le tableau ci-après donne un aperçu de l'évolution sur cinq ans (1984-1988) des principales productions de l'industrie publique. Notons l'absence quasi-complète des produits provenant du complexe de machines dont M. Lanzarotti dit qu'il caractérise le sous-développement (Lanzarotti, 1992).

#### *Production matérielle de certains biens de l'industrie*

*(Unité: milliers de tonnes sauf indication contraire)*

	1984	1988
<b>Produits sidérurgiques</b>		
Bruts de fonderie	1,176	1,575
Acier	1,143	1,671
<b>Produits mécaniques et véhicules</b>		
Moteurs Diesel	10,976	9,600
Wagons	895	488
Camions	6,619	5,290

<sup>40</sup> A l'obligation de quitter leur cadre de vie habituel s'ajoutaient de nombreuses difficultés comme celle de trouver un logement.

	1984	1988
Tracteurs	5,927	5,500
<b>Equipement électrique</b>		
Câbles et fils	291,900	386,000
Téléviseurs (unités)	64,864	...
Cuisinières électriques (unités)	100,000	468,000
Réfrigérateurs (unités)	219,900	...
<b>Produits alimentaires,</b>		
Farine et semoule de blé	2,162	2,580
Huiles alimentaires	272	320
Sucre	214	220
<b>Textiles et produits du cuir</b>		
Filés (à l'exclusion du jute)	31	39
Tissus (millions de mètres)	106	99
Vêtements de confection (milliers d'unités)	24,268	18,000
Chaussures (milliers de paires)	18,138	15,000
<b>Matériaux de construction</b>		
Ciment	5,539	7,250
Plâtre	143	170
Briques et tuiles	1,661	1,660
Carrelages (milliers de mètres carrés)	2,299	2,220

Source: FMI, Rapport sur l'Algérie 1989, pages 12 à 14.

Ce tableau indique clairement que, hormis pour certains produits (tel le ciment, promu au rang de produit stratégique par la politique de libéralisation de la construction, et quelques autres produits de consommation durable – telles les réfrigérateurs, les cuisinières etc.) le système productif algérien avait bel et bien atteint ses limites en termes de production physique dès 1984. En valeurs, le même constat peut être fait avec, en sus, une tendance nette à la chute de la productivité apparente du travail mesurée par le rapport valeur ajoutée/coût de main-d'œuvre. C'est le cas du moins des industries lourdes. Bien qu'elles aient continué de recruter (l'effectif employé étant passé de 138 000 à près de 161 000 salariés entre le début et la fin de la période analysée ici), cette baisse de la productivité dans les industries lourdes s'explique essentiellement par un surcroît de personnel dû à la politique de recrutements non corrélée à celle de l'investissement.

Il est vrai que pour les entreprises du secteur des industries légères la situation était moins dramatique, la productivité apparente du travail ayant eu plutôt tendance à augmenter entre 1984 et 1987. Mais cela ne se reflétait pas dans l'évolution de la production en termes physiques des entreprises des branches les plus représentatives de la consommation finale comme les produits alimentaires, les vêtements et les chaussures mais seulement dans la

croissance de la production des biens de consommation durable (voir tableau page précédente). C'est donc l'effet prix qui a surtout joué dans cette apparente amélioration des performances des entreprises, ce qui était le signe de ce que les secteurs de la production des biens de consommation étaient fortement contraints par la demande alors que toute l'économie l'était par l'offre (économie de pénurie).

Cependant le nombre de chômeurs n'a pas cessé de croître et le chômage de devenir endémique : le taux de chômage par rapport à la population active non agricole est en effet passé de 21% en 1984 (chiffre déjà alarmant au regard des normes internationales en la matière) à 27% en 1988, ce qui est le signe le plus patent de l'échec de la réforme dont les objectifs étaient de rendre plus efficace les entreprises publiques et de créer des emplois en grand nombre (cent mille par an à partir de 1980) ; ce que B. Hamel (Hamel, 1983)<sup>41</sup> avait appelé une « vaste promesse de mise au travail ». Au total, la restructuration organique et financière des entreprises publiques engagée en 1980 a plutôt eu tendance à accentuer la déstructuration du système productif en formation, ce qui a plongé l'économie tout entière dans le marasme que la crise pétrolière de 1986 n'a fait qu'aggraver.

### **3.4 Nature du surplus économique : la logique de rente à l'œuvre**

Nous passerons sur la réforme de 1988 qui a cherché à conférer à l'entreprise publique un degré d'autonomie élevé par rapport à l'Administration tout en réhabilitant la fonction de commercialisation de celle-ci en décrétant le principe de commercialité comme devant régir les entreprises d'Etat. Dans les faits, de nouvelles structures administratives ont remplacé les ministères techniques dans l'exercice de la tutelle sur les entreprises publiques (Fonds de participation, Holdings publiques). Toujours est-il que, tout comme la restructuration organique et financière de 1980, la réforme de 1988 n'a pas réussi à modifier substantiellement la rationalité à l'œuvre dans le système et à conférer plus d'efficacité productive aux entreprises publiques. Les raisons de cet échec annoncé résident dans la nature du surplus économique dont on a postulé en introduction qu'il était à base de rente.

Aussi est-ce l'Etat qui, comme centre de commandement du système, a la haute main sur son affectation, transformant du coup l'ensemble des rapports économiques en des rapports politiques. D'où la violence des luttes pour le pouvoir dans le pays où un régime autoritaire de gouvernement finit toujours par en remplacer un autre. Qu'un tel régime soit amené à assurer une certaine équité dans la répartition des revenus, c'est un fait que bien des expériences de pays à économie de rente corroborent. Mais entre la quête de légitimité qui lui fait défaut et qu'il croit pouvoir acheter par la paix sociale et les aléas du marché mondial où se détermine le volume du revenu national du pays, le régime autoritaire de gouvernement ne cesse d'évoluer dans l'entre-deux, maniant la distribution de prébendes et la répression. Alors qu'elles ont eu toutes facilités de la part des bailleurs de fonds internationaux à la recherche de placements des surliquidités de l'économie mondiale pour mener à grands frais de vastes programmes d'investissements productifs publics dans les années 1960-1970, les autorités de l'Algérie, qui n'ont pas su faire fructifier cette manne, ont été réduites au début des années 1990 à adopter un plan drastique d'ajustement structurel. Celui-ci s'est traduit par la réduction des dépenses publiques d'équipement et de fonctionnement, source principale de revenus pour la majorité des gens. La paupérisation a alors gagné du terrain en même temps que se sont renouvelées les modalités d'accaparement de la rente à la faveur de la libéralisation du commerce. Les inégalités sociales se sont accrues, reléguant à l'arrière-plan des préoccupations des tenants du régime autoritaire de gouvernement la recherche à tout prix d'un consensus social.

Faut-il voir dans la tragédie des années 1990 au cours de laquelle des dizaines, voire des centaines de milliers de personnes sont mortes de mort violente en Algérie, un simple effet mécanique des luttes entre factions rivales

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<sup>41</sup> L'auteur écrit au sujet du développement prioritaire de l'industrie que celle-ci « apparaît, par sa prise sur les richesses nationales (les hydrocarbures notamment) et leur transformation industrielle, comme la principale source d'accumulation et de fixation durable du capital d'une part, et comme le moyen le plus sûr de réaliser la vaste promesse de mise au travail par la mobilisation générale, à long terme, *de toutes les forces de travail disponibles et à venir* (c'est nous qui soulignons) d'autre part »

autour du (re)partage de la rente comme d'aucuns n'hésitent pas à l'affirmer (Hibou, 1999) ? Si cette façon de voir est par trop simpliste, elle n'en traduit pas moins le sentiment général selon lequel le système économique algérien est entièrement structuré par la rente, ce qui donne aux rapports de distribution (qui prévalent sur les rapports de production comme D. Liabes l'avait déjà clairement énoncé en 1986) un contenu immédiatement politique et aux rapports politiques ce que je ne sais quoi de licencieux<sup>42</sup>. Aussi bien ne peut-on dédouaner complètement et définitivement le régime autoritaire de gouvernement de la responsabilité morale d'avoir conduit le pays à cet état de déliquescence propice au déchaînement de la violence quoi qu'il ait pu faire par la suite pour l'endiguer. C'est la crise du système productif en formation qui est au cœur de ce processus, crise que les réformes de 1980 et de 1988 n'ont pu endiguer.

### ***3.5 Des ambiguïtés persistantes dans les rapports de travail***

On a déjà fait état de l'ambiguïté des rapports de travail dans la configuration du secteur public industriel en Algérie. Cette ambiguïté n'est pas entièrement levée par le fait qu'une nouvelle législation du travail a été introduite à partir de 1990, formellement plus favorable à une organisation de la production à même de dégager un surplus économique susceptible d'être investi productivement. Par définition, le droit ne recouvre que partiellement les faits ; les droits de propriété ne correspondent pas aux rapports de propriété, rapports réels autrement plus prégnants que ceux que la loi organise, aussi puissante que puisse être l'autorité de ceux qui ont la charge de la faire respecter. S'il se dégage de la nouvelle législation des rapports de travail fortement apparentés au rapport salarial à l'œuvre dans les économies de marché constituées, cela ne modifie pas ipso facto la situation réelle parce que :

- d'une part, la nouvelle législation du travail est censée créer les conditions de passage à l'économie marchande de production alors que l'économie du pays est entièrement gouvernée par la rationalité de la rente et que,
- d'autre part, le même handicap auquel l'économie était jusque-là confrontée continue de sévir – à savoir la non maîtrise sociétale des techniques.

Indépendamment même de cette dernière condition, toute la difficulté consiste à passer du travail comme catégorie du politique selon l'expression de D. Liabes (Liabes, 1994) au travail comme catégorie de l'économique. Dans un cas, le travailleur collectif, perçu comme faisant partie intégrante de l'État (à défaut de se percevoir lui-même comme tel), se trouve pleinement impliqué dans les luttes entre les différents segments du pouvoir au travers de l'unique organisation syndicale – l'UGTA – qui le représente envers et contre sa propre volonté ; dans l'autre cas le même travailleur collectif se définit par la place qu'il occupe dans le procès de production en tant que salarié, accédant à l'expression de soi<sup>43</sup> dans l'opposition à l'autre, l'employeur, fût-il le représentant attitré de l'État. Ce que M.N.E. Koriche (Koriche, 2001) appelle l'autonomie normative des partenaires sociaux passait donc par une double rupture :

- une rupture du lien, de nature politique, qui unissait les travailleurs, au travers des organes de représentation qu'étaient l'UGTA et l'Assemblée des Travailleurs de l'Entreprise (ATE), aux employeurs ;
- une rupture avec le mode de rémunération du travail caractéristique du SGT (Statut Général du Travailleur) et que A. Arabi appelait la forfaitisation du salaire (c'est-à-dire la déconnexion du salaire d'avec la productivité du travail).

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<sup>42</sup> Certains partis d'opposition, à l'instar du Mouvement Démocratique et Social (MDS), qualifient de système maffieux le système politique algérien et parlent de mafia politico-financière à son sujet.

<sup>43</sup> La formule est de D. Liabes, op. cit.

Passées les années 1994-1999 au cours desquelles la situation sécuritaire s'était détériorée au point de faire passer au second rang des préoccupations la question de la relance économique, les tentatives de restructuration industrielle initiées par les pouvoirs publics ont toutes échoué tandis que la privatisation des entreprises du secteur public est encore à ses balbutiements. Comme le tableau ci-après retraçant l'évolution des taux d'utilisation des capacités de production le montre clairement, le système productif public algérien, parce qu'entièrement dépendant du surplus pétrolier, a bel et bien atteint ses limites et seule un changement radical de configuration du dit système – changement qui implique le resserrement de la contrainte de ressources sur les opérateurs et qui suppose donc la déconnexion d'avec les surplus pétroliers – est de nature à changer la donne.

*Evolution du taux d'utilisation des capacités de production installées (%)*

ANNEES	1989	2004
Hydrocarbures	71.9	93.2
Mines et Carrières	69.5	55.5
ISMME <sup>44</sup>	54.3	50.1
Mat. Construction, Céramique, Verre	64.1	70.1
Chimie, Caoutchouc, Plastique	49.2	38.5
Agro-alimentaire, Tabacs, Allumettes	77.5	39.3
Textiles, Bonneterie, Confection	52.0	29.7
Cuirs et Chaussures	59.0	12.9
Bois, Liège, Papier, Imprimerie	41.4	20.7

Source: Office National des Statistiques (ONS)

L'industrie algérienne hors hydrocarbures (secteurs public et privé confondus) ne représente plus que 5% du PIB depuis 2007 contre 18-20% à la fin des années 1970 alors qu'en termes d'entités elle atteint les 10% de l'ensemble des entités économiques en 2011 (selon recensement économique réalisé par l'ONS<sup>45</sup>), ce qui dénote de la dégradation continue de la situation de l'industrie.

#### *4. En guise de conclusion*

Nous avons tenté dans les pages qui précèdent de rendre compte des contraintes internes qui ont pesé sur le développement autonome en Algérie en confrontant la logique industrielle, à l'œuvre dans les économies de marché constituée, à la logique traditionnelle, où les relations sociales sont fortement marquées du sceau du communautarisme. La transformation progressive de l'économie de l'Algérie en économie de rente à partir du début des années 1970 a achevé de rendre inopérante l'idée du développement autonome sur base industrielle en raison de la prépondérance de ce type de relations sociales dans les administrations et les entreprises. De surcroît, le système productif en formation est resté largement tributaire des importations de biens d'équipement, de biens intermédiaires et de bien de consommation finale d'un côté, des exportations de pétrole et de gaz de l'autre.

<sup>44</sup> Industries sidérurgiques, métallurgiques, métalliques et électriques

<sup>45</sup> Document PDF, juillet 2012.



Justement en raison du poids du pétrole et du gaz dans son économie, l'Algérie est devenue l'enjeu de tractations géostratégiques entre les grandes puissances qui opèrent dans le bassin méditerranéen. Paradoxalement, et en dépit de tout ce que le pays a mobilisé de forces depuis l'avènement du mouvement national pour son développement autonome, il s'est trouvé progressivement vidé de cette volonté tant ont été prégnants les effets pervers du desserrement de la contrainte de ressources sur les acteurs sociaux internes (phénomène du dutch disease). De nouvelles forces politiques sont apparues à travers les opérateurs du commerce extérieur qui, en vérité, n'opèrent qu'à l'importation en profitant du différentiel de change entre les taux officiels (auxquels ils obtiennent de la Banque d'Algérie les devises nécessaires à leur *business*), et les taux parallèles (marché noir) auxquels ils vendent sur le marché algérien. Ces opérateurs ont évidemment partie liée tout à la fois avec certaines forces internes, qui leur facilitent la tâche, ainsi qu'avec des acteurs extérieurs (voire des autorités de pays étrangers) qui ont intérêt à ce que l'Algérie soit confinée dans le statut de marché plutôt que de devenir une puissance économique régionale. En un court laps de temps s'est finalement constituée autour des nouvelles autorités et contre la société en refondation, ce que René Gallissot appelle *une société publique*, « celle qui est dans les institutions et les appareils dominants d'encadrement et englobe aussi les partis et les syndicats en gravitation étatique » (Gallissot, 2002, p. 21). Ainsi que l'écrivait Djilali Liabes, il y a « fermeture de la parenthèse [...] d'une phase de croissance relativement « neutre » aux plans économique, social et politique, dans la mesure où toutes les couches constitutives de la société – [...] ont semblé tirer profit de la stratégie de croissance fondée sur la valorisation de la rente » (Liabes, 1986, p.132).

L'effet rente joue donc à plein à présent dans l'économie et aux contraintes externes de type économique viennent s'ajouter des contraintes de type politique ainsi que des contraintes de type sécuritaire (voire militaire). De nouvelles configurations institutionnelles dans la mobilisation de la rente sont échafaudées, préluant à des dérives dont on ne mesure pas jusqu'à présent les effets déstructurants à long terme sur « les ressorts et les profondeurs psychomotrices et spirituelles d'une vaste communauté » (Lacheraf, 1989, p. 24).

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## La Société civile : entre mouvements sociaux et participation citoyenne (Prof. Larbi Icheboudene)

Au cours de la rencontre de Hanoi, notre contribution portera sur la Société civile en Algérie dans l'esprit de son évolution vers ce que l'on appelle le contrat social. Une telle évolution comprend la structuration de la société, à différentes échelles de l'espace social et politique, en tant que somme d'acteurs participant aux questions de la vie quotidienne ainsi qu'aux grandes orientations de développement. Autrement dit, il s'agit d'analyser l'avenir de l'espace de la participation citoyenne et de la concertation dans le cadre de la société civile et de ses rapports à l'Etat et ses institutions.

Après 50 ans de recouvrement de l'indépendance du pays, il apparaît que la société civile est encore en formation, dans ses formes modernes, et toujours en quête de participation citoyenne aux projets et décisions qui la concernent, mais encore sous les monopoles institutionnels de l'Etat. Il s'agit du mouvement associatif, syndical et autres formes d'organisations, non étatiques, qui s'expriment avec des revendications sociales, culturelles, voire de libertés démocratiques.

Nous nous interrogerons sur la société civile et son émergence, faite de mouvements et assises autonomes ayant pour théâtre l'espace public (Öffentlichkeit selon M. Weber). Soit une lecture de quelques faits et résultats issus de la rupture née de deux événements politiques déterminants. C'est-à-dire : le mouvement social du printemps Berbère de 1980 et l'explosion sociale et politique d'Octobre 1988. Par l'ampleur de leurs effets sociaux et politiques, ces deux événements suivis d'autres mouvements sociaux, ont conduit la société algérienne vers une évolution que caractérisent d'importantes décisions de Transition progressive vers l'émergence de la société civile et le libéralisme économique.

### *1. La société civile dans ses significations en Algérie*

Comprendre la société civile, c'est s'interroger sur les mouvements sociaux en Algérie. Ces derniers, de récente apparition et souvent peu admis par l'administration de l'Etat, inscrivent leur action dans celles dites fondatrices et modernes visant la promotion de la société dans les dimensions de la citoyenneté et des droits que ce statut implique. L'importance de ce thème dans l'Algérie actuelle renvoie aussi bien aux héritages de son histoire perturbée (ruptures historiques) qu'aux conditions sociopolitiques de sa formation et de l'émergence de la société civile.

Au sens sociologique, la société civile vise à aller vers le contrat social issu de logiques de chartes et de représentations. Soit construire le vivre ensemble. Le tissu de la société civile c'est d'abord le mouvement associatif. En effet, les associations se définissent pour protéger les individus contre les abus de l'administration et leur évitent de se retrouver désarmés face à face avec l'Etat. Ainsi, l'organisation associative signifie la tentative de se soustraire au monopole de l'Etat sur toutes les manifestations de la vie en société.

### *2. La société civile en trois segments de temps*

De nos jours en Algérie, il s'agit de tendre vers les pédagogies d'apprentissages à construire ensemble la société civile et dans un cadre organisé. La difficulté consiste à ce que ceci signifie pour la société et sa formation sociale des parcours marqués par des ruptures historiques. Nous résumons ces parcours dans les trois segments de temps ci-après. :

**2.1 Dans le temps précolonial**, la société était constituée de deux « mondes », aux rapports équilibrés. L'un dit urbain, environ (environ 7% de la population totale), était policé, ayant ses élites aux citadinités avérées. Le gouvernement et les acteurs de la ville (corporations de métiers, représentants des groupes sociaux et de quartiers), garantissaient le fonctionnement de la Cité. Le « monde » rural, régi par un système social

traditionnel et caractérisé par des structures de réelles pratiques démocratiques, fonctionnait à la satisfaction des habitants.

**2.2 Dans le temps colonial:** Le postulat était que l'installation d'une colonie de peuplement passait par la négation sociologique de la société originelle. Aussi, outre l'exploitation des richesses du pays, les missions étaient celles de faire disparaître les fondements culturels de la civilisation précoloniale tels que les contenus de la Formation Economique et Sociale, les systèmes sociaux, les cadres de solidarité, les formes d'associations traditionnelles etc.. Aussi, la société dominée vivait des conditions qui rendaient impossible l'émergence d'une société civile, car soumise aux lois issues des logiques culturelles dominantes devant aboutir aux pathologies de l'acculturation. Seuls les mouvements des partis nationalistes et leurs associations satellites ou celui des Oulema, à caractère religieux, au cours des années 1930, allaient donner progressivement de l'existence, puis de l'épaisseur politique et socioculturelle à la société algérienne. Au cours de la seconde moitié du 20<sup>ème</sup> siècle naîtront nombreuses associations culturelles et sportives. Cadres d'actions solidaires contre la précarité d'une société dominée, ces associations étaient sensibles au discours nationaliste, des organisations politiques, dont celles du mouvement estudiantin pour l'indépendance du pays.

**2.3 Le temps de l'indépendance:** C'est la liberté recouvrée, faite de grands rêves, voire d'utopie : un slogan disait bien : «un seul héros le peuple». L'esprit de la lutte contre l'injustice sociale de l'époque précédente légitimait justement la mise en place du régime socialiste en Algérie. C'est bien vite, que la société va déchanter quant à ses libertés très chèrement arrachées au système colonial. La société sera dirigée par un régime politique autoritaire, accompagné d'un parti unique. Autrement dit, le souci du décideur a été le tout Etat dans les formes de monopoles les plus rigoureuses quant aux domaines politiques, culturels et économiques. C'est ainsi que la société, faite d'interdits, se retrouva phagocytée par ses gouvernants au nom de la légitimité historique. Il est vrai que la souveraineté de l'Etat se méfie des « puissances » rivales qu'elle n'encadre pas, tout groupe organisé ou toute initiative, de quelque nature que ce soit, sont empêchés sans l'aval de l'Etat et du parti. Ces derniers régissaient la société en excluant de fait toute forme d'existence de la société civile autonome.

### *3. La construction de la Société Civile contemporaine et les difficultés de son émergence.*

Cette construction qui évoluera malgré les résistances des monopôles institutionnels, a eu pour base de départ les revendications culturelles et identitaires comme phase inaugurale. Les principales étapes sont : le printemps berbère, le printemps noir et l'explosion sociale et politique qualifiée de révolte d'octobre 1988, que nous résumons ci-après.

**3.1 Le printemps berbère (avril 1980),** Le refus d'ouverture à toute velléité d'organisation ou de revendications de la société civile autonome, hors des cadres organiques du FLN, a été le décor de luttes politiques, ayant entraîné le printemps berbère dans la ville de Tizi-Ouzou en avril 1980. Il s'agit d'un mouvement culturel, qui milite pour la reconnaissance de la langue Tamazight et de l'identité culturelle berbère, présentées comme patrimoine de l'Algérie.<sup>46</sup> Ce mouvement d'envergure régionale, le premier depuis l'indépendance du pays, demeure une référence inaugurale pour les mouvements et revendications qui suivront au cours des deux décennies suivantes.

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<sup>46</sup> Aussi, l'interdiction d'une conférence sur la poésie Kabyle ancienne à l'Université de Tizi-Ouzou, a été le facteur déclenchant d'une explosion populaire. D'imposantes marches de protestation et les répressions auront une double conséquence : 1 - celle liée aux violents affrontements qui entraîneront l'embrasement de toute la région de Kabylie, 2- celle qui donna l'occasion au MCB (Mouvement Culturel Berbère) de légitimer d'autres formes de luttes avec leurs lots de grèves générales, de destruction des symboles du pouvoir central, de gels d'activités économiques ou administratives. Ces événements d'avril 1980, soldés par des morts, des arrestations et des emprisonnements, seront qualifiés de printemps berbère.

**3.2 Le printemps noir, (avril 2001- juin 2003),** est une révolte de deux longues années. Théâtre de manifestations populaires contre l'injustice sociale, les abus et les droits bafoués du citoyen, la Kabylie entre une nouvelle fois en rébellion ouverte avec pouvoir central. Le motif de départ : l'assassinat d'un jeune lycéen de 19 ans dans les locaux de gendarmerie de Beni Douala, en Kabylie, aux conséquences gravissimes entrainera la mobilisation de toute la région pour des marches impressionnantes sur Alger. Marches qui ont été bloquées et réprimées aux portes de la capitale. La révolte a été qualifiée de printemps noir pour les violentes répressions qui ont occasionné la mort de 123 jeunes manifestants. Localement, la mort de jeunes manifestants mènera les populations de la région à la dissidence par le refus de l'Etat et de ses institutions, et à un renforcement des cadres de coalescence des mouvements sociaux : En résumé, la revendication démocratique, la reconnaissance officielle de la langue et de la culture berbères et le développement de la Région, sont les revendications principales des deux printemps de la Kabylie.<sup>47</sup>

### **3.3 Entre ces deux révoltes Kabyles, il y eut La révolte d'Octobre 1988, qualifiée de séisme politique à l'échelle nationale**

En effet, de tous les événements qui qualifient la contestation politique et sociale en Algérie, la révolte d'Octobre 1988 a été celle qui a mis en déroute le pouvoir central (Etat/parti unique) et qui provoqua un séisme politique dont les ondes de choc sont encore ressenties pour leur dangerosité. Partie d'Alger, cette révolte qui prit la forme d'un brasier et qui s'étendit très vite à l'échelle du pays, obligea les décideurs à proposer des réformes dont les acquis sont : la révision de la constitution (1989, revue en 1996) qui consacre le pluralisme politique, liberté de la presse, le mouvement associatif, libertés individuelles etc...

Cependant ces réformes et leurs acquis ont été polluées et rendues caduques, pour certaines, par deux faits qui ont affligé l'espace politique :

1- l'avènement de partis islamistes et du terrorisme enfantera la décennie rouge des années 1990 qui s'est soldée avec quelque 200.000 victimes.

2- la remise en cause progressive des acquis trouva sa légitimation dans l'argument sécuritaire (le terrorisme) y compris pour les décisions de fermeture politique comme l'interdiction de marches populaires. Le FLN, que l'on disait fini et à « mettre au musée », s'est adossé au pouvoir pour revenir avec et par sa légitimité historique.<sup>48</sup>

### **3.4 Des échecs et des crises dans la transition.**

La période socialiste a été une chape de plomb sur une société. Ainsi, l'Etat/parti, érigé en système politique, va nier toute maturité politique à un peuple, qui pourtant, hier était révolutionnaire. Quant à la société civile, le tout Etat niait son existence. Entre temps s'est constituée une classe dominante et organisatrice de distribution de la rente. Cela dura jusqu'à l'apparition des contradictions flagrantes et des échecs des politiques en place ayant

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<sup>47</sup> Le refus et les velléités de négation du pouvoir central se traduiront par deux conclusions : 1- les demandes de sanctions contre les gendarmes responsables de la répression, refus de la présence des brigades de gendarmerie dans la région. 2- l'émergence d'un leadership issu de coordinations locales prônant le retour aux structures traditionnelles de gestion locale des communes de la Région. Ce sont : l'ancestrale Tadjmath kabyle, assemblée d'échelle villageoise et les Aarouch, structure territoriale dont l'étendue de pouvoir est l'échelle de la Tribu. Le mouvement de cette « utopie » de type autogestionnaire, s'essoufflera, faute d'adhésion et pour son irréalisme avec le 20<sup>ème</sup> siècle finissant.

<sup>48</sup> Ce parti, en intelligence avec les décisions du pouvoir, recouvrera ses repères et ses pratiques d'antan sur le terrain. Et c'est la connivence avec le pouvoir pour la mise en œuvre de stratégies de remise en cause des acquis arrachés à la suite de la révolte d'octobre 1988. Quelques exemples : A la presse libre on veut imposer « l'imprimatur », sinon les conditions menant à la fermeture de certains journaux. C'est le refus d'agrément aux syndicats autonomes lorsqu'ils déclinent la tutelle de la centrale UGTA (adossée au pouvoir depuis toujours). Le mouvement associatif reste phagocyté par les lois organiques, qui handicapent toute demande d'agrément d'association etc... C'est le refus d'agrément de tout nouveau parti politique. - Les conséquences sont une société qui perd ses repères, où l'économie de rente domine, avec ses opacités et ses scandales, et où les secteurs sociaux sont en crise.

engendré des crises multiformes embrasant la majorité des secteurs du fonctionnement de la société. Parmi d'autres secteurs sociaux, voici résumés deux exemples :

**3.4.1 La crise de logement:** Devenue endémique, la crise de logement est qualifiée d'entrave majeure à la vie sociale quotidienne. Outre sa rareté, le logement et les échelles de l'espace social vécu suggèrent une situation de crise de l'habiter au sens sociologique. La lecture de quelques chiffres rend compte de l'ampleur des retards et des besoins criants par l'absence d'anticipation démographique. Bien économique financé par l'Etat, le logement est objet d'enjeux clientélistes ; l'absence de transparence et l'injustice accablent les pratiques de distribution. Ainsi, chaque opération de relogement donne lieu à des contestations, voire à de « micro-émeutes » dans les villes. Il est établi que la répartition plus juste bute sur une gouvernance qui tire profit des biens financés par l'Etat.<sup>49</sup>

### **3.4.2 La jeunesse victime de la mal-vie dans la mal-ville et du chômage<sup>50</sup>**

Comme pour la crise du logement, celle des jeunes renvoie aussi à l'absence d'anticipation démographique et sociologique, aussi les effets sociaux sont ceux de la mal-vie dans la mal-ville. Dans les villes et les quartiers, la jeunesse non occupée est partagée entre l'oisiveté et les chimériques rêves d'un ailleurs imaginaire. Devant ces vides les réactions sont de deux ordres :

- Celle de la « débrouille » est l'adaptation aux mœurs sociales et économiques du pays. Aux côtés de ceux qui saisissent toutes les opportunités qui s'offrent de travailler, les jeunes se lancent dans le secteur informel qui de nos jours occupe 60% de l'économie du pays.

- Celle du désespoir exprimé par le suicide et l'immolation ; des actes dramatiques qui provoquent indignation et colère. La Harga (« bruler » outrepasser la loi et la légalité), pour l'émigration clandestine, est une autre forme de suicide.<sup>51</sup> -

« Par son implication massive dans l'ensemble des soulèvements, compte tenu de son poids numérique et de la tendance globale de son exclusion, la jeunesse apparaît dans tous les mouvements comme la force motrice de la contestation et du changement ». Prof. Kadri Aissa, sociologue.

De fait, le concept d'anomie, au sens de Durkheim, trouve ici la traduction de ses principales significations. Il s'agit de résultats conséquences d'une gouvernance qui, par des mécanismes de monopôles politiques, déjoue l'émergence d'une société civile. Il en est de même pour la gouvernance urbaine, menée sans concertation ou participation citoyenne. Les villes où sont concentrées près de 70% de la population du pays, abritent la majorité d'une jeunesse qui exprime des besoins sociaux dont on devine l'ampleur et l'urgence.

Ce sont ces séries de crises, nées de privation des libertés démocratiques, d'accès aux besoins sociaux minimum, expressions d'une société délaissée et, qui ont été les facteurs de déclenchements des mouvements sociaux de la revendication plurielle. Ces crises inaugurales du réveil de la société, après l'affrontement avec les forces de l'ordre, constitueront un large socle des mouvements sociaux et du développement du monde associatif. S'il nous est apparu utile de rappeler ces conditions faites à la société, c'est pour montrer les difficultés d'émergence de la

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<sup>49</sup> De nos jours la question est l'objet de grands défis du pays donnant au secteur habitat le titre de secteur privilégié avec des budgets nécessités. Depuis 2005, des programmes quinquennaux de un million de logements sont lancés pour livrer annuellement quelque 250.000 logements.

<sup>50</sup> - La jeunesse en Algérie en quelques chiffres : 48% ont moins de 20 ans et les 15 – 29 ans représentent le tiers, 32%. Sur les 12% de population au chômage, les trois quart ont moins de 25 ans. Ce sont quelque 25% des jeunes qui étaient au chômage à la date de septembre 2010, selon le rapport de la Banque mondiale.

<sup>51</sup> Il s'agit de voyages organisés sur des embarcations de fortune où la chance d'arriver est si réduite que celle d'échouer et de mourir en mer est grande.

société civile en quête de sa construction et de sa participation au sein de l'espace public. Aussi comprendre ce que le passé très récent peut nous apprendre sur l'avenir c'est rappeler quelques séquences qui ont marqué les luttes de mouvements de la société civile, ayant abouti, en 1988, au séisme subi par un système politique établi depuis longtemps. Nous rappelons trois étapes à l'origine de l'émergence de la société civile et de son évolution récente dans le pays.

### **3.4.3 Le printemps arabe, révolte janvier 2011 et la paix sociale à tout prix.**

Pour les pays Arabes, le temps est au crépuscule des systèmes politiques régnants et aux exigences immédiates de changements. Pour l'Algérie qui a vécu la révolte d'octobre 1988, ce sont les mouvements sociaux récents qui sont objet d'inquiétude. La révolte de janvier 2011 à Alger, est de fait une émeute de jeunes, suivie de mobilisations, de marches et de sit in. Elle est considérée aussi comme l'occasion de confirmation des structures de la société civile à travers celle des luttes des mouvements sociaux occupant l'espace public par les grèves, les émeutes, les marches et autres formes d'expression de revendication ou de contestation.

En fait, le séisme politique d'Octobre 1988 et ses conséquences obligent à mesurer les dangers des mouvements sociaux. Aussi, les décideurs ont été conduits à envisager des réformes politiques et sociales. Ainsi, la paix sociale, recherchée à tout prix, est actuellement entretenue par la mobilisation d'une manne financière considérable pour la satisfaction de la demande sociale. C'est la paix sociale par les « largesses » de l'Etat à la suite des émeutes de janvier 2011.<sup>52</sup>

L'ouverture politique est signifiée par les projets de réformes, la révision de la constitution, l'agrément pour les nouveaux partis politiques et le mouvement associatif, l'ouverture de l'audiovisuel au secteur privé, une plus grande participation de la femme dans les assemblées élues. etc...

C'est sous la forme d'assises nationales que sont organisées les résolutions relatives aux des grands problèmes sociaux et économiques du pays. Pour cela, en juin 2011, un forum national consacré à la société civile. Le mouvement associatif est convié pour « découvrir » et réfléchir ensemble aux problèmes sociaux, à la concertation et à la participation de la société aux choses qui la concernent.

#### *4. La société civile et l'espace public*

Le mouvement associatif est de nos jours fort important, avec un réel ancrage dans tous les secteurs de la société. Si avec la loi de 1987 la création d'associations évoluait peu, à partir des années 2000 le nombre de celles-ci a été multiplié passant à près de 80.000. Après avoir subi une double négation politique et administrative, la société civile émerge effectivement ; elle tente de se former et d'exister sur différents fronts, en forgeant des acquis pour sa place sur l'espace public.

En effet, de nos jours ce sont les associations, syndicats, amicales, ligues, union, forum, presse etc... qui se mobilisent en groupes organisés pour protéger les individus et les aider dans toutes les manifestations de la vie en société. L'aspect moderne est que l'on passe du communautaire au social. C'est l'éclatement du nombre.

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<sup>52</sup>A la suite des émeutes de janvier 2011, les services de l'Etat vont, avec empressement, accélérer les opérations de relogement, puis distribuer des centaines de milliers de logements et raser une centaine de sites de bidonvilles, accompagnés des effets d'annonce nécessaires. Ce sont de nouvelles solutions d'emploi sont proposées. Les dispositifs destinés à la création par la jeunesse de projets de mini-entreprise ANSEJ, ANEM, CNAC, des créations de postes au sein d'institutions publiques sont autant de nouvelles formules pour réduire le chômage avec le financement quasi-total des services de l'Etat. - Les largesses de l'Etat tendent à améliorer le sort des travailleurs par les augmentations de salaires, parfois substantielles. Cependant, il est vrai que les effets de l'inflation et l'érosion du pouvoir d'achats ont jusque là annulé les augmentations. Un rapport sur la cherté de la vie démontre que si le SNMG a connu une hausse de 37,50%, les prix des produits de large consommation ont augmenté de 103,88%. Source : Journal El Watan 23juin 2011



Aussi, le mouvement associatif est organisé de manière autonome malgré le refus et les difficultés de l'administration. Cette autonomie permet l'organisation d'actions et marches : manifestations, sit-in sur les artères des villes, en quête de participation. Il s'agit de mouvements mobilisateurs, qui expriment les volontés populaires de revendications et de dénonciations de situations injustes. Il est important de souligner que ces mouvements ont fini par être intégrés comme acteurs sociaux de la société civile, ayant accédé à la reconnaissance et à la notoriété publique et politique.

En conséquence, l'émergence de la société civile et les ruptures avec les pratiques précédentes, sont deux actes ayant mis fin au système de parti unique d'avant la révolte d'octobre 1988. Malgré les résistances, reliques d'un autre temps, les décisions prises convergent vers l'esprit de la transition ; démocratique et le libéralisme économique. Ces accessions sont investies par la société civile par des formes de revendications permanentes pour une participation citoyenne au sein de secteurs sociaux en crises de gouvernance et requérant des réformes.

Aussi, corrélativement à la revendication salariale, la demande sociale est surtout celle de la relative aux politiques publiques, aux réformes sectorielles, aux stratégies, démarches et décisions qui concernent directement les citoyens etc... C'est par exemple, des professionnels de terrain qui exigent leur implication dans les politiques publiques.

Pour conclure :

Fort de l'élargissement de son tissu et de son poids dans la société, le mouvement associatif milite dans le sens d'une demande citoyenne. Cette est exprimée à travers les revendications de libertés démocratiques, la transparence dans les actions publiques, la concrétisation des réformes, etc. En fait, les exigences de la société civile peuvent être résumées comme suit : d'une part, promouvoir la société civile pour garantir les droits des citoyens et leur statut, accéder à la fédération des acteurs dans la quête de participation. Aux côtés des acteurs institutionnels, il s'agit de lutter contre les causes et les maux à l'origine des échecs de politiques publiques, du développement économique et social. Les acteurs des mouvements sociaux se déterminent avec l'avenir de la société civile dans ses revendications et ses luttes afin de rattraper les retards, accumulés dans les libertés démocratiques. Aussi la société civile développe un ancrage social fort que fortifient aussi bien la prise de conscience politique que la justesse de ses revendications.

En clair, l'analyse montre que la société civile et ses acteurs se voudraient d'un statut nouveau, autonome dans l'action au même titre que les acteurs institutionnels dans les domaines relatifs à la défense des besoins de la société. Enfin, la quête des acteurs de la société civile est ce vecteur sociétal qu'est la participation devant donner de l'épaisseur au vivre ensemble ambitionné et du sens à la construction d'un nouveau lien social.

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## Le désenchantement de la démocratie en Algérie (Mehdi Larbi)

### 1. Introduction

La démocratisation de la vie politique en Algérie est liée à deux périodes historiques spécifiques. La première est celle du soulèvement populaire de 05 octobre 1988 contre le régime du parti unique, installé d'une manière autoritaire après l'indépendance nationale. Cet événement est perçu comme un moment mobilisateur des énergies sociales pour construire une nouvelle solidarité politique large. La deuxième, caractérise l'étape d'après « Les années rouges », où la population a enduré un massacre horrible et abominable. Ces actions terroristes et odieuses ont fait disparaître plus de 200.000 personnes à peu près. Elles sont la conséquence d'une décision prise par les militaires pour arrêter le processus électoral, organisé après la réforme constitutionnelle de 1989 qui a légalisé le pluralisme.

L'analyse de ces deux temps historiques est significative pour comprendre d'une part, l'expérience particulière du processus démocratique en Algérie et les conditions qui ont incité les populations à désertir les partis politiques mise en place pour structurer leur action politique, d'autre part.

### 2. Ouverture politique et reproduction de l'idéologie hégémonique

Les événements du 5 octobre 1988, sont considérés comme un moment exceptionnel dans l'histoire sociale de la politique algérienne contemporaine. Contraint par une grande vague de protestation populaire qui a pris pour cible les édifices de l'Etat, le pouvoir autoritaire qui s'est installé depuis l'indépendance, s'est vu obliger de libérer le champ politique. A dire vrai, ce soulèvement populaire s'inscrit dans une longue histoire de conflit entre l'Etat et la société. Depuis les années quatre-vingts, différentes couches sociales de la société se sont appropriées les rues pour dénoncer la gestion du pouvoir.

Toutefois, cette période particulière a permis à la population algérienne, tout corps confondus, de sortir de son silence pour s'exprimer en toute liberté. Toutes les couches sociales ont montré leur refus du régime autoritaire du parti unique et ont dénoncé collectivement les abus du pouvoir en place. Très vite, les grèves se sont déclenchées dans pratiquement toutes les entreprises et les services publics. A. Dahmani a écrit que : « L'Algérie n'a jamais connue autant de conflits de travail : grèves, occupations d'usines et mêmes séquestrations. Aux revendications classiques d'amélioration des conditions de travail, de salaires, etc, vont s'ajouter deux autres, peu exprimées jusque là : la contestation des syndicats jugés non représentatifs et la demande de renvoi de nombreux directeurs d'entreprises étatiques accusés de mauvaises gestion ou de corruption. » (Dahmani 1999: 116)

Ces manifestations ne sont pas restées dans le registre revendicatif. Au contraire, elles ont pris l'initiative pour se constituer dans des organisations nouvelles afin de revendiquer dans la légalité leurs droits. Des syndicats autonomes ont vu le jour pour affirmer leur place face à l'union générale des travailleurs algériens l'organisation syndicale historique qui appartient plus au pouvoir qu'aux travailleurs.

Cette occasion n'a pas dévoilé uniquement l'échec d'un socialisme précoce et précaire, nourri d'une idéologie mythique au détriment des réalités économique et sociale, mais, aussi le visage des clans au pouvoir qui ont cohabité dans les appareils d'Etat malgré leurs tendances différentes.

En effet, c'est le clan hostile au régime socialiste qui va prendre les devants après ces événements. Pour mettre en place son projet libéralisme et empêcher dans le même temps, l'ampleur de l'action politique des organisations de masses et particulièrement celle du parti de l'avant-garde socialiste, continuateur du Parti communiste algérien, ce clan a ouvert le champ politique pour que le mouvement islamiste populaire s'organise afin de contrer toutes les tendances d'aspiration gauchiste. H. Belaloufi retrace efficacement son histoire en écrivant que : « Jusqu'à la mort de Houari. Boumediène, c'est le courant favorable au développement d'un capitalisme d'Etat indépendant qui domine très nettement (...) Désormais, le nouveau pouvoir va utiliser le mouvement isla-

miste pour contrer la gauche et l'extrême-gauche (...) Pour faire passer sa politique, le nouveau pouvoir prend des mesures populaires.

Sous le slogan Pour une vie meilleure, il supprime l'autorisation de sortie et accorde une allocation en devises aux citoyens se rendant à l'étranger...(..)...Face à la politique d'*Infitah*, l'aile étatiste réussira à freiner quelque peu les ardeurs des libéraux...Malgré ces victoires, l'aile étatiste s'avèrera en définitive incapable d'offrir une alternative. Consciente de la nécessité d'apporter des changements à l'économie nationale, elle ne pouvait, du fait de son caractère bureaucratique, ouvrir une perspective de réformes à caractère démocratique et social. Elle ne voyait pas plus loin que le maintien de ses intérêts étroits tels qu'ils découlaient de sa situation de monopole sur les revenus pétroliers. Se contentant de défendre ses privilèges, elle refusera de mobiliser les masses et de passer une alliance avec les forces politiques qui défendaient l'option d'un développement économique national et social. En cautionnant la répression des explosions populaires qui jalonnèrent la décennie quatre vingt, des organisations autonomes et démocratiques qui émergeaient (Ligue des droits de l'homme, associations de femmes, association d'enfants de Martyrs. *chouhada* (...)).Des partis d'opposition comme le parti de l'avant-garde socialiste et l'organisation socialiste des travailleurs et en participant à la chasse aux sourcières contre les militants progressistes dans et hors des organisations de masses du front de libération nationale, le courant étatiste va scier la branche sur laquelle il reposait. Incapable de se dégager de l'idéologie réactionnaire du pouvoir, il contribua grandement à faire le lit de l'islamisme en adoptant l'infâme code de la famille et en participant à la surenchère sur les références politiques religieuses. L'incapacité de ces deux ailes du régime à s'imposer va créer une situation d'équilibre catastrophique. » (Belalloufi 2012: 122)

Ce passage nous résume le fonctionnement d'un pouvoir militaro-bureaucratique qui a accentué le sous développement en Algérie. Ses politiques improvisées et imposées à la société, n'ont fait qu'à l'éloigner de la voie pour construire véritablement, le projet étatique. Le pouvoir algérien a fonctionné dans l'opacité car il n'a jamais réussi à construire la stabilité politique et sociale, que ce soit en son sein ou entre les couches sociales de la société. Il est l'instigateur de toutes les idéologies qui ont divisé la société. L'islamisme comme idéologie politique n'est en fin de compte, qu'une dénonciation de certains hommes qui appartenaient au front de libération nationale.

Le contenu du discours d'Abassi el Madani, président du front Islamique du Salut et ancien partisan du front de libération nationale, n'est qu'un appel au retour aux sources qui ont fondés le front de libération nationale. Ce parti a réussi aux élections libre parce qu'il a construit son discours sur la base des signes symboliques du front de libération nationale. L'adhésion de la population à son discours était plus pour sanctionner le front de libération nationale et lui enlever la sacralité qu'à eu depuis 1962, l'année de l'indépendance nationale. Ce dernier n'est plus désormais, le parti politique qui rassemble tous les algériens. Il n'est plus leur représentant car il a échoué aux promesses faites autrefois, pour promouvoir la justice sociale qui tire ses racines de l'Islam. Le front islamique du salut est donc, le seul parti qui a pu profiter de l'héritage historique du front de libération nationale. Il est monté aux créneaux car il a su critiquer sa gestion en se référant aux mêmes discours nationaliste et religieux. Bien qu'il y ait plusieurs partis politiques, le front islamique du salut s'est mis à contester sa place avec les mêmes instruments idéologiques et religieux dont partage la majorité des algériens. Dans ce cas, ce parti politique n'a pas projeté la société vers l'avenir par un projet politique et économique. Il a contesté la légitimité historique du front de libération nationale pour la transformer et l'adopter afin qu'elle fonctionne avec le contexte qui veut l'exploiter à son propre compte.

En effet, la situation du chômage mise en débat par les ouvriers licenciés des entreprises publiques, les problèmes socioéconomiques d'une jeunesse inespérée sont esquivés pour laisser place à un discours politique populiste, identique à celui du front de libération nationale des années soixante. C'est le compte à rebours en matière politique en Algérie.

Toutefois, les partis sont en principe des produits de l'histoire qui apparaissent dans des conditions sociologiques et politiques propres à chaque expérience. Le rêve de la libéralisation censé défaire la société du régime despotique a été récupéré par un nouveau parti religieux et dominateur. Malgré la légalisation de plusieurs partis politiques qui ont tenté d'organiser et animer le débat politique, le parti du front islamique du salut a réussi de canaliser une grande masse populaire. Ce parti a activé pour déplacer les termes de la revendication de liberté en offrant de répondre aux besoins spirituels plus qu'aux problèmes socioéconomiques. Il a développé un discours qui est rapidement devenu hégémonique face au pouvoir d'Etat, pour que cette masse puisse se laisser emporter dans un désir d'authenticité religieuse, sous l'autorité personnelle des chefs de partis politiques. Le vent de liberté qui a soufflé après les événements de 05 octobre 1988, s'est estompé bien avant l'arrêt du processus électoral de l'année 1990 par les militaires. Le jeu démocratique censé organiser la société afin de lui permettre de construire ses discours politiques selon des situations sociales différentes, a laissé place à un discours politico-religieux qui visait à unir les populations par leur appartenance religieuse plutôt que par leurs conditions sociales.

Dans cette phase de l'histoire, le débat politique n'a pas remis en cause les conditions matérielles et sociales différentes entre les algériens, mais plutôt la place de l'identité culturelle et culturelle comme mode de fonctionnement social. Cette question n'est pas nouvelle en Algérie. Elle est l'une des questions épineuses, restée sans réponses après l'ouverture du champ politique. En réalité, cette question fait référence plus au passé colonial qu'à l'échec du pouvoir algérien en matière de gestion des affaires publiques. Le régime en place n'a donc, aucun intérêt pour ouvrir les voies afin qu'un vrai débat autour de cette question s'élève à un niveau supérieur. Les incompréhensions et les insuffisances d'analyse sur la particularité de l'émergence de l'Etat algérien et de son régime autoritaire leur assurent la vie et garantissent le maintien du pouvoir. Un bref détour sur la conception sociologique de l'Etat algérien clarifie le blocage qui demeure opérant dans le fonctionnement politique actuel.

### *3. La dette du sang et ses conséquences politiques*

L'Etat algérien est né d'une longue et violente guerre de libération nationale. L'alliance entre l'armée de libération nationale et le front de libération nationale est rentrée en conflit meurtrier contre le colonialisme français car ce dernier, a dominé, asservi et déraciné la population autochtone en la dépossédant de sa terre, de son organisation sociale et de sa culture locale.

Après l'indépendance, cette alliance s'est vue comme le seul responsable à penser et concevoir le type d'Etat qui convient aux algériens. Pour construire une légitimité politique, les officiers de l'armée de libération nationale ont capté l'organisation du front de libération nationale en la transformant en parti politique unique, afin qu'elle soit le seul parti à concourir le champ politique par la glorification devant le peuple, l'héroïsme des combattants. En faisant de ces derniers des moudjahidines et en qualifiant de martyrs les victimes de la guerre, en transformant leur mort en sacrifice, le nouvel Etat a inscrit doublement sa légitimité dans le registre du sacré et de la dette.

En effet, le nouvel Etat de l'Algérie indépendante se proclame le produit d'un sacrifice d'un million et demi million de martyrs. De ce fait, toute la société doit sentir et admettre la dette qu'elle a vis-à-vis de ses morts et pour symboliser leur acte et honorer le sang versé, les militaires qui se sont reconvertis en responsables politiques, ont institué au nom de tous les algériens une règle pour mettre en valeur ce sacrifice. Désormais, toutes les familles des martyrs Chouhada et celles des anciens combattants (moudjahidines) reçoivent en réparation des privilèges qui s'héritent : exemple, des pensions de retraite importante, les licences de taxi, locaux commerciaux ainsi que d'autres avantages comme des promotions direct à des postes de responsabilité dans les établissements publics et économiques.

La guerre qui a conquis l'indépendance de l'Algérie est considérée comme une guerre sainte. Elle appartient bel est bien au domaine du sacré. Nul n'a le droit de désacraliser cet événement historique ou de dévoiler les dépas-

sements et les conflits intestinaux, vécus entre les fractions pendant cette tragédie. L'acte vaillant des martyrs et des anciens combattants représentent dorénavant, les symboles fondamentaux de l'Etat algérien et doivent être inculqués pour s'inscrire dans la mémoire collective des algériens.

Cette représentation des victimes et de la guerre contient en réalité, une connotation plus religieuse que politique. Elle a poussé l'imaginaire collectif de considérer cette guerre comme une mission divine pour qualifier par la suite, et favoriser l'organisation du front de libération nationale afin qu'elle soit le seul représentant de la société.

Aux yeux des représentants de cette organisation qui se proclament tous d'ailleurs de la génération de la guerre de libération, l'objectif de la mission n'est pas encore atteint. Pour se libérer de leur devoir et de leur engagement, ils ont étendu le combat au domaine économique et social. Se constituer en chefs politiques et se mobiliser pour se mettre en guerre contre la pauvreté et la misère qui frappent pratiquement toutes les couches sociales devient le devoir qui accomplira et honorera le sacrifice des martyrs. La prise du pouvoir pour éradiquer le sous-développement grâce à la mise en œuvre d'une stratégie de développement apparaît en fin de compte, comme un engagement fondamental pour réhabiliter l'honneur des algériens. L'objectif économique élaboré est celui d'offrir, sans effort, des nouvelles situations sociales différentes de celles vécues avec le colonialisme. L'Etat s'est présenté comme étant le tuteur qui veille à satisfaire les besoins nécessaires de la société. C'est dans ce sens que le socialisme a été adopté comme choix politique. Dans le déplacement qui s'opère de la sorte, la dette envers les martyrs devient une dette de l'Etat envers les Algériens.

Au nom de la guerre sainte, le front de libération nationale est devenu malgré lui, le seul représentant du peuple algérien. Il sera leur porte parole et aucun autre parti ou opposition politique n'a le droit d'exister avec lui car leur présence peut entraver sa mission « combat contre la pauvreté », comme ont tenté de faire les factions du mouvement national pendant la présence coloniale. Les algériens qui veulent réellement réhabiliter leur honneur et leur dignité humaine, sont interpellés sur leur propre avenir. Ils doivent, désormais, suivre le parti politique unique comme ils l'ont fait autrefois pendant la guerre de libération nationale. C'est de cette manière que les idéologies concurrentes ont été chassées de l'espace politique algérien car leur contenu ne pouvait guère s'habiller de la légitimité sacrée que le front de libération nationale a eue grâce au sacrifice de ses membres. L'identité politique du front de libération nationale s'est construite donc sur la base du sang des martyrs et de l'image symbolique du combattant « *moudjahid* ». Les algériens devraient s'honorer de cette appartenance car nul autre parti politique ne peut les élever à la valeur sacrée des martyrs.

De ce fait, une organisation politique particulière a pris naissance avec le fondement de l'Etat algérien. Elle a pris conscience de son existence grâce à son histoire de lutte armée contre l'Etat colonial. Sa constitution en tant que parti politique n'est donc pas le produit d'une lutte sociale contre d'autres groupes sociaux qui contestent des idéologies différentes pour accéder au pouvoir. La caractéristique que ce parti a eu c'est qu'aucun ne peut conquérir au pouvoir en dehors de sa propre idéologie. L. Addi a écrit que : « Dans le système politique algérien : les forces en compétition n'ont pas d'idéologie singulière qui les distingue des autres compétiteurs. Elles trouvent une idéologie politique, héritée d'une antériorité, qui s'impose à eux et qui, si elles la refusent, elles se disqualifient. » (Addi 1990: 86)

Partant de ce principe, le peuple a été appelé à adhérer au parti comme les combattants d'hier qui l'ont intégré pour se soulever ensemble, contre le mal du colonialisme.

Sa mobilisation autour de l'idéologie du parti représente en effet, une identification au sacrifice et non pas à un programme politique. Ce peuple doit suivre à la lettre toutes les recommandations du parti et respecter son plan de développement afin de s'inscrire dans la même lignée des martyrs.

#### *4. Fragilité du système partisan et dislocation sociale*

Le régime politique algérien tire sa force de l'image symbolique développée par le discours politique des années de lutte contre le colonialisme français. Cette image s'est entretenue après l'indépendance grâce à la mise en place du parti front de libération nationale comme l'unique appareil politique incarnant l'histoire de la nation algérienne. Il est incohérent d'écrire aujourd'hui pour dire que le changement des lois et de la constitution sans la désacralisation de cette image historique puissent provoquer une mutation politique réelle en Algérie. En effet, malgré les agitations sociales et un terrorisme affreux qui a remué la nomenclatura du régime autoritaire, il n'empêche que ce dernier est sorti indemne de ces crises.

Pire encore, l'image qu'a développée l'actuel président Abdelaziz. Bouteflika n'a fait qu'enfoncer la société pour qu'elle soit plus en rapport avec l'admiration des images symboliques et historiques qu'avec les logiques de la réalité sociale. La politique de la concorde civile et la distribution de l'argent par le biais des organismes nouveaux comme l'agence nationale de l'emploi de jeune ont protégé jusqu'à aujourd'hui son règne.

En effet, les événements comme le terrorisme et la richesse accumulés des prix des hydrocarbures n'ont pas réussi à faire sortir la société du joug militaro-bureaucratique. Bien qu'une grande partie de la société fustige en permanence le régime, force est de constater que sa place demeure intacte au niveau national et international. Ces deux éléments lui ont donné un nouveau souffle pour mettre en place une nouvelle stratégie afin de déjouer toutes les actions qui peuvent venir de la société pour le renverser par le jeu démocratique. Actuellement, le régime autoritaire algérien instrumentalise le système démocratique par les instruments propres de la démocratie. Il a certes permis aux partis politiques d'exister avec le front de libération nationale (FLN), mais il n'a guère intégré l'idée que les représentants de partis d'opposition puissent un jour parvenir à prendre le pouvoir par la voie des urnes. Le choix des présidents élus depuis l'instauration du multipartisme est caractéristique pour comprendre les enjeux stratégiques du pouvoir en place. Aucun président de ces organes politiques n'a réussi à accéder à ce poste prestigieux malgré plusieurs épreuves électorales. Le président actuel qui a bridé un troisième mandat en modifiant la constitution sans consultation populaire, n'adhère, officiellement, à aucun parti politique.

En vérité, les présidents des partis ne peuvent faire concurrence à la personne choisie au préalable par le pouvoir en place pour accéder aux règnes de la présidence. C'est le choix des personnalités militaires et celles du service de renseignement et de sécurité qui jalonnent le système algérien qui est au dessus de toute autre volonté pour désigner le président de la république. A ce propos, L. Thieux écrit que : « Dans un système politique où l'état-major de l'armée et les différents services de sécurité ont un rôle prédominant aux côtés de la présidence de la République, les partis politiques qui participent tant bien que mal au système ne font guère figure de véritable opposition au pouvoir en place. » (Thieux 2009: 129f.)

En ce qui concerne la place des partis et leur dynamisme politique, il faut dire que leur apparition publique se fait succinctement pendant les rendez vous organisés pour les élections officielles. Bien qu'ils préfèrent une présence et une visibilité dans les villes, lieux peuplés par rapport aux espaces ruraux, il n'en demeure pas moins que leur stratégie demeure faible et inefficace pour attirer les adhérents et les sympathisants. Ces partis ne sont pas ancrés dans la société et n'ont développé aucune cellule permanente pour suivre les événements et les mouvements sociaux qui éclatent dans différents secteurs. Ces appareils ce sont façonnés de telle sorte à ce qu'ils répondent plus aux exigences du régime en place qu'à celles de la société. Leur discours politique est adressé plus à lui qu'aux membres de la société. Les partis politiques algériens écrit L. Aït Hamadouche : « Apparaissent comme des proto-partis. En dehors des échéances électorales, ils sont quasiment absents de la scène politique. Seules les organisations représentées à l'Assemblée populaire nationale expriment timidement quelques points de vue. Mais leur manque de consistance et leur suivisme à l'égard des autorités contribuent plus à les discréditer qu'à les rapprocher de la société. » (Dris-Aït Hamadouche 2009: 263f.)



Les critiques permanentes formulées contre les pratiques du régime autoritaire cachent non seulement leur défaillance en matière de données sur les situations de différentes couches sociales, mais aussi l'absence d'analyse qui peut offrir une alternative nouvelle dans le futur. Parler du pouvoir et de ses pratiques veut dire donner plus de crédibilité et de légitimité à son fonctionnement par rapport aux réalités sociales multiples et complexes. Le discours du président du parti ahd 54. A. F. Rabaine est significatif pour justifier cette approche. Il déclare comme les présidents des autres partis politiques que : « Les responsables qui tiennent les rênes du pays aujourd'hui n'ont aucune volonté d'instaurer le changement en Algérie. » (Fawzi Rabaine 2012)

Au lieu d'activer pour affaiblir la subordination qui s'est constituée avec le pouvoir autoritaire toute au long de son règne, les partis politiques accentuent par leur absence sur le terrain, la dépendance des couches sociales vis-à-vis du pouvoir. Les pratiques et les comportements de ces couches sociales n'ont fait aucun objet de débat. Bien que les différences sociales soient apparentes entre les membres de la société, le discours des partis politiques pendant les campagnes électorales s'adresse à toutes et à tous les algériens sans exception. Les dirigeants des partis politiques ne s'intéressent guère à la société pour comprendre ses composantes et ses fonctionnements. Que connaissons-nous de sa composition se demande le sociologue Nacer Djabi: « Connaissons-nous des couches socio professionnelles qui la constituent, des jeunes et de leur vision du monde et de leur pays, de la qualité de l'instruction qui leur est donnée, de leur rapport au politique et au religieux, des femmes et de leurs luttes pour l'égalité des droits, de la différence de leur sensibilité quant à la politique et à la religion, du mouvement associatif et des différents courants qui le traversent, de la presse et de ses effets sur les jeunes, les femmes et l'ensemble de la société ? » (Djabi 2012)

A aucun moment, ces hommes politiques ne se sont adressés directement à la société pour critiquer son organisation et son fonctionnement tacite afin d'envisager ensemble des sorties possibles.

A croire les partis qui se prétendent de l'opposition, le changement ne peut, en aucun cas, venir de la société. Si changement peut avoir sens en Algérie, il ne peut venir selon le contenu de leurs discours que du pouvoir qui a ligoté la société à ses propres logiques de fonctionnement.

La scène des partis politiques est dominée par l'idée que la création de nouveaux partis et leur candidature aux élections obéit à des intérêts personnels et vise à s'aménager des niches d'enrichissement. Cette idée, très largement partagée par la population, est soutenue dans le débat public par les leaders de partis politiques eux-mêmes. Abdel aziz. Belkhadem, le secrétaire générale du front de libération nationale et l'une des trois composantes de la coalition gouvernementale au pouvoir depuis 1999, déclare dans un journal quotidien que : « Les candidats ne cherchent que leurs intérêts personnels. Ils déboursent des sommes colossales pour se présenter dans l'espoir de récupérer plus d'argent. » (Belkhadem 2012)

Quant à Louisa Hanoune, secrétaire générale du parti travailliste et ancienne militante de gauche. Déclare de son côté que : « la création de dizaines de nouveaux partis s'apparente beaucoup plus à l'émergence de clubs et cercles privés à des fins personnelles. » (Hanoune 2012)

Grâce à une enquête anthropologique, M. Hachemaoui a fait l'effort pour décortiquer le fonctionnement du système politique en Algérie. Il est arrivé à dire en fin de compte, que l'activité politique en Algérie a fonctionné en permanence par un système tribal malgré l'absence de la tribu. Il a écrit que : « Le tribalisme représente, pour les candidats à la députation, le mode d'allégeance et de solidarité culturellement le plus ancré pour affirmer leur prétention à la représentation. Ces derniers ont toutefois besoin, pour contourner les effets de la désagrégation de la tribu et de l'autoritarisme électoral, de mobiliser d'autres ressources : Le patronage, qui du pouvoir central, qui des puissances d'argent. Le tribalisme, en tant qu'idéal de structure hiérarchique et de control social, représente pour les groupes du centre –qui sont soucieux de la résilience d'un régime à pluralisme limité, non responsable et sans idéologie directrice élaborée ni volonté de mobilisation intensive ou extensive, un dispositif de con-

trôle, un répertoire de revendication non programmatique et un mode d'intégration des groupes sociaux dans le système....

Ce système électoral, loin de "créer les conditions permettant l'avènement de la transition démocratique", contribue, bien au contraire, au maintien du statu quo autoritaire. Dans ce groupement politique, l'Etat et la société, au plus loin d'être des entités intrinsèques, cohérentes et séparées par une frontière délimitant leurs périmètres, s'avère bien plutôt amorphes, désagrégés et inscrits dans une arène de conflits larvés, de contournement continents et d'arrangements précaires à travers lesquels s'opère la survie du régime. » (Hachemaoui 2012: 103f.)

Les partis politiques répondent donc plus à une logique tribale qu'à une logique nationale. La permanence du schéma tribal malgré l'absence de la tribu fausse cependant, toute l'expérience du multipartisme en Algérie. Dans cette situation, le parti devient donc la structure qui occulte tout débat sur les questions publiques. Il exclu toute personne qui s'intéresse à accroître le discours politique. Il n'est plus en fin de compte, le lieu qui développe le lien politique c'est pourquoi, les personnes qui sont concernées par cette question continuent à manifester leur cause en dehors de toute couleur partisane. A ce propos A. Mebtoul a écrit que : « Les formations politiques actuelles sont dans l'incapacité aujourd'hui de faire un travail de mobilisation et d'encadrement efficient, de contribuer significativement à la socialisation politique.» (Mebtoul 2012)

L'expérience démocratique en Algérie a permis à plusieurs micro-partis politiques d'émerger pour contester leur représentation par des ressources antidémocratiques. En revanche, la réaction de la société n'est pas insignifiante vis-à-vis des maladroites gouvernementales et les pratiques partisans. Le choix de boycotter les urnes est considéré comme le seul moyen pour les sanctionner. Avant la tenue des dernières élections législatives de 10 novembre 2007, le quotidien El Khabar, journal arabophone à très grands tirages, avait lancé sur son site Internet un sondage relatif aux intentions de vote. Les résultats étaient sans appel : « 91,68 pour cent des sondés ont répondu qu'ils ne voteraient pas. Une telle tendance laisse peu de place à des justifications faisant référence aux aléas climatiques et au changement d'adresse. » (Journal quotidien el Khabar)

Par conséquent, l'analyse de l'abstention en Algérie écrit L. D. Hamadouche : « Doit se focaliser sur l'abstention-sanction et non sur l'abstention-dépolitisation. Bien que les représentants du régime autoritaire disculpent en permanence l'acte de l'abstention par des facteurs techniques et climatologiques, L'abstention apparaît comme un acte éminemment politique, puisqu'il revient à contester le fonctionnement du champ politique. Ce qui ressemble à de la passivité est en fait le signe et l'expression d'une rupture entre l'électeur, d'une part, le candidat à l'élection et le régime politique, d'autre part. L'abstention n'est pas un acte passif, mais une action militante. » (Hamadouche 2009: 263f.)

Néanmoins, le boycott des élections ne produit pas dans le même temps, une nouvelle organisation parallèle pour affaiblir plus davantage les organisations politiques discréditées. Bien qu'une part importante de la société réalise l'acte de l'abstention avec succès, le lien censé les unir pour construire leur propre solidarité, demeure fragile pour se constituer comme force sociale, consciente de sa situation et de son avenir.

Cependant, il est vrai que l'Algérie souffre d'un système autoritaire et archaïque, mis en place par un coup de force à l'indépendance, mais, il n'empêche que les partis politiques admis à être organes réels de la société, n'ont rien fait pour qu'elle puisse affaiblir ce système autocratique qui infecte son corps social depuis.

Dans ces conditions, les partis politiques ne se sont pas présentés comme antidote pour anéantir ce mal, par contre, ils l'ont développé par leurs comportements et leurs discours « creux », non scrupuleux à la situation sociale et économique déplorable de la population.

Aujourd'hui, les partis politiques réitèrent la même pratique. Aucun effort n'est fait pour s'intégrer dans la vie quotidienne du peuple. Les partis politiques n'ont pas investi l'environnement local pour s'imprégner de la popu-

lation afin de s'enraciner et de construire avec elle une force sociale et politique réelle. Ils négligent davantage le monde social des algériens alors que c'est lui qui constitue l'objet fondamental pour construire leurs discours politiques.

L'histoire des élus algériens écrit le journaliste K. Daoud est : « Désormais assimilable à un casier judiciaire pas propre, des détournements, de l'inculture et de la prédation.

Le but est donc atteint: le peuple est convaincu qu'il ne sert à rien d'élire, c'est-à-dire qu'il ne sert à rien de voter, c'est-à-dire qu'il ne sert à rien de revendiquer le droit de gouverner le pays par soi-même. En face le Pouvoir : ses « élus »(alias ses fonctionnaires désignés) ont de l'argent, de la puissance, de la prestance, de la formation, des avantages et peu de poursuites judiciaires avec de plus gros chiffres de malversations et des crimes sur l'esthétique des villes et la gestion des espaces et argent public. Le peuple n'a pas les moyens de protéger ses élus ou d'élire ce qu'il veut. Le Pouvoir protège ses élus à lui, les couvre et leur assure l'impunité ou la retraite. » (Daoud 2012)

A dire vrai, les couches sociales, tout corps confondus, n'ont jamais pensé quelles peuvent avoir une représentation politique pour défendre leur intérêt. Leur seule arme c'est l'appropriation des rues pour qu'elles puissent faire entendre les pouvoirs publics de leur marasme. Aucun parti politique n'a pris la peine de s'impliquer pour non seulement marquer sa présence et sa visibilité dans un espace public en formation, et aussi pour construire un discours politique sur la base des revendications collectives des couches qui représentent le visage du pays.

Dans ces conditions, si le parti politique n'assiste pas les populations dans leur malaise social et ne construit pas son programme et son discours politique sur la base des problèmes socioéconomiques et culturels de ces couches sociales, à quoi sert-il donc ?

Actuellement, les formes de protestations ce sont multipliées pour prendre d'autres figures plus violentes. Après les paroles et les cris de détresse qui n'ont trouvé aucune écoute de la part du pouvoir, les manifestants ont passé à une nouvelle forme de protestation plus horrible. Ils ont pris leur corps comme otage pour s'auto-immoler devant les structures de l'Etat.

### 5. Une société à la quête de son identité politique

Le président du parti rassemblement national et démocratique, ex premier ministre pendant plus de vingt ans, dont son organisation politique a fait partie de la coalition gouvernementale, a animé une conférence pendant la campagne électorale pour les élections municipales prochaines pour dire que l' élu local est un élément crucial pour le développement local.

Dans le même sens, un ex député du parti rassemblement pour la culture et la démocratie a écrit pendant que le secrétaire du premier parti cité avant, était chef du gouvernement un article intitulé: « Pouvoir résolument autiste. » Dans un journal quotidien el watan. Le contenu de cet article était troublant envers l'état de la citoyenneté en Algérie et son avenir incertain dans sa politique générale. Il a mentionné que: « Dans le discours du gouvernement algérien, le développement humain est une notion galvaudée, vidée de son sens et dépouillée de sa générosité. ....Le pouvoir dans notre pays, ne veut pas d'un peuple qui exerce son libre arbitre et veut être acteur des changements de son existence par des actions individuelles et collectives concertées, sociales/ et ou politique....Il ne veut pas non plus d'individus qui participent à la vie de communauté et qui expriment une opinion sur les choix, les orientations et les prises de décision affectant leur vie. Il veut des sujets totalement soumis, dépendant et incapables d'initiatives ou d'idées et pour lesquels il doit pourvoir aux besoins élémentaires....En somme un pouvoir généreux( !) Une logique d'Etat totalitaire qui soumet le peuple et qui veut durer. » (Boudarène 2010)

Cependant, Quant on sait que le nouveau code communal a réduit davantage les capacités du maire président de l'assemblée communale jusqu'à en faire un simple exécutant devant recevoir l'approbation de l'administration (chef de daïra ou wali « préfet ») pour toute initiative prise au nom de la commune. Que peut faire l'élu local pour rendre compte à la population qui l'a délégué pour gérer les affaires locales ?

En Algérie, le Maire qui est censé être le président de son territoire appelé « Commune » ainsi que le premier responsable devant celles et ceux qui l'ont délégué pour gérer leurs affaires locales est placé sous tutelle administrative. Dans cette situation, quel sens peut avoir l'acte de voter quand les citoyens sachent que leur maire ne jouit d'aucun pouvoir pour intervenir afin de changer des situations amères ?

La relance du processus démocratique après les années du chaos provoquées par les tendances islamistes Jihadistes contre le régime militaire et les personnes civiles n'a changé ni de sa forme ni de son contenu. Pire encore, le régime autoritaire et militaire qui a gagné sa deuxième lutte armée contre le terrorisme a eu en fin de compte, toutes les prérogatives pour agencer la société à sa manière.

Plusieurs élections pluralistes ont été organisées, entre autre, sans données aucun effet positif sur la situation sociale. En plus de nombreuses cas de fraudes électorales signalés par plusieurs commissions installées pour contrôler et superviser le déroulement de vote, la constitution n'a prévue depuis, aucune loi qui oblige le ministère de l'intérieur en charge des élections à fournir les informations demandées par la Commission nationale autonome de surveillance des élections. Cela n'est pas étonnant quand on sache que la nouvelle loi électorale du 6 mars 1997, qui a amendé les articles 82 et 109, favorise indirectement les partis présents dans l'administration au détriment des formations qui se prétendent appartenir à l'opposition. L.D.Hamadouche écrit que cette loi : « Impose de longues et fastidieuses démarches bureaucratiques pour la légalisation des formulaires de soutien et exige un parrainage arithmétique qui complique et limite le libre choix de certains électeurs et candidats. Or, ces obstacles n'existent pas pour les partis de la coalition gouvernementale. Deuxièmement, l'amendement de la loi électorale n'a pas modifié l'article 88 qui subordonne la composition des commissions électorales de wilaya au bon-vouloir du ministre de la Justice qui en désigne les trois magistrats. Cet article contribue, comme d'autres dispositions, à faire de l'appareil judiciaire un prolongement et une fonction du pouvoir exécutif. » (Hamadouche 2009: 263f.)

A ce propos, une enquête a été réalisée sur un échantillon de mille deux cent (1.200) jeunes représentants trente (30) wilayas, pour savoir leur avis sur les élections législatives et la place des partis politiques dans le jeu démocratique. Le sondage initié par l'association rassemblement action jeunesse (RAJ) avec le soutien méthodologique d'Ecotechnics, a montré que : « 39 pour cent des personnes sondées affirment qu'elles n'attendent rien du parlement. 58 pour cent des jeunes ont une vision négative des partis politiques. » (Sondage d'opinion de (RAJ) et Ecotechnics 2012)

Ce constat fait penser au président de l'association RAJ que Le pouvoir algérien a pu installer un climat de non –confiance entre le gouvernant et le gouverné.

En Algérie, les individus veulent se constituer en groupe par rapport aux expériences communes qu'ils ont partagées ensemble depuis l'indépendance.

Le mouvement des dockers, les travailleurs de complexes industriels, les médecins des hôpitaux, les enseignants de l'éducation et de l'université et les étudiants sont tous porteurs dans leur action collective d'un projet sociétal basé essentiellement sur un lien social de raison. Au-delà du lien de sang, une donne naturelle efficace pour la structure familiale afin d'organiser et de codifier les rôles et les fonctions de ses propres membres, aucun autre lien n'est apparu pour justement faire intégrer toute la société dans un système social qui fonctionne selon des normes et des valeurs communes. Bien que la société ait pu développer d'autres liens sociaux tels que le lien

religieux et le lien de voisinage, mais visiblement, ces relations s'expriment et se consolident entre les Algériens à cause de la précarité sanglante au niveau social et culturel.

La misère évoquée dans les travaux de Pierre Bourdieu et Abdelmalek Sayad à propos des familles algériennes des années soixante est toujours d'actualité. Elle sert inlassablement à construire une solidarité pour précisément surmonter la fragilité sociale et le futur incertain. Les espaces qui pouvaient construire un lien de raison entre les Algériens ont été réprimés en permanence par le pouvoir algérien. Ce constat prend forme avec au départ le conflit entre les factions politiques du mouvement national, pendant et après la guerre de Libération nationale. Chaque mouvement voulait construire une Algérie loin de toutes les réalités sociales. Chaque parti voulait imposer ses propres idées au détriment de ce que peut produire en commun, la majorité des Algériens. Cette mentalité se poursuit dans d'autres espaces, celui de l'entreprise et des services publiques où la représentation syndicale libre, tant souhaitée par les salariés, était écrasée et ridiculisée tout au long de son expérience.

L'histoire du syndicalisme algérien ne cesse d'inscrire le mépris et l'arrogance de l'administration et du pouvoir envers leur action et leur vrai représentant. L'histoire des ces revendications n'est-elle pas une action et une démarche pour une nouvelle organisation sociale? La demande exprimée par la quasi-totalité de ces mouvements sociaux pour se constituer et se construire en syndicats autonomes, n'est-elle pas une action civilisatrice, adressée au régime, afin de libérer pacifiquement la voie à l'émergence d'un nouveau lien social qui peut organiser et consolider les éléments de la société? Bien évidemment, cette action ne peut être autre chose qu'une demande de liberté par rapport à un régime qui n'arrête pas de torpiller et d'essouffler toutes les tentatives et les expériences exprimées pour construire un lien sociétal fort.

En l'absence des libertés individuelles et collectives, les énergies qui se trouvent en Algérie ne peuvent pas apparaître et n'auront pas l'occasion de se construire en groupes sociaux. Elles ne peuvent pas prospérer dans un environnement pollué par le népotisme. Si la question de l'espace public est posée actuellement avec acuité en Algérie, elle ne peut avoir un sens en dehors de cette expérience. Effectivement, la politique du régime algérien a produit une société fragile, incapable de construire des liens forts pour se maintenir et construire son espace public. Il l'a vidée de tous les moyens qui participent et concourent à sa propre métamorphose. C'est une société en miettes qui cherche en permanence les repères et les actions qui pourront un jour, rassembler ses segments et donner une âme à son corps.

Actuellement, les conflits et les grèves n'handicapent pas le déroulement normal de la vie quotidienne. Elles représentent des actions pour porter la société afin qu'elle soit debout. Ces actions veulent mettre la société dans le bon sens afin qu'elle entame avec succès sa propre démarche. En réalité, l'action des grévistes représente un outil énergétique pour la fabrication d'un nouveau lien social entre les Algériennes et les Algériens. Ces actions expriment essentiellement une parole collective que le régime politique ne veut même pas écouter. Ce qui pose problème à la vie sociale n'est pas l'action réciproque manifestée par les grévistes, mais, paradoxalement, d'être confrontée à un régime qui ne veut croire qu'à ses propres idées. Ecouter les réactions réciproques n'affaiblit pas la politique adoptée, au contraire, son efficacité et son développement ne peuvent, en aucun cas, être évalués en dehors de l'action de celles et de ceux qui subissent les effets de ce qui est proposé. Toutefois, les grèves en question révèlent l'existence de conflits dans le monde du travail. C'est un fait réel qui ne peut pas être nié.

Le conflit exprime donc un avis contraire et sa reconnaissance ne met pas en péril le régime en place, mais, inversement, elle crée du lien social. Le conflit écrit G. Simmel : « Ne fait pas que séparer, il unit aussi. » (Simmel 1987: 128)

Les grèves déclenchées dans les structures étatiques représentent, visiblement, une nouvelle occasion pour que le régime politique s'ouvre effectivement sur la société et cicatrise enfin le fossé qui s'est creusé entre lui et la société depuis une décennie.

Une collaboration avec les vrais partenaires sociaux, exprimée par une gestion collective des affaires publiques, est le seul moyen efficace pour renouer avec elle. Paradoxalement, pérenniser la sourde oreille ou encore réagir par le biais d'un dispositif des forces de l'ordre répressives pour, justement, opprimer l'action syndicale autonome et affaiblir les individus qui veulent s'exprimer librement n'est que le mal lui-même. C'est un acte qui ne répond à aucune éthique et ne peut, en aucun cas, produire un consentement et un compromis.

Pire encore, c'est un acte qui produit le repli sur soi et propulse l'ouverture de toutes les voies et les formes de l'extrémisme et du fanatisme. Ce n'est qu'avec les vrais partenaires sociaux qu'on peut relia ce qui est séparé pour construire la société, et, malheureusement, ce n'est qu'avec eux qu'on peut mesurer la qualité humaine et les compétences sociales. En dehors de cette relation sociale, aucune morale ne peut se construire pour apostropher l'homme afin de le rappeler sur la différence entre l'état animal et humain de l'homme. Il est temps que les responsables politiques comprennent que la gestion des affaires de la société ne répond plus aux ordres et aux règles préétablis.

La gestion des affaires collectives a évolué quand la communication est devenue une science. On ne peut plus avancer avec des responsables qui veulent gérer, tout en refusant de savoir la réalité. Aujourd'hui, la gestion implique une connaissance et, paradoxalement, elle ne peut l'être qu'au moment où le responsable est disposé à écouter attentivement la société. Le temps des technocrates qui croyaient avoir la baguette magique des solutions est révolue. Il n'y a point de solution parfaite. M. Crozier définit les bons gestionnaires et explique que: « Ce sont ceux et celles qui localisent les problèmes par l'écoute. » (Simmel 1987: 128)

En vérité, ce sont ceux qui valorisent tous les obstacles qui se mettent en place pour, effectivement, affaiblir les relations et freinent ainsi la communication. Les différentes catégories qui manifestent dans les rues cherchent en réalité une nouvelle organisation politique. Seuls les partis politiques qui peuvent leur garantir ce qu'elles souhaitent avoir ont le droit d'exiger de lui obéissance. Celui qui ne possède pas la puissance de protéger quelqu'un n'a pas le droit de lui exiger l'obéissance. Ce principe est l'un des éléments de la théorie de la philosophie politique qui a façonné des Etats forts et puissants. Il est le fruit d'un échange qui s'est cristallisé par le contrat social.

Les Algériens ne s'inscrivent pas en dehors de cette logique et le bouillonnement social n'est que la preuve tangible qui montre aujourd'hui le besoin de la présence de l'Etat de droit. Il faut savoir aussi que le champ du politique se modifie sans cesse suivant la nature des forces en présence et la société algérienne ne ressemble pas à celle des années soixante.

Il suffit d'observer la nouvelle génération pour comprendre que le discours politique officiel n'est pour elle qu'un discours obsolète. Ceci dit, la politique comme métier se manifeste quand celui qui se prétend être homme politique, active pour faire émerger les problèmes posés à la société afin de susciter les esprits à produire des idées nouvelles et les faire valoir dans un programme de travail. Toute action qui ne s'inscrit pas dans cette définition simple de la politique n'est que du verbiage. Carl Schmitt, philosophe et politologue allemand écrit à ce propos que : « Le problème n'est donc pas pour un pays de posséder une Constitution juridiquement parfaite ni non plus d'être en quête d'une démocratie idéale, mais de se donner un régime capable de répondre aux difficultés concrètes, de maintenir l'ordre en suscitant un consensus favorable aux innovations susceptibles de résoudre les conflits qui surgissent inévitablement dans toute société. » (Schmitt 1972, 15)

## *6. Conclusion*

Les protestations qui ne s'approprient pas les structures légalisées pour s'exprimer veulent mettre tout simplement le régime devant ses propres responsabilités. Elles n'arrêtent pas de l'interpeller pour ouvrir ses yeux sur les conséquences néfastes de son fonctionnement. La société ne cherche donc qu'à mettre le pouvoir à nu pour qu'il habite réellement sa propre vocation. Cela nous mène à conclure que les événements sociaux qui s'expriment en

dehors des partis politiques sont un moment décisif pour le régime politique afin d'entamer sa propre modernité. Son ouverture sur la société réactive essentiellement les sentiments collectifs et les potentialités humaines qui peuvent l'accompagner pour déclencher principalement, le processus d'une expérience sociale capable de construire dans le futur les identités politiques collectives.

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## Cuba

### Sociocultural change in late Cuban socialism (Dr. Marie Laure Geoffray)

When the Soviet Bloc dissolved and the Soviet Union disintegrated, Cuban socialism was expected to fall just the same. It was quite unconceivable that such a small island, which was highly dependent on Eastern European importations could survive the inevitable economic crisis, which was to follow the end of the COMECON. Nonetheless, the socialist government not only survived, but it did so without really economically liberalizing the country. A few market enclaves were created but most Cubans remained state civil servants and the military started monitoring those enclaves in order to insure state control over market activities. Moreover, the liberalization measures were always presented as ephemeral and some were indeed overturned from time to time, to insure that the Cuban state would not lose control over the economy. Although Raul Castro has been working on expanding the market economy, since he took power in 2008, he's doing so very cautiously. This can be partly explained by the high Human Development Index (0,7 in 1990; 0,8 in 2011) and its relatively little dependency on economic growth. Structural economic reforms are thus envisioned as possibly problematic, because they could lower this level, by creating more inequalities. It would then be necessary to analyze if slow economic reform could be a key element to understand regime survival, since it has long maintained certain levels of socio-economic equality. The reforms launched since summer 2010 will certainly be changing that aspect of things.

Since economic reforms were few and slow until the end of the 2000s and since inequalities were constantly growing (Reuters 2008) after the fall of the Soviet Union, we cannot analyze the situation as an "'authoritarian social contract' (social welfare provided by the state is traded for political abstention)". That might have been the case until 1989 (Perez-Stable 1999) but in Cuba it has become harder to make ends meet since then, except for those who receive remittances from their families abroad and for those who started working in the tourist industry. Some researchers explain regime survival by the limited economic opportunities given to some segments of the population who struggle to expand black market activities and thus live from day to day (Bloch 2006: 125f). I rather propose to focus on the social and cultural dimensions of change in Cuba since the fall of the Soviet Union. Indeed, since political dissent was highly repressed, most dissenting action and expression emerged in the social, academic and cultural spheres. In those spheres, it could thrive because political authorities practiced a kind of *laissez faire*<sup>53</sup>. This *laissez faire* could have led to an expansion of protest towards more political sphere, but it was not the case for long because of a tacit understanding about the limits of dissent (Geoffray 2012).

The paper will argue that we need to stress this ability of the Cuban socialist leaders to take socio-cultural claims into account while attempting to depoliticize those claims in order to understand the way the socialist regime has managed to survive, while adapting to new realities. On the one hand, this ability indeed participated in the strong monitoring of political participation (I) and the channeling of popular demands towards specific issues (II), in order to prevent other types of claims from emerging (political claims for instance). Those who did voice those claims – political dissidents – were harshly repressed. On the other hand, those politics of "sociocultural liberalization" also served another purpose: show a more tolerant and plural Cuba to Cubans and to the world and generate debates about other issues than the sole political question. But this bet (maintain political unity while allowing for some social diversity) has had non intended effects (III). Although the government has managed to appear as more liberal on those issues, more and more citizens and collectives now take up those same issues and intend to politicize them.

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<sup>53</sup> See Sujatha Fernandes' works on the opening of the artistic sphere in the 1990s, Cuba represent ! Cuban arts, state power and the making of new revolutionary culture, Durham, NC., Duke University Press, 2006.

### 1. Monitoring political participation to ensure unity and stability

The end of the 1980s was driven by contradicting trends in Cuba. Fidel Castro attempted to prevent Gorbachev's reformist drive from reaching Cuban shores by launching 'the process of rectification of errors and negative tendencies'. Its purpose was to invent an alternative way towards socialism and thus oppose the economic liberalization which was taking place in the Soviet Union. But at the same time, the *perestroika* nevertheless had an influence on the Cuban society. Many Cubans were still studying in the Soviet bloc at the time and they came home with reformist ideas. Party members were seduced by the possibility to reform socialism in a more liberal way. And intellectuals, academics and artists were involved in reformist projects, whose purpose was to discuss Cuba's future and give more autonomy (from political control) to academia, culture and art. The government's way of dealing with this de facto heightened political participation and political interest was ambivalent. On the one hand, institutional channels for political participation were created, on the other hand attempts at reforming Cuban socialism were curbed.

#### 1.1 Distinguishing legitimate political participation from illegitimate political claims

In 1990, Fidel Castro announced that Cuba was about to confront a "Special Period in times of peace"<sup>54</sup> (i.e. a dire economic situation) because of the end of its trade agreement with the soviet bloc. His discourse warned Cubans about the coming economic difficulties and claimed that unity should prevail more than ever in order to keep building socialism. His discourse meant that the Cuban political regime would not be transformed radically despite the situation. Nevertheless, when the economic and political situation was discussed in debates triggered by mass organizations and the communist party itself in order to prepare for the fourth party congress (October 1991), it seemed that almost any political opinion could be heard and taken into account<sup>55</sup>. In fact, that was not exactly the case.

First, although debates took place throughout the country and for almost a year (1991), they were always organized within a certain framework provided by the party and mass organizations. And though the people could discuss quite freely, they had no control over which issues would actually be discussed by the party delegates at the congress, and which decisions would be made. Moreover, debates were segmented: it was difficult for citizens who lived in a neighborhood to know precisely about what was being debated in the next neighborhood. This also applies to workplaces. No public opinion could thus emerge from those debates, whose synthesis was only available to the political leadership. This pyramidal dimension of public debate can clearly be analyzed as a strategy of power, which allowed the Cuban government to obtain information in order to adjust to the changing economic and political situation, without opening up to a more autonomous political participation. A Gallup Poll showed that this strategy was quite successful in the short term since 58% still believed in the achievements of the Revolution in 1994, despite a dire economic situation<sup>56</sup>.

Secondly, initiatives 'from below' were not accepted as legitimate. Despite social control and the political monitoring of the debates, some dissenters started to organize and create collectives whose purpose was both to push towards more social, cultural and political change and to pressure the government to accept more cultural and political diversity. But those collectives, either cultural (Paideia, Hacer, Las Campanas...) or political (Tercera Opción, La carta de los diez) were short-lived as political authorities either repressed their members or dispersed them into exile. The failure of *La carta de los diez* (ten writers' letter) is a telling example.

<sup>54</sup> See Fidel Castro's discourse in January 1990 : <http://www.cuba.cu/gobierno/discursos/1990/esp/f280190e.html>

<sup>55</sup> See Janette Habel's account in « Rectification dans la rectification ? », *Problèmes d'Amérique Latine*, n° 99, janvier mars 1991, p. 3-16

<sup>56</sup> 1994 Gallup Poll : [http://www.marxmail.org/facts/cuba\\_gallup.htm](http://www.marxmail.org/facts/cuba_gallup.htm).

This percentage dropped to 47% in 2006 (see report in Miami Herald, December 15th, 2006, <http://newsgroups.derkeiler.com/Archive/Soc/soc.culture.cuba/2006-12/msg00889.html>)

The project was led by Maria Elena Cruz Varela, a poet who used to live in Alamar, Havana. She used to organize *tertulias* at her place, i.e. invite fellow poets and writers for readings and discussions. Those literary meetings transformed into more political ones with the specific context of the early 1990s. That is when Cruz Varela decided to launch an appeal to the government, with the help of a few of those friends. The initiative became known as *la carta de los diez*. It was presented on the 4<sup>th</sup> of August 1991 to the State Council (*Consejo de Estado*<sup>57</sup>) and to the central committee of the party and sent to the international press. The open letter asked for a large national debate about Cuba's future to take place. The debate was to be open to all political opinions, including those of political dissidents (a few groups already existed at the time, but they were severely censored). The writers especially advocated for direct elections to the national assembly, freedom of circulation and the reopening of peasant markets (private food markets). This initiative was dismissed as an "abject collaboration with the historical enemies of the Cuban nation"<sup>58</sup>. Nine of the ten writers went into exile. The leading promoter of the letter, Cruz Varela, went on trial and was imprisoned for two years before she could leave the country.

It is relevant to note that some of the demands that were made by those writers were partially taken into account by the Cuban government just a year later (direct elections for 50% of the deputies to the national assembly, reopening of the peasant markets). But the letter's content was not discussed. It was fully rejected because of the perceived illegitimacy of its political claims. The sole mentioning of political dissidents led the initiative to be associated with the "historical enemy" since those dissenting political groups are believed to be paid by the CIA and/or the American government. Moreover, the formulation of those claims from without the legitimate political framework (the debates organized to prepare the fourth party congress) were clearly perceived as a threat to the necessary national unity (they were accused of treason). Publicity and political dissent were clearly condemned.

Although debates were organized throughout the nation and though the fourth party congress was held with a more liberal atmosphere than previous congresses, the Cuban government managed to reassure its monopoly over Cuban politics by censoring and/or repressing all alternative projects in the 1990s. First of all, political authorities stressed in practice the distinction between legitimate and illegitimate ways of voicing concerns. Secondly, challenging socialism as a political project was not tolerated. Political participation did exist but it was monitored from above and limited to the political frames offered by the party. This monitoring is still roughly the same today: the debates organized prior to the sixth party congress in 2011 did not differ much from those held in the 1990s (people were asked to discuss issues which had been previously framed by top party officials). The consequence of this monitoring is that dissenters were either led to self-censor, to be censored and/or repressed, or to go into exile. In the 1990s, many chose to leave the country, which partly explains the small size and scope of dissident's movements in Cuba until the end of 2000s, compared to the same type of movements in the Soviet Bloc.

## 1.2 Reestablishing control over the academia

The ruling out of dissenting political options is to be related to the government's will to maintain socialism as a political project despite necessary adjustments. But members of the party and academia were also marginalized and censored by the political authorities, who saw them as threats after they promoted or elaborated alternative socialist models, which were not endorsed by Fidel and Raul Castro.

Many students, professors and researchers had taken seriously Fidel and Raul Castro's criticism of the Cuban social sciences and their call for a renewed role for research and knowledge in the transformation of social reality in March 1991<sup>59</sup>. Groups were created at the University of Havana to discuss about the renovation of Cuban so-

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<sup>57</sup> The State council is one of the highest political institutions of the Cuban socialist regime.

<sup>58</sup> In a Granma article (the communist party newspaper) entitled « A new manoeuvre from the CIA ». Article quoted in Manuel Diaz Martinez, *La carta de los diez*, *Encuentro de la Cultura Cubana*, <http://arch1.cubaencuentro.com/pdfs/2/2mdm22.pdf>

<sup>59</sup> Call for the fourth party congress, launched in March 1991. See full text on : <http://congresopcc.cip.cu/wp-content/uploads/2011/02/Llamamiento-al-IV-Congreso.pdf>. An extract: « Nuestras ciencias sociales y humanísticas, debilita-

cialism. Many research centers organized seminars whose purpose was clearly to rethink Marxist theory so as to adapt it to changing times<sup>60</sup>. One research center (the Center for the Study of the Americas/Centro de Estudios sobre América – CEA) had been especially active since 1986, when Fidel Castro had launched the “rectification” process. That research center had a specific status: it was institutionally linked to the central committee of the communist party and its researchers were all party members. It thus benefited from an exceptional political protection and moreover had few links with the eastern European academia, so as to be able to work in a freer way with the Latin American academia<sup>61</sup>. In the 1990s the CEA started focusing more and more on Cuba (and not only on North and South Americas) in order to participate in the intellectual boom of the period and to contribute to the coining of policies which would help renovate Cuban socialism despite the disappearance of its core allies. The researchers’ objective was to elaborate new approaches to economics and politics, which could be directly useful to the Cuban political leadership. Economic liberalization and political participation were some of the key issues discussed.

Thanks to their research, CEA scientists gained fame in the Cuban intellectual milieu and abroad where foreign analysts were closely following what was happening in Cuba. Some had been invited to conferences in foreign countries and their perspectives were gaining support outside of Cuba (Giuliano 1998). Both their analyses, which contradicted the official doctrine that was only one way of understanding the world<sup>62</sup> and their autonomization as a body of researchers, linked to their recognition and fame, appeared as troublesome to the Cuban leadership (Álvarez García / González Núñez 2001). In March 1996 Raul Castro attacked the CEA on TV, while reading the conclusions of the fifth party plenum which had just taken place. He stated that the CEA had become a fifth column inside Cuba, with links to the CIA, and that its activities would be terminated for that reason. The state security investigated the matter and all the researchers were individually relocated to other research centers<sup>63</sup>.

State repression against those researchers was ambivalent. On the one hand, it made it clear for other academic workers that their research could not autonomize from state politics. It also led many academics to go into exile in order to be able to do research more freely. Those who chose to stay downplayed their critical perspectives, in order to be accepted back into the academic system. But on the other hand, this state repression also made it clear for the Cuban intellectual milieu and foreign experts that there existed some level of plural political debate in Cuba within state institutions, which was previously unknown. And this allowed to strengthen foreign academic interest in Cuban social science research, which used to be discarded for its dogmatism. Such interest is visible in the support gathered by *Temas* (a critical journal created in Cuba by an ex-CEA researcher) abroad in terms of financial support, media coverage and readership – although the journal is allowed to be published in Cuba because its political stand remains within accepted limits.

### ***1.3 Making political participation local***

Social unrest had led to an increased interest in politics in Cuba during the 1990s. After the debates which took place in order to prepare for the fourth party congress, such interest was channeled towards the local level. The decentralization of certain political responsibilities was put into place in order to relieve the national level of some

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das en el pasado por la falta de auténtico debate científico y la tendencia a copiar y repetir supuestas verdades establecidas por otros, están llamadas a resurgir con fuerza y hacer sentir su papel en la investigación, el conocimiento y la transformación de nuestras realidades sociales ».

<sup>60</sup> A new marxist textbook was quickly written in order to adjust to new realities.

<sup>61</sup> See Haroldo Dilla (himself an ex-researcher of the CEA)’s article on the subject : « Que paso con el Centro de Estudios sobre America ? » : <http://www.cubaencuentro.com/opinion/articulos/que-paso-con-el-centro-de-estudios-sobre-america-259072>

<sup>62</sup> Read account by Haroldo Dilla of CEA researchers’ encounter with Carlos Aldana, ideological secretary of the party, who explained to them why their way of seeing the world was wrong, in « Que paso con el Centro de Estudios sobre America ? », op. cit.

<sup>63</sup> For two thorough discussions on the question, see Mauricio Giuliano, op. cit and Alberto Alvarez et al, op. cit.

of its tasks in a context of scarce public resources. The creation of Popular Councils, an intermediary institution between citizens and the local authorities, was part of this process. Driven by local delegates (from the municipal assembly), its aim was to better public management at the local level (especially as far as water and electricity supplies are concerned, but also housing problems, economic activity, schools...) and improve people's involvement in the making of decisions which would affect their daily lives<sup>64</sup>.

But this kind of participation is limited to concrete issues at the very local level, without the possibility of questioning national policies which greatly determine how society is organized, including at the local level (Bengelsdorf 1994; Chaguaceda / Azor 2011). Moreover, people are again organized from above (as in mass organizations), they are not encouraged to organize in a more autonomous way to frame or solve problems in their own way. Many anecdotes told by Cubans testify that autonomous organization, even for the smallest things like repairing the electric motor of the water pump in a building, need to go through the approval of local authorities. Political participation is thus restricted to consulting citizens whereas decisions are taken at a higher level (Chaguaceda / Daubelcourt / Gonzalez 2012). In that sense, Popular Councils seem to have taken on the similar role to the one played by CDRs (Committees for the Defense of the Revolution, the local level mass organization) during the first years after the 1959 revolution. Salas described it that way: "a communication framework with the governed" for the Cuban political leadership (Salas 1979: 303). The Popular Councils are therefore no alternative to top down power wielding, which prevents dissenting narratives, perspectives and worse organizations to emerge, and thus promotes unity as the basis of the stability of the nation. Those who do dissent, at the micro social level are only allowed to exist if they accept that their activities will be closely scrutinized by local authorities and thus censored from time to time<sup>65</sup>.

The 1990s can be characterized as ambivalent years in Cuba. Political debates were widespread, collective and heated, but they did not give way to more plural politics. Although we cannot really speak of a lack of political participation here (compared to other post 1989 socialist countries), the high monitoring of that participation is certainly one of the elements which helps explain political stability in Cuba, because it made it extremely difficult for challengers to emerge, become visible, organize and gain domestic and international legitimacy. On the contrary it led to the massive emigration of critical intellectuals, artists and political challengers. This situation has reoriented claims towards other spheres (social and cultural spheres) since the political sphere remained closed.

## *2. Channeling socio-cultural claims*

Despite (or because of) the closure of the political sphere, social unrest kept growing in Cuba, especially in Havana, due to economic restrictions and the high contrast between official discourse and social reality, which became apparent to many during the crisis. Many Cubans chose to emigrate, especially renowned artists, intellectuals and academics, thus depriving the country of its best creative minds. To prevent this brain drain<sup>66</sup>, the political leadership started dealing differently with artists and intellectuals from 1997 onwards, when Abel Prieto became culture minister. First, he eased restrictions on traveling abroad. Secondly, he allowed some kind of *laissez faire* when issues which were not considered as too political, were being tackled in intellectual and artistic circles<sup>67</sup>. And some issues were even deliberately promoted by government officials or party members. Two elements can explain this. On the one hand, there was more space for debate on such topics, thanks to the promotion of

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<sup>64</sup> See that book on the question by CEA researchers : Haroldo Dilla, Gerardo Gonzalez et Ana Teresa Vicentelli, *Participacion popular y desarrollo en los municipios cubanos*, La Habana, Centro de Estudios sobre América, 1993.

<sup>65</sup> For a thorough discussion on that question see Marie Laure Geoffray, *Contester à Cuba*, Paris, Dalloz, 2012.

<sup>66</sup> They are often called *exilio de terciopelo* (velvet exile), which generally refers either to the high quality of their education and to their creativity or to the lack of difficulties they face while traveling to and from Cuba, thanks to the easing of government restrictions on traveling politics for artists and intellectuals who are bankable abroad, the possibility to publish and exhibit abroad.

<sup>67</sup> On negotiations between artists and the government, see Sujatha Fernandes, *op. cit.*

younger leaders to top positions in the party and mass organizations and the difficult economic situation. On the other hand, such *laissez faire* can also be understood as a strategic move for the Cuban leadership, in order to build a more tolerant image of the Cuban government. I'll offer here three snapshots on three specific issues (racial, gender and religious issues) to get a better grasp at those dynamics of socio-cultural opening.

### *2.1 How race became a legitimate public problem*

The racial issue is a relevant one to understand the complex intricacies between agency from below and strategy from above in late Cuban socialism. Publicity was first given to the issue within the cultural sphere before it was accepted as a public problem by the Cuban authorities, although it remained framed as a cultural problem, inherited from the colonial rule.

In 1962 Fidel Castro proclaimed the end of racial discrimination, since racial apartheid (in public spaces, access to certain jobs or schools, etc.) had been abolished in Cuba. But racial prejudice was never eradicated, according to de la Fuente, because it was never publicly debated and prejudice reproduced within families (De la Fuente, 2001). De La Fuente moreover shows that this reproduction remained quite invisible until the economic crisis when it became more socially accepted to voice racist ideas. Indeed since black Cubans were less better off in the 1990s than white people, whereas they had largely benefited from the revolutionary social reforms (better access to health care, education and all types of jobs), therefore it meant for many white Cubans that Blacks were either backward or lazy. To counter the resurgence of racist prejudice, a few academics and intellectuals organized to promote public debate but they were not very successful<sup>68</sup> until the emergence of the hip hop movement.

When hip hop emerged in Cuba at the end of the 1990s, it represented a way for parts of the restless youth of Havana – who often came from marginal suburbs or inner city districts – to express feelings of rebellion against the socio economic situation in their country. The way they copied American rappers and dancers showed that they were inspired by other ways of life, including mass consumption and freedom of expression. Many young rappers considered themselves as colored or black. Yet the racial issue was seldom discussed in early Cuban rap. That is when the intellectuals mentioned earlier, together with two Black Panthers, who happened to be political refugees in Cuba, deciding to teach those young rappers about what they called 'their origins'. Rappers were invited to seminars, courses and private meetings at home in order to discuss the history of slavery, racial discrimination and the emergence of conscious rap in the USA. After some time those meetings attracted attention from state security services and they were discontinued. But many rappers found echoes between their social trajectories and the history of racial discrimination and their songs started to be inspired by their newly acquired knowledge.

At the same time, some of those intellectuals lobbied so that possibilities would be given to young rappers to become recognized amateurs (as members of a national cultural youth institution: the Asociación Hermanos Saiz) and to the most talented, to become professional musicians (as members of the National Rap Agency, created in 2002). Whereas hip hop used to be a way of expressing oneself and of sharing feelings of rebellion with fellow rappers, it became a competitive activity, in which "professional elements" (the staging of a song through visual elements for instance or dancing) were evaluated by peers and professional artists and intellectuals. Criteria explicitly favored rappers who referred to Cuban colonial history and developed black esthetics while paying allegiance to the Cuban revolution as an emancipatory project. Rap thus became an artistic movement, mostly inspired by the fight against racist inheritance of the colonization. Professional rappers endorsed the official perspective according to which fifty years of revolution could not eradicate five hundred years of prejudice, exploita-

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<sup>68</sup> Fidel Castro still rejoiced at the idea that racial discrimination had been abolished in Cuba, in a discourse, in 1997. Quoted by Anton Carrilo, *Arqueología del discurso de las élites cubanas sobre raza durante el siglo XX*. Editoriales y artículos de opinión, PhD dissertation, University of Grenade, 2005, see pp. 411-428.



tion and discrimination. Rap started to be framed as a black artistic movement, a kind of heir to rebellious black culture under colonial rule<sup>69</sup>.

That way rap became legitimate and institutionalized in the Cuban cultural sphere. And in turn it contributed to give visibility to the racial issue. Academics and intellectuals started writing in a freer way about race (Zurbano 2006: 111f; Morales 2007; Fernandez Robaina 2009), rappers opened venues for them during hip hop festivals, which allowed those issues to disseminate among new audiences. We can't know for sure – because of the lack of access to political archives – if this effervescence on the racial issue was the trigger that pushed the authorities to start commemorating the creation of the Independent Party of Color (this party, created in 1908 to promote equality of rights for black Cubans, was savagely repressed in 1912 and this episode had been totally silenced in the official revolutionary history). It seems reasonable to think that it is the case though, because references to identity politics (especially on a racial basis) used to be fiercely censored since 1959.

This process – schematically exposed here<sup>70</sup> demonstrates how race has become a legitimate social issue in Cuba, though with certain limits. It is legitimate as long as it is understood as a cultural problem, as the product of popular racial prejudice inherited from the history of slavery, and not when it is understood as a political problem (involving the possible responsibility of the revolutionary leadership). Despite this framing, the recognition of race as a legitimate issue has allowed parts of that Cuban youth to feel somehow connected with the revolutionary project, though in their own way, and thus contributed to their support of the government<sup>71</sup>, but they are less and less every day. Those who felt censored generally exited in Hirschman's sense (Hirschman 1970), either remaining in Cuba and focusing on the economic and financial bettering of their living conditions or implementing emigration strategies (many rappers did emigrate).

## *2.2 Depoliticizing gender*

Sexual and gender issues are another dimension of what we could call a 'socio cultural opening' in Cuba since the mid 1990s. At the very end of 2005 indeed, Mariela Castro, the daughter of Raul Castro and head of the Cenesex (National Center for Sexual Education) made a sensational move. She asked the national assembly to give the right to transsexuals to change identity and to be able to be operated for free if they wished<sup>72</sup>. This initiative drew tremendous media attention since it represented a great move away from the 1960s state politics during which homosexuals were sent to reeducation camps<sup>73</sup>.

Such an initiative could seem surprising in a country where HIV infected people used to be put into guarded medical centers, where homosexuals are still harassed on the streets by the police and where the government did not

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<sup>69</sup> But many rappers did not fully endorse that perspective and continued to discuss other issues, especially freedom of expression, urban marginalization and the lack of economic reform in the Cuban society. See Geoff Baker's works: « Hip Hop, Revolucion! Nationalizing Rap in Cuba », *Ethnomusicology*, vol. 49, n° 3, automne 2005, pp. 368-402 and « 'La Habana que no conoces'. Cuban rap and the social construction of urban space », *Ethnomusicology Forum*, vol. 15, n° 2, november 2006, pp. 215-246.

<sup>70</sup> See Marie Laure Geoffray, *Contester à Cuba*, op. cit., last part of chapter 5 for a more thorough analysis of the construction of race as a public issue in Cuba. See also Alejandro de la Fuente, « The New Afro-Cuban Cultural Movement », *Journal of Latin American Studies*, vol. 40, 2008, pp. 697-720 and Sujatha Fernandes, *Cuba represent! Cuban arts, state power and the making of new revolutionary culture*, Durham, NC., Duke University Press, 2006 (although neither of them have worked on the reciprocal construction of legitimacy between black intellectuals and rappers)/

<sup>71</sup> Sujatha Fernandes, op. cit.

<sup>72</sup> Gerardo Arreola, « Estudia parlamento cubano reconocer derechos a transsexuales, La Jornada, January 9th, 2006 : <http://www.jornada.unam.mx/2006/01/09/032n1mun.php>

<sup>73</sup> For a detailed account, see Rafael Osorio, *Gays and the revolution: the case of Reinaldo Arenas*, *Latin American Perspectives* vol. 29, n°2, 2002, pp. 78-98.



explicitly acknowledged in Cuba that the reeducation camps were a mistake<sup>74</sup>. Fidel Castro did make a statement in Mexican journal *La Jornada* in 2010 (Lira Saade 2010), as well as his niece Mariela Castro a year later, when she proposed to launch an investigation on the matter (Arreola 2011). But both statements were ambivalent since Fidel Castro actually stated that he could not pay attention to the matter because of the preoccupying political issues he had to deal with. And Mariela Castro added that the 1960s' repression of homosexuals was the product of an especially difficult situation for Cuba after the Bay of Pigs invasion (1961) and the Missile Crisis (1962). Moreover, that debate has not reached the Cuban official media (neither in the press, nor on the radio or TV) yet.

To push for reform, Mariela Castro drew on her mother Vilma Espin's work and legitimacy. Espin used to head the national group of work on sexual education created in 1979 (the Cenesex ancestor) and she had made a public declaration in 1992 against the discrimination of homosexuals. The Cenesex itself had had quite an open approach to homo/transsexuality from the mid 1980s and on. The first sex surgery was performed as early as 1988 (the first and last one before long because of the public scandal it created) and one of the former directors of the Cenesex did acknowledge, in an interview, in 1986, that the camps had been a mistake (Hamilton 2012: 142). Drawing on the history of the center and despite the reluctance of the health ministry and of the state security services, Mariela Castro managed to have the deputies pass the law. In 2008 transsexual could get a sex operation for free and have new identity papers – with their new gender – issued.

That same year, Mariela Castro organized the first gay parade in Cuba. Although the march took place on a very limited portion of one single street, it was a landmark in Cuban politics. It was indeed a clear sign that homosexuality was from then on officially accepted, even though this issue had been almost entirely left to the Cenesex as a sectorial organization to handle, and not taken up by the political leadership (that was more the case with the racial issue for instance since Fidel Castro mentioned it in some discourses from 1999 onwards and he even met some rappers).

This will to strictly separate issues considered as social from issues considered as political is visible in the censorship of what we may call alternative or autonomous homosexual organizations. One of them tried for instance to organize its own gay parade in June 2008 and was prevented from doing so, probably because the aim of the organization was to deliver an open letter to the justice ministry, asking the Cuban state to apologize for the repression of homosexuals and HIV infected people and for the reeducation camps<sup>75</sup>. Two more examples testify to this will to dissociate the fight for homo/transsexual rights and politics. For instance, Mariela Castro accused the founders of the independent LGBT observatory in 2012 of having a 'political interest'<sup>76</sup>, that is of linking gender and politics. And when Mariela Castro gave a conference at the NYC library in may 2012, many Cuban Americans and LGBT activists could not attend because most seats had been reserved for Mariela's supporters, probably to ensure that the debate would stick to 'social issues'<sup>77</sup> or least sufficiently 'safe' issues, so that she would not have to discuss her father and uncle's responsibility in setting up the reeducation camps or HIV politics for instance. Those examples demonstrate that there is a clear attempt at depoliticizing those social issues that are being tackled by organs of the Cuban government. This strategy is ambivalent. It has managed to create relative support within Cuba (from some homosexual and leftist groups who are in favor of gradual reform<sup>78</sup>) and from outside

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<sup>74</sup> See a critical article on her talk at the NYC library 11/06/2012, <http://gaycitynews.com/castro-and-controversy-at-the-public-library/>

<sup>75</sup> « Cuba's first gay parade cancelled », *The Guardian*, June 26th, 2008 (the journalist here means the first alternative gay parade) : <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2008/jun/26/cuba>

<sup>76</sup><http://www.diariodecuba.com/cuba/4939-activistas-crean-un-observatorio-para-promover-los-derechos-de-la-comunidad-lgbt>

<sup>77</sup>An alternative panel was organized in Harlem a few months later, see account on this website : <http://gaycitynews.com/cuban-lgbt-dissidents-have-their-say/>

<sup>78</sup>See for instance Observatorio Critico, [www.observatoriocriticoblogspot.org](http://www.observatoriocriticoblogspot.org) and Arcoiris, <http://proyectoarcoiris.wordpress.com/>

Cuba, because it has helped create a more complex image of the socialist regime (and re-launched the old debate about the relative importance of social rights over civil and political rights) but this strategy can also backfire.

### 2.3 Raul Castro, the Church and the media

The relationships between the catholic Church and the Cuban government is a third relevant example to analyze how the Cuban government has managed to open channels of action and expression which sometimes actually deal with political issues but in an uncanny way. In the case of the catholic Church, it has for instance allowed Raul Castro to transform a very sensitive political issue (the liberation of political dissidents) into a humanitarian one.

Catholics used to be censored and repressed – like other believers – in early revolutionary Cuba until the 1990s. As part of government politics to expand political participation on the island, in order to regain some legitimacy after the fall of the Soviet Union, believers (from all faiths) are reintegrated as legitimate members of the socialist regime in 1992 thanks to the amendments made to the constitution. They are allowed to become members of the communist party and to run for elections if they wish to. From then on, and despite remaining prejudice, the catholic Church starts to regain momentum<sup>79</sup>. Pope John Paul II visits the island in 1998 and the Church takes on a more prominent role as far as social and charity works. Foundations (Felix Varela Center, Civic and religious education center), and journals (Vital, Espacio Laical) linked to the Church become spaces for social and political debates. The representatives of the catholic Church in Cuba keep stressing their social and religious roles rather than their political perspectives, so as not to displease the Cuban government. At the same time, they are in close contact with some political dissidents like the ladies in white, many of whom are believers. That is one of the reasons why they undertook the difficult task to plea in favor of their husbands/sons who were imprisoned in 2003, during a repression wave, generally under charges of "activities against the integrity and sovereignty of the state" or "acts against the independence or territorial integrity of the state »<sup>80</sup>.

It is difficult to know for sure – before access to archives is authorized – why Raul Castro took the decision to free the political dissidents. But it is possible to analyze how they were liberated. First, the state did not announce the prisoners' liberation. The Church did through Cuban cardinal Jaime Ortega<sup>81</sup>. And the issue was framed as a "humanitarian" one<sup>82</sup>, since many dissidents were sick and in prisons which were far away from their families' residence. The government's silence on the matter allowed this "humanitarian" frame to be widespread in the media to the detriment of a more political one. The emigration of the first liberated prisoners to Spain moreover shifted the media focus on the conditions of their transfer into that country (rather than on the fact that the emigration of those dissidents meant less hassle for the Cuban government). Soon enough, the discrepancy between the dissidents' expectations and the Spanish government's help given to them to settle down was widely commented upon both in the traditional media and on blogs (because it was quite unjustly compared to the exceptional conditions granted to emigrating Cubans in Miami – conditions granted to no other minority in the US). And the Spanish government started to be blamed for its management of the situation<sup>83</sup>.

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<sup>79</sup> For an in-depth analysis, see Philippe Létrilliart, *Cuba, l'Église et la Révolution*, Paris, l'Harmattan, 2005.

<sup>80</sup> See UNHCR report : <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/country,,CPJ,,CUB,,47c5669b23,0.html>

<sup>81</sup> Press articles only quote Cardinal Jaime Ortega and not Raul Castro <http://www.imdosoc.org/?p=4297> and <http://www.elnuevodiario.com.do/app/article.aspx?id=205334>

<sup>82</sup> See article « Iglesia espera liberación de presos políticos tras reunión con Raúl Castro » in Linea Capital : <http://www.lineacapital.com.ar/?noticia=50379>

<sup>83</sup> See for instance Mary Anastasia O'Grady, « Spain betrays Cuba's dissidents », *The Wall Street Journal*, 13/06/2011, <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052702304259304576377513041939494.html>; Raphael Minder, « Exile Cuban dissidents living in Spain feel abandoned as benefits dry up », *New York Times*, 01/06/2012, <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/06/01/world/europe/exiled-cubans-living-in-spain-feel-abandoned-as-benefits-dry->

This communication strategy is a real master stroke from the Cuban government. Raul Castro was not only framed as a reformer with a vision, he also managed to transform a highly controversial political issue into a humanitarian and migratory one. The management of Pope Benedictus XVI's visit in March 2012 can be analyzed in a similar way. Religious and social issues were put forward rather than political ones. And when the Pope met Fidel Castro, they were staged discussing about faith and their old age, anything but about politics.

This focus on sociocultural issues has worked as a strategy to include specific social categories which had been excluded from the revolutionary project such as believers, (I did not mention evangelists here but their case would also be relevant for this study), homosexuals and all those social categories who had been considered as such, during the revolutionary process because of the emphasis put on class issues which generated a certain color and/or gender-blindness. This strategy has enabled people who felt marginalized to be reintegrated as full citizens, especially since they are now relatively more able to find official support in case of racist, sexist or homophobic discrimination. Can we say that this strategy has strengthened state-society relations? The answer is ambiguous since this focus has repeatedly sidetracked more political questions such as political participation, political pluralism, freedom of speech and association. An LGBT march is legitimate as long as it is organized by Mariela Castro. It ceases to be so when it is organized by groups deemed to be 'too political', i.e. people with dissenting political opinions. The same is true with racial or religious questions. Although it is unquestionable that such sociocultural openings have impacted the Cuban society and created more space for action and expression, it is nevertheless unclear to what extent it has allowed to generate renewed in-depth support for the Cuban political leadership and for the socialist project. I would rather conclude that the involved people are pragmatically using the freer social spaces given to them, so as to enjoy them and extend their social rights. And I would expect only marginal political support to be linked to this increased tolerance. On the contrary, this sociocultural opening could slowly be generating more dissent among intellectuals, artists, believers and LGBT or race activists.

### *3. The unintended consequences of the socio cultural liberalization*

Social control and political monitoring have long prevented the emergence of a contentious movement in Cuba. The politics of socio cultural liberalization since the 1990s have moreover channeled parts of the growing discontent towards issues which were seen as safer than others by state officials. But this liberalization has also allowed for the emergence of micro arenas of contention, striving to gain more organizational autonomy from state supervision (Hoffmann 2011). Those micro arenas were disconnected from one another because prejudice thrived upon the lack of access to a central alternative source of information. Horizontal dynamics of contact and exchange were thus precarious and over-determined by vertical logics of control. But Raul Castro's decision to liberalize access to the internet and other NICTs in 2008 – though in a limited way – has had consequences. Those arenas have indeed become visible for one another and have started interacting (Geoffray 2013). They have thus also become more visible for transnational audiences and the international media. And those new dynamics can backfire the government's attempt at monitoring the socio cultural liberalization. I'll dwell on the example of the gender issue to argue on that point.

Mariela Castro has been promoting homo/transsexual rights in Cuba since 2004. Although her initiative has enabled many homo/transsexuals to finally have their rights taken into consideration (not to be discriminated on the street and for jobs, and to be operated if needed), it has also given way to criticism. Indeed, Mariela Castro has repeatedly tried to marginalize dissenting views on the history of homo/transsexuals' discrimination in Cuba since 1959. This stance has prompted the emergence of political groups of gays, lesbians and transsexuals whose fight is not only sectorial (their human and sexual rights) but also political (the right to express themselves freely and to put Mariela Castro's reform oriented politics into perspective with the Cuban government's

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[up.html?pagewanted=all&\\_r=0](http://www.rnw.nl/english/article/cuban-exiles-unhappy-spain); « Cuban exiles unhappy in Spain », *Radio Netherlands Worldwide*, avril 2012, <http://www.rnw.nl/english/article/cuban-exiles-unhappy-spain>

historical decisions on the issue). Those small organizations have generally had little visibility, but it is telling that they have thrived on both sides of the political spectrum (leftist Arcoiris project, linked to Observatorio Critico / liberal Foundation LGTB Reinaldo Arenas in Memoriam, for instance).

The emergence of such alternative organizations have made it visible that Mariela Castro, like many other Cuban officials, is attempting to promote the better enforcement of social rights, without considering political rights. Social rights are granted only as long as the involved people pledge allegiance to the Cuban revolutionary project. Social rights are moreover granted from above, by state officials, and not obtained from below, after street demonstrations or lobbying. This monitoring strategy did work for some time because it made all other actions illegitimate. But contentious uses of NICTs have allowed more people to propose alternative frames of thinking. The example of the wedding of Wendy Iriepa and Ignacio Estrada is telling on the matter.

Wendy Iriepa, born Alexis Iriepa, was operated in 2007 – an operation entirely paid for by the Cuban state – so that she could become a woman. Her identity papers were reissued and she became officially considered as a woman, which allowed her to marry a man (same sex marriage is still prohibited in Cuba). Iriepa was one of Mariela Castro's close collaborators at Cenesex and when she decided to marry, Mariela was supposed to be the "godmother" of the ceremony. But when she learnt that Estrada was a political dissident, she decided not to attend the wedding and the situation led Iriepa to step down from her job at Cenesex. If social control was not enough, such pressure (like the loss of a job) used to be efficient enough to prevent people from dissenting too openly. But since the rise of contentious uses of the internet, would be dissenters find it easier to cross the red line of dissent. In Iriepa and Estrada's case, they simply went to Yoani Sanchez, the world wide famous blogger, to ask her to be their godmother. The wedding was thus broadcast – especially on blogs – as a victory of the contentious Cuban movement, though it had entirely been made possible by Mariela Castro's efforts<sup>84</sup>. This event has clearly helped the alternative and politicized gay rights movement gain visibility in Cuba and abroad and led to more convergence between different types of contentious movements (independent bloggers, ladies in white and gay activists joined the ceremony), whereas the wedding as such would never have been possible without Mariela Castro's reform politics!

This evolution is in great part indebted to the freer uses of the internet and other NICTs since that has enabled segmented arenas of contention to learn about the existence of one another and thus to organize in an easier way in order to spread alternative information, meet so as to exchange ideas, debate and connect with the outside world, especially with the Cuban diaspora in the USA and in Spain.

#### *4. Conclusion*

The way people are governed in Cuba has slowly changed throughout the 1990s and 2000s. Government is now based on double dynamics of political monitoring on the one hand and sociocultural liberalization on the other hand. This strategy has allowed the government to collect fresh information about people's state of mind and thus to react swiftly in case some issue became too problematic, without sharing the information publicly, thus making it difficult for people to organize. This strategy has also managed to channel discontent towards issues which were thought of as safe enough (race, gender, religion) to be discussed in a relatively depoliticized way. Up to now, this strategy – together with the progressive implementation of economic reforms – has allowed for the reproduction of the Cuban socialist regime. It has prevented the government from being too openly – or too visibly – challenged in a systemic way. But this strategy has allowed for the creation of more autonomous spaces of debate and exchange, especially among the young educated Cubans of Havana. Those more autonomous spaces have tactically used the increased freedom to discuss about social issues in order to organize along more political lines and fight to enlarge political participation.

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<sup>84</sup> Alfredo Fernandez describes this ironical twist in an article on his blog « Boda gay cubana : Yoani Sanchez saca la victoria del refrigerador », 07/10/2011 : <http://www.havanatimes.org/sp/?p=49223>

I would thus conclude that the actual sociopolitical situation in Cuba is ambivalent. The actual equilibrium between the State's politics of limited *laissez faire* and the contentious movements' increased organization and visibility both in Cuba and abroad could well hold as long as Raul Castro remains president. Many prominent critical artists and intellectuals still somehow support the historical legitimacy of the revolutionary project (mainly the idea of social justice) embodied by Fidel and Raul Castro and they are not in favor of a radical transformation of the Cuban socialist regime since they were often dismayed by the turn of events in Eastern Europe and the ex Soviet Union. But in a post-Castro era this equilibrium could well be broken. The unleashing of a broader economic liberalization that would generate more social inequalities (inequalities keep growing in Cuba since the 1990s (Frank 2008)) could lead to a clear political challenging of the Cuban socialist legacy.

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## A Survivor's Tale: Crisis and Transformation of Cuban Socialism (Dr. Bert Hoffmann)

### *Abstract*

Despite decades of high dependence on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, after 1989 Cuban state-socialism managed to survive the demise of its overseas allies. The paper will analyze the process of crisis and transformation of Cuban socialism. It shows that even though the island leadership did not embark on a reform course in the 1990s, it did undergo a significant economic transformation marked by a dual economy which enabled the continuity of the political system. Moreover, nationalism remained a trump card of the government, not of the opposition. It is not until Raúl Castro assumes the country's leadership in 2006 that Cuba begins to follow a path of economic reform that takes the experiences of Chinese and Vietnamese socialism as implicit references for development.

### *Introduction*

Social Scientists usually seek to explain spectacular political changes. In Cuba it is the absence of such change that is spectacular.<sup>85</sup> In spite of a loss of its international allies in 1989, more than two decades of economic crisis and – at best – precarious recovery, there still is impressive political continuity. The Communist Party remains the single party allowed on the island, the socialist Constitution has been declared untouchable, and there is still a Castro at the state's leadership, even if Fidel – due to health reasons – had to pass the helm on to his brother Raúl.

What therefore demands explanation in Cuba is not a great political change but rather much more the processes and factors which have prevented one. This paper argues that an analysis of the case needs to part from the "double identity" of socialist Cuba as one one hand, part of Latin America, and on the other, and part of the camp of socialist country as it emerged in the Cold War. As a consequence, this places such an analysis at the intersection of transition research on the one hand, which developed by scholars coming to grips with democratization processes in Southern Europe and Latin America, and transformation research on the other hand, as applied to the upheavals in the socialist states of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.

We should add that thirdly Cuba could be included in studies on the resilience and transformation of the socialist "survivor" states. However, such transregional approaches that would put countries like China and Vietnam in comparative perspective to Cuba are rare. Moreover, it is not until Raúl Castro assumes the country's leadership in 2006 that Cuba begins to follow a path of economic reform that takes the experiences of Chinese and Vietnamese socialism as implicit references for development. As a result, as we will see, the story of how Cuban socialism survived the collapse of its allies in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union after 1989 is a completely different one than that of the socialist states in Asia.

As a first step the present contribution will place the "Cuba case" in the context of this overarching discussion. Developed accounts are tested as to their applicability to the analysis of Cuban development, precisely because Cuba represents a "deviant case" in much of the comparative debate.

With respect to the transformation process in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, Offe (1994: 57 ff) has spoken of the the "dilemma of simultaneity". In contrast to Southern Europe and Latin America, where transition constitutes a change of political regime without calling the economic system into question, in the former socialist states change of both the political and the economic system had to be accomplished simultaneously.

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<sup>85</sup> This paper is based on previous work of the author, published as: Transformation and Continuity in Cuba; in: *Review of Radical Political Economics*, Vol. 33, No. 1/2001, pp. 1-20, and Charismatic Authority and Leadership Change: Lessons from Cubas Post-Fidel Succession, in: *International Political Science Review*, Vol. 30, No. 3/June 2009, p. 229-248.



As this essay seeks to show, Cuba – just as China and Vietnam – maneuvered the question of the relationship between economic and political change in a different way. In view of the fundamentally changed international relations since 1989, the reproduction of political authority in Cuba was not possible, as is often assumed or suggested, by simply “maintaining the status quo,” but rather only through a substantial measure of change which, within the framework of the existing system, was put through or at least accepted.

To illustrate this point: The fragmentation and informalization of the economy which was so striking in post-’89 Eastern Europe has taken place as well in Cuba; here, however, these processes occurred within the framework of the socialist state. On the one hand this undermined the “classical” socialist order of economy and society. But on the other hand it allowed – so the argument goes – a recourse to market mechanisms in an informal form which proved functional for the reproduction of political authority, although at considerable costs in terms of developmental goals and living standards.

The “dilemma of simultaneity” in the formerly socialist states includes indeed still a third level which Offe (1994: 64) calls “the territorial question”. In a further sense this can be conceived as “the national question” – that is the whole complex of the sovereignty, integrity, and identity of the nation-state, its affirmation or questioning (and also connected with this the role of external political agents) as well as of ethnical and nationalist movements and legitimation models. These factors gained central importance in the collapse of the communist regimes of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union; in the democratization processes in Latin America in contrast they played only a secondary role.

As this essay will argue, Cuba differs in this regard from the transitions in Latin America in that the political and the national questions are posed simultaneously and are tightly connected to each other. But in comparison with Eastern Europe, Cuba presents an opposite pattern. In Cuba the affirmation of the nation against overwhelming hegemonic power is the trump card of the socialist government, not of the opposition. While transition research emphasizes the decisive importance of internal factors for the democratization process, Latin America’s “Cuba exception” appears as an example for how external factors can have a key role in the whether and how (or how not) of political transition processes.

### *1. Cuba’s Double Identity*

The starting point of the analysis must be Cuba’s “double identity” as a Latin American and socialist state. The Cuba of Fidel Castro was simultaneously a part of the “Third World” of developing countries and the “Second World” of socialist states. This double identity still marks the political, economic, and social structure of the country.

The Cuban Revolution of 1959 ran up against the emphatic enmity of the United States and found a powerful ally in the Soviet Union. The quickly following proclamation of the “socialist character of the Cuban Revolution” was joined with a growing acceptance of the political and economic model of the Soviet Union which was firmly anchored, particularly in the 1970s, by the so-called “process of institutionalization,” which included the adoption of a new constitution (1970) and full membership in the Council for Mutual Economic Cooperation (1972).

In Cuba’s Latin American identity the Revolution represents the triumph in the historical struggle for national independence. In this view the conflict with the United States was not an “East-West” but rather a “North-South” conflict. Behind the formal socialist institutions, Cuban politics remained rooted in the military structures which grew out of the guerrilla war as well as in the over-dimensional leader at the top in the tradition of Latin American caudillo authority. Fidel Castro’s first and foremost title was always that as “Comandante en Jefe” of the Cuban Revolution – although such a title doesn’t figure in the Constitution.

The dominant current of transition research takes practically no account of Cuba. The four volume standard work of O’Donnell, Schmitter, and Whitehead on “Transitions from Authoritarian Rule” is in this regard typical; it lists

socialist Cuba in passing among the undemocratic regimes, but explicitly excludes it from the investigation (1986, Vol. 1: 10).

After 1989 a wealth of publications devoted to Cuba had the word "transition" in their titles; but under the assumption of an immediately impending upheaval in Cuba, "transition" was for the most part not an analytical category for what was happening in Cuba but rather a cipher for what should happen in Cuba.<sup>86</sup> Amazingly this failure to engage with Cuba reached a peak when some of the most prominent representatives of transition research set out on "Travels to the East" and applied the theses developed for Latin America to the explanation of the upheavals in the socialist states.<sup>87</sup>

On the other hand Cuba is also as a rule left out of the "transformation research" dedicated to the former socialist countries of Eastern Europe. The continued existence of the socialist system in Cuba often is seen as a mere "maintaining the status quo". Such a perspective, however, misses the essence of the socialist survival in Cuba. As in the states of Eastern Europe, Cuba also based its socialist development model on a thorough decoupling from the capitalist world market. If now the transformation processes in Eastern Europe are to be understood as processes of integration into the capitalist world market, so Cuba after 1989 too faced the task of incorporation into the thoroughly capitalist world economy – even though no rupture of its domestic system took place.

Because the collapse of trade relations with the socialist states deprived Cuban socialism of its former conditions of existence, the reproduction of the political system was in no way possible as a pure "holding fast to what exists" but rather only through change. From this perspective the conceptions of "transition" and "transformation" are not "simultaneous", but the opposite: Precisely because the Cuban system has worked through considerable economic transformation processes, it has prevented a "transition" in the sense of political regime change.

## *2. Crisis and System Reproduction: On the Political Logic of Economic Transformation*

It is only in recent years that – under Raúl Castro's leadership – Cuba adopted an explicit course of economic reform. However, this does not mean that there were no transformations before that. These shall be explained.

In the decade of the 1980s socialist Cuba conducted more than 80 percent of its foreign trade with the member states of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance. The abrupt loss of these trade relations after 1989 logically hit the island economy most severely. The Cuban government responded to this with a double strategy: First a strict emergency program was proclaimed whose official name, "período especial en tiempos de paz" (special period in time of peace) already indicated that it was the adaptation of a concept developed for wartime. The massive provisioning bottlenecks and the sharp fall in the general living standard were dealt with by a nearly complete rationing of all products. "At the moment we have virtually a war economy," according to Fidel Castro himself.<sup>88</sup> This had high economic costs in terms of efficiency, but the social effect was of paramount importance: the virtual war economy apportioned the costs of the crisis quite equally.

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<sup>86</sup> In 1990 the Miami-based Cuban-American "Association for the Study of the Cuban Economy" expectantly published the proceedings of its first annual meeting under the title "Cuba in Transition", where this explicitly meant "the transition of Cuba to a free-market democracy". In the following years the Association kept meeting under the title of "Cuba in Transition", in the hope that developments in Cuba might some day measure up (cf. ASCE 1992-1997). In contrast, Bengelsdorf (1994) presents a substantial discussion of Cuban democracy from a socialist perspective. For the discussion among scholars on the island in the 1990s on questions of democracy, civil society, and participation within the framework of socialism, the essays of Rafael Hernández (1994), Hugo Azcuy (1994, 1995), Juan Valdéz Paz and Mayra Espina (1994) and the volumes edited by Haraldo Dilla (1995, 1996) are central. For a review of this discussion see Hoffmann 1997a.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. Karl / Schmitter (1991), Schmitter (with Karl) (1994), and Linz / Stepan (1996).

<sup>88</sup> "Es virtualmente una economía de guerra la que tenemos en este momento" (Castro 1991: 57). For more on the economic crisis and the reform debate see CEPAL (1997), Dirmoser / Estay (1997) as well as the contributions in Hoffmann (1995).

Even with this severe suppression of national consumption levels it remained unavoidable for the island which is structurally dependent on foreign trade to reintegrate into the world economy. Under the pressure to obtain foreign exchange a new world-market oriented sector was created in the Cuban economy, based on the United States dollar parallel to the internal war-economy austerity policy. It included an opening-up for joint-venture enterprises with foreign capital and the forced expansion of international tourism. Furthermore, in 1993 the government legalized possession of United States dollars in order to attract family remittances to the island. To capture these transfers from emigrated Cubans (mostly living in the United States) to their relatives on the island, the Cuban state set up nation-wide number of state hard-currency retail stores. Ever since remittances have surpassed the by far the revenues from the island's main traditional export products sugar and tobacco.

With the collapse of the socialist trade partner the United States trade embargo or blockade against Cuba – in place since the beginning of the 1960s – came to be felt much more severely than before. Given how close Havana geographically is to Miami, the United States would be Cuba's "natural" market for practically all goods and services. Thus Cuba is not only exposed to the forces of the world market, but to a world market truncated by Washington's embargo. While the exact costs of the United States sanctions are impossible to quantify, without question the United States embargo policy represents an extraordinary hindrance for Cuba's economic development.

The consequence of the Cuban strategy of "war economy with dollar enclaves" was a dualist economy in which the sparse supplies from the peso-based ration card system contrasted with the well-stocked state retail stores selling in United States dollars. Thus world market competition took on the form of currency competition within the island itself.<sup>89</sup> The currency mismatch became so drastic that the average wage in the state economy of 180 pesos became to be valued only a dollar and a half in summer of 1994. With the gradual economic recovery since the second half of the 1990s the value of the Cuban peso (CUP) picked up again but still leaves average peso salaries at an equivalent of 20 to 30 United States dollars monthly. Although circulation of the United States dollar has been replaced by a home-grown dollar-pegged currency, the convertible peso (CUC), the currency mismatch continues to dramatically distort all economic relations on the island, with severe implications for the social fabric.

The transformation in Eastern Europe has not been one simply "from plan to market" (World Bank 1996). Instead hybrid structures have appeared; economy and society have become fractionated and divided along the imperatives of money; and the planned economy has been replaced not by "the market", but by oligopolistic and state-entangled companies at the top and a high degree of informalization and subsistence at the bottom (Altvater / Mahnkopf 1996: 463 ff).

If critical authors analyze the "erosion of the state" (e. g. Hopfmann 1997: 24) and the "unsecuring of reproductive relations" (Hopfmann) that took place in the former Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe, in Cuba something similar could be observed with the decay of the peso-based socialist economy and the ever-more important role of the informal or black-market as it emerged in the 1990s.

It is obvious that far-reaching social and political consequences result from these economic developments for a system which is based on (relative) social equality and which is in great measure legitimated by its social economic attainments. Central "achievements of the Revolution", above all the free education and health system, have also suffered. In both areas the devaluation of salaries has led to a noticeable drain of qualified personnel – and to great material and motivational problems with those remaining.

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<sup>89</sup> Carranza 1992: 139; on Cuba's monetary dualization see also Carranza / Gutiérrez / Monreal (1995), as well as Ritter (1995) and Marquetti (1995).

The list of erosions of Cuba's socialist economic and social order can be continued. Nevertheless it is important to see that a fundamental continuance of social-state and economic achievements of the "old" socialist structures still holds essential importance for the social fabric. State provision of subsidized food on the ration card has certainly been drastically reduced in comparison with the 1980s and is effectively insufficient to satisfy daily needs. But – much in contrast to some Eastern European experiences – it still guarantees a nearly costless ground floor of rice, beans, cooking oil, et cetera. In the workplace canteens and state cafeterias the quality and quantity of meals is low, but so is their peso-price. If the grossly distorted monetary relationships, as they are mirrored in peso salaries and the exchange rate, were in fact the exclusive mechanism for allocating goods, privileges, and social status, then the social situation would be extremely polarized and the reproduction of political power much more difficult.

In the 1990s, the dramatic growth of the informal or black market in the Cuban economy certainly meant a loss of legitimation for the socialist system whose economic norms were violated on a daily routine basis. However, at the same time the informal structures were tolerated. As the state economy could no longer sufficiently guarantee provisioning, the government opted to live with a return to market mechanism in this black market way rather than carrying out formal market reforms. This followed less from an economic than, much rather, from a political logic: It proved to be the most functional form of market mechanism for the reproduction of political authority. Since the market activities were not formal and legal, no claims could be derived nor demands raised from them; no organizing of the producers could take place; and the state always kept a free hand to intervene against undesired activities. Precisely the legal insecurity of these market relations rendered them dependent on the good will of state authorities.

While efficient in its short and mid-term political consequences for regime stability, reform economists in Cuba argued that such of informal and restrained economic structure may function for quite some time as crisis-management, but that it would not lead to the construction of a healthy national economy in the long run – not to speak of one which can maintain and finance an ambitious health, education, and social system for eleven million Cubans. Instead as early as in 1995 reform-oriented economists pleaded for a step-by-step but comprehensive and coherent reform of the economic model, for "moving from the classical model of socialism to another model of socialism [...], that accords the market an active although not exclusive or dominant role in the allocation of resources and the general functioning of the economy" (Carranza / Gutiérrez / Monreal 1995: 10). The authors state clearly that in their proposed reform perspective "the concern is not with just any kind of economic viability but rather with one which also allows retaining social justice and national independence with the recovery of growth" (ibid: 3). And they insist on the socialist character of their proposal, specifying that "the hegemony of social property is the element sine qua non of a socialist project" (ibid: 5 f).

After 1993 only minor measures had been applied, such as allowing a range of "self-employment" or – perhaps the most substantial step – the opening of legal food markets. A more extensive reform policy did not however follow, and in March a "Report of the Politburo" condemned reform discussion and attacked its academic protagonists as a "fifth column of the enemy". The rejection of market-oriented reforms became explicitly grounded in political and ideological dangers connected to it. The director of the Cuban Communist Party's central academy, Raúl Valdés Vivó (1997: 4), argued in a programmatic lead article against further market reforms: "The creation of seeds of a local bourgeoisie would bring in a social force which sooner or later would serve the counterrevolution." And this was the position that received Fidel Castro's full backing. Since then the leitmotiv in the economy was rather "control" than "market reforms".

### *3. The Simultaneity of the Political and the National Question*

In the Latin American transitions the political system changed, but not the economic one. In post-Soviet Europe both changed simultaneously. In Cuba, in contrast, since 1989 change took place in the economic sphere, not in the political one. Yet there is a third dimension which is key to explain the survival of socialist Cuba. This we can call the "national question": the sovereignty and integrity of the nation-state, its relationship to hegemonic powers and the domestic political consequences derived from this.

Although Cuba never joined the Warsaw Pact, the missile crisis of 1961 unmistakably showed Cuba under Soviet protection in the Cold War super-power conflict. This alignment also shaped social science research. As long as Cuba was an ally of the Soviet Union, so it was assumed, the question of domestic political change was not an issue; as a result, the island was omitted from the classical studies of transition research on Latin America due to its external alliance.

After 1989 international expectations turned around 180 degrees. The widespread expectation of a soon-to-occur political system change in Cuba was not due to domestic events but was seen to follow as a direct consequence of the fall of Havana's overseas allies and trading partners.

If in the beginning we have spoken of Cuba's "Latin American identity", it is precisely in this dimension of politics that it becomes key to understanding the revolutionary regime's capacity of resistance. However massive the island's material dependence on the Soviet Union might have been – for Havana, the Soviet Union never was taken as the hegemonic power in the way it was for the Eastern European states, but also much rather a counterweight to the historic hegemonic imperialist neighbor, the United States.

In Cuba the political question is bound up with the national question. This is much in contrast to the transition processes in Latin America, where the demise of military dictatorships did not affect national identity. But it is also in stark contrast Eastern Europe. While indeed in Eastern Europe and the republics of the former Soviet Union regime changed became linked to the quest for national emancipation from the grip of the hegemonic power, in Cuba the affirmation of national independence is the trump card of the socialist government, not the opposition.

When in 1989 Cuba lost its overseas political and ideological allies, national legitimation did not need to be newly invented. Instead, the government could just emphasize more strongly the long historic narrative of the present Communist Party government as the culmination of the struggles for independence. Article 5 in the constitution was changed: The Communist Party is no longer defined as the "vanguard of the working class" but instead as the "vanguard of the Cuban nation" (Azcuy 1994: 48).

There is an important domestic side derived from this nationalist position of revolutionary Cuba as front-line bulwark against United States imperialism had become a central internal political argument of the Cuban government against the opposition in the country. The great social conflict of the 1959 Revolution, with its confiscations and radical transformation of economy and society, found its decisive vent in the emigration of the old elites to the United States. Today more than a million Cubans live in the United States, particularly in and around Miami. The political conflicts thus "exported" via migration to the United States combined with Washington's long-standing hegemonic ambitions and interventionist policies constantly refuel the Cuban government's nationalist claims.

The Helms-Burton law, passed by the United States Congress in 1996 and still in force, shows the degree to which Cuba's political question today is bound up with the "national question".<sup>90</sup> This law turns the old property claims

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<sup>90</sup> Named for its initiators, the Republican Senator Jesse Helms and the Democratic Representative Dan Burton. The official name is the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity (LIBERTAD) Act of 1996 (full text available on the internet at <ftp://ftp.loc.gov/pub/thomas/c104/h927.enr.txt>). For more on the Helms-Burton Law see Hoffmann 1997b.

of the Cuban exiles into the fulcrum of Washington's Cuba policy. As most Cubans who after 1959 emigrated to the United States eventually took up United States citizenship, the Helms-Burton Law raises the claims of former Cuban citizens once expropriated as Cuban citizens by a Cuban government now according to United States law and as protection of the property of United States citizens.

From a legal perspective this rendering United States citizenship retroactively effective to the time of the confiscations is untenable.<sup>91</sup> But more important still is the political fallout: such a manoeuvre reinterprets what was a domestic Cuban conflict in 1959 ex post as an international conflict in which the revolutionary Cuban state stands not in opposition to Cuban citizens but against the United States and United States citizens.

In addition, the Helms-Burton Law stipulates a long and detailed catalog of conditions for what it calls a democratic transition in Cuba. These extend from dissolving the state security apparatus (Sec. 205a3) to announcing "free and fair" elections for a new government (Sec. 205a4), from permitting privately owned media and telecommunication companies to operate (Sec. 205b2A) to taking "appropriate steps" to return to United States citizens and entities nationalized property or to provide "equitable" compensation (Sec. 205b2D). Washington's requirements extend into personnel policies: "For the purposes of this Act, a transition government in Cuba is a government that [...] does not include either Fidel Castro or Raúl Castro" (Sec. 205a7). With such impositions the Helms-Burton law echoes the notorious Platt Amendment of a century earlier, an amendment to the Cuba's 1901 constitution which ceded to the United States the right of intervention and which became the symbol for the semi-colonial status of the early Cuban republic.

Writing on the post-Soviet sphere, Bunce (1995: 91) writes: "Virtually every one of the East European transitions amounted to national liberation." In Cuba, where the Revolution led by Fidel Castro embodies the "national liberation", the reverse holds: here it is the political "non-transition" which can present itself as protection of national independence. The hard-line politics of "exporting democracy" advocated by many in Washington and in the emigrant community seem to have precisely the opposite effect: The stabilization and constant re-legitimization of the socialist government they mean to attack.

#### *4. Conclusions: Socialist Survival and the Turn to Reform*

As noted above, in the mid-1990s the Fidel Castro government opted to abort the incipient economic reforms and entrenched in a re-centralization of the state-run economy. The political logic of avoiding "seeds of a local bourgeoisie" trumped any considerations of economic efficiency. Economically, this became viable only thanks to the emergence of a new, potent and generous ally: As Hugo Chávez was elected President in oil-rich Venezuela, began cultivating an intimate friendship with Fidel Castro and eventually embarked on a self-proclaimed "socialism of the 21st century", this new alliance included a massive flow of Venezuelan subsidies to the island. Especially a massive barter deal in which Cuban medical personnel was deployed to Venezuela in exchange for generous oil deliveries from Venezuela became the new life-line of Cuban socialism and allowed for growth rates and distributive policies even though much of the domestic economy remained in dire straits.

In 2006, Fidel Castro fell ill and had to delegate his functions as leader of the Cuban state, the Communist Party, and the Revolutionary Armed Forces to his brother Raúl Castro. This gradual succession process that stretched over five years took place with maximum continuity in the political realm. However, in the economic sphere Raúl Castro initiated a gradual but steady process of economic reform which introduced more market mechanisms. While still modest in scope it recalls the early phases of the reform-communist paths pursued by China and Vietnam some decades earlier, without, of course, taking these as a blue-print or model to follow.

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<sup>91</sup> Already more than thirty years ago the "U.S. Foreign Claims Settlement Commission" pronounced, "[t]he principle of international law that eligibility for compensation requires American nationality *at the time of loss* is so widely understood and universally accepted that citation of authority is hardly necessary." (quotation from Muse 1996: 6; emphasis added).



For the Raúl Castro government it had become clear that the paternalist model of development he inherited from his brother was economically unsustainable in the medium term. Instead, he emphasized that in order to sustain economic stability and the Revolution's historic achievements in the education and health sector the country had to give dynamic to its economic basis through fiscal discipline and the elimination of gratis services and subsidies on the part of the state, and material incentives and a somewhat expanded role for private sector activities at the level of society. The reform drive seeks to convert much of what had been pushed into the realm of black market activities into legal and formalized activities, which can be much more efficient and from which the state can collect taxes. State companies are called to become more efficient by downscaling their workforce. Raúl Castro made agricultural reform his hallmark initiative, with the lease of idle state land to individual farmers and widened possibilities for the direct sale of farm produce at market prices.

In April 2011 the Cuban leadership convened a landmark congress of the Communist Party which ratified "economic guidelines" that are to orient a major overhaul of the entire economic system in the coming years. It is still too early to assess the economic results of this process. And it remains very much an open question how the Cuban society, long one of the materially least unequal societies of the world, will adapt to a new economic environment in which economic dynamism in some sectors will go hand in hand with downturns and job losses in others, in which the gap between haves and have-nots is likely to widen and in which not only the state but also all sectors of society will need to redefine their role.

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## Mozambique

**Ideology and power: Some remarks on the development of Mozambique under FRELIMO-governments since 1989 (Prof. Dr. Siegmur Schmidt)**

### *1. Introduction*

The end of the Cold War had undoubtedly the positive effect that proxy wars in Africa ended and paved the way for further political changes. But it also meant for many countries less aid and attention from external western and eastern powers. As regards the African socialist-oriented states the collapse of the Soviet Union meant that the legitimacy of their political systems was damaged. At the same time a grave crisis for their economic and political model was created. Though, some of the former socialist and communist parties with an identical leadership are still in power: In 2011 José Eduardo dos Santos, 69 year old President of Angola, was celebrating his 32 year long rule in Angola. After the 26 year long civil war had ended in 2002 the President and the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) established a façade democracy denying the Angolan people free and fair participation. The neo-patrimonial rule from of the MPLA with the President at the top is funded by oil export earnings. The developmental record of Angola is poor despite the country's oil richness and its double digit growth rates.

In Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe, who was elected President in 1980 for the first time, is still in power in 2013 - 33 years after the widely celebrated Lancaster House Agreement which marked the end of white rule of what was then called Rhodesia. "Comrade Bob" as he is called by many has introduced an autocratic regime which had ruined the former prosperous country in an unprecedented manner. His despotic rule is supported both by the military and the ZANU/PF.

In Mozambique, things are different: Thee FRELIMO (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique, Liberation Front of Mozambique) governs the country since its independence in 1975. But in marked contrast to Angola and Zimbabwe, Mozambique is a democracy, but with some serious shortcomings.

The leading party won all presidential and parliamentary elections (1994, 1999, 2004, and 2009) with ever increasing majorities after the democratization had started in 1990 and the peace process was concluded in 1991. The quality of the elections improved from election to election. In contrast to Zimbabwe and Angola, the political leader changed two times in Mozambique: In 1986 President Samora Machel died after his presidential aircraft crashed in South Africa. His successor became Joaquim Chissano who governed the country until 2005. Due to resistance against him within FRELIMO, he decided not to run for president again, although it would have been possible by the constitution. His decision paved the way for Albert Emilio Guebuza, who took office in 2005. Guebuza once had been Minister of the Interior in Samora Machel's cabinet and was regarded as a hardliner in Frelimo.

This paper analyses the development of Mozambique from an authoritarian socialist state with a poor development record, suffering from a long and brutal civil war to a largely democratic country with stable and high growth rates. It will also make clear that despite undeniable success, deficits in the new social and political order remain.

The first part of the paper begins with some remarks on the historical relations between the USSR and the socialist bloc on one side and Mozambique on the other side. The analysis then focuses on the ideological basis of FRELIMO. The perceptions of the downfall of communism in Eastern Europe by the FRELIMO elite will be de-

scribed afterwards. It will be discussed when, how and to which extent FRELIMO adapted to the new environment by changing core Marxist-Leninist ideological positions.

The second part of the paper is based on the assumption that Mozambique faced enormous challenges at the onset of the 1990s: After the peace negotiations between the FRELIMO-government and the RENAMO-movement proved to be successful, Mozambique faced the challenge of a triple transformation: First, the war-torn state had to be reconstructed and reconciliation was necessary to keep the peace. Second, the political system had to be changed from an autocratic Marxist-Leninist system to a liberal democracy. Third, a shift from a central-planned economy to a market economy was at stake. In general, the FRELIMO government managed these challenges, with massive external support, successfully. Therefore, many observers, including the World Bank, regarded Mozambique even as a model for Africa. Although success is undeniable, Mozambique is still one of the poorest countries worldwide. And more recently the way FRELIMO ruled the country has come under scrutiny and sometimes harsh criticism. The paper will have a closer look, first, to the developmental record and second, to the political development of the country during the last 20 years. Questions to be discussed in this context are the following ones: How did the party react to the end of communism? How did FRELIMO manage to stay in power for the last 20 years? What are the main achievements and deficits of the 20 year long FRELIMO rule? How did Mozambique perform in terms of the economy and social issues in comparison to other African countries? Is the country on the way to democratic consolidation? In how far does the political system enjoy political support and legitimacy? Finally the paper discusses some perspectives for Mozambique.

## *2. Socialist Mozambique and the downfall of communism*

Mozambique was ill-prepared for independence when the Portuguese colonial power left the country in haste in 1974/75. When the Portuguese fled, they even destroyed parts of the infrastructure. Independent Mozambique had a difficult start also due to the regional environment. This was since the regional power house, the then-white South African government, perceived the newly independent country as a communist threat. The racist South African governments under the Presidents Vorster and Botha feared that the Socialist government would support the ANC and its armed wing, Umkhonto we Ziswe. Many in the South African security establishment believed in a “total onslaught” by global Communism and based their assumption on the developments in Vietnam, Ethiopia and Angola. From this perspective, the Mozambican and the Angolan governments were just Moscow’s string puppets. When FRELIMO and other liberation movements in power began supporting the ANC, the South African government soon started a policy of destabilizing neighbouring countries by (limited) military attacks and organizing support for anti-government guerrilla such as RENAMO in Mozambique and UNITA <sup>92</sup>in Angola.

### *2.1 The relations between the USSR and Mozambique*

Soon after the country became independent, FRELIMO’s support base and political ideology changed. FRELIMO underwent an ideological transformation in the post-independence era. It began as a broad liberation movement with a relatively vague socialist ideology –no communist party existed before – and developed into a Marxist-Leninist vanguard party. The turning point was the Third Party Congress in February 1977 (the second Congress took place in 1968) when FRELIMO adopted Marxist rhetoric and related basic ideological assumptions (class struggle, imperialism etc.) and policies. President Samora Machel stated in a nine hours speech (!) – Imitating Cuban leader Fidel Castro - at this party congress “we openly face the forces of capitalism within our country and the armies of imperialism at the external level” (Simpson 1993: 322).

The Soviet Union had followed the developments in Mozambique after 1975 with sympathy and immediately after FRELIMO’s party Congress in March 1977 signed a Friendship Treaty in 1977,. Mozambique became heavily de-

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<sup>92</sup> Uniao Nacional para a Independencia Total de Angola (National Union for the total independence of Angola)

pendent on support from the socialist “brother” USSR and Eastern bloc countries, especially in the military field. FRELIMO, MPLA and ZANU/PF had asked for military support already during the liberation struggle (Shubin 2008). Immediately after Mozambique’s independence hundreds of advisors from Eastern bloc countries, especially from the GDR, were sent to the country providing training for the military and the intelligence service.

With Gorbachev coming to power in 1985 the Soviet policy in Sub-Saharan Africa changed considerably. The first signs of change could be traced back to the political discourse. The 27<sup>th</sup> congress of the Communist Party in the USSR in 1986 repeated on first sight the traditional Soviet commitment to support regimes ideological close to the country. But a more sophisticated analysis reveals that the traditional topic of “solidarity with socialist-oriented countries” was no longer connected with the Third World. Webber (1992: 16-17) observes that references to Third World issues could hardly be found in the speeches. Throughout the 1980s Soviet specialists had become increasingly critical about the lack of preconditions for communism, the inability of the revolutionary leadership to create mass support (ibid.) and their inability to reach some kind of development. Even the “excessive authoritarianism” (ibid. 17) of some African leaders were mentioned and called impediments for development. During the second half of the 1980s, Soviet senior politicians avoided more and more statements of support for allies in Africa. Foreign aid to developing countries was more and more regarded as a burden. In contrast, emphasis was given to a positive role of the USSR to settle regional conflicts and crises via negotiations including the U.S. and the West in general. From the Communist leaders’ point of view of the USSR was willing to “sacrifice” the relations with African socialist countries in order to improve the relations between the superpowers and overcome the Cold War hostilities.

## *2.2 The Structure of communist/socialist rule*

FRELIMO was founded in 1962 and took up the armed struggle against Portuguese colonialism only two years later in 1964. The party was led by Eduardo Mondlane, who did not study in a communist country, but in South Africa and the U.S. This was one reason for Soviet officials to be reluctant to support FRELIMO in the early phase. FRELIMO understood itself as a broad liberation movement<sup>93</sup> and since it was the result of an amalgamation of different groups, it was unsurprising that the party included different factions from the onset. Almost all African liberation movements rest on broad coalitions between social forces and ethnic groups, but the diversity and number of different groups or factions within a liberation movement varies considerably (for the South African ANC Schmidt 2006). Simpson (1993: 11) distinguishes between a “revolutionary socialist” and a “petit-bourgeois” faction within FRELIMO. In the inner-party struggle the socialist faction got upper-hand. Besides ideological affiliation to Marxism-Leninism the decision to side with the USSR was also motivated by the experience that the U.S. and the West had been more or less hostile to FRELIMO and did not support its liberation struggle against their ally Portugal. On FRELIMO’s side great expectations existed that the Soviet Union would substantially support the new socialist regime. Even before independence was won in 1975, FRELIMO started to establish, co-operative agriculture in “liberated areas” in July 1968 (Simpson 1993: 11). After party leader Mondlane was assassinated by the Portuguese secret service, FRELIMO intensified its efforts to copy and transfer the political and societal model of the Eastern European countries to Mozambique. The party immediately began founding mass-based organizations. The infant civil society of Mozambique – to use a modern term – was subordinated to the only political party. It was just in this early phase that the difference between state and party became blurred or both became even inseparable.

With the notable exception of rural areas the socialist experiment gained legitimacy and acceptance in large parts of the society. In the early days of independence, FRELIMO’s rule was widely accepted because the party helped to achieve independence which was gained in a bloody guerrilla war against the Portuguese. Although disap-

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<sup>93</sup> For the early years of FRELIMO, see Poppe (2009).

pointment with the economic and social stagnation grew and even in times of political crisis FRELIMO's rule could claim some legitimacy. The "heroic"<sup>94</sup> historical role of liberation movements which often became the ruling party is still a source of legitimacy in other African countries, for instance in Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe.

It is difficult to assess the significance of Marxist-Leninist ideology. Based on many interviews and documents it is obvious that many members of the party elite believed in socialism (Saul 1991). But there are no representative empirical data as regards the belief system of the masses. But even within the Mozambican elite it is questionable how deeply-rooted the commitment to Socialism was. The speed with which leading party members, including the President Joaquim Alberto Chissano, who governed the country between 1986 and 2005, changed their ideological beliefs and became adherents of free market economy, was astonishing. The Mozambique national anthem of 1975 once included the sentences: 'Our country will be the tomb of capitalism and exploitation. The Mozambican people, workers and peasants, engaged in work shall always produce wealth' went over surprisingly fast." (Quoted from Pitcher 2006: 95) However, the party systematically "forgot" about those times and influenced the public and public's memory to follow the new line. The ideological shift and a more pragmatic policy toward the internal conflict became much easier after the death of the President Samora Machel who died in a plane crash in 1986. Machel had been a strong supporter of Marxist-Leninist ideology. With Machel's death, the hard-liners within FRELIMO lost ground and the way was open for much less ideological leaders with Chissano at the top. It is telling that Mozambique signed a Structural Adjustment Program with the IMF in 1987.

### *3. The transformation: "Adapt or die"*

The Marxist-Leninist ideology was officially abandoned at the Fifth Party Congress in 1989. But the decline of the ideological project led by FRELIMO started at least 10 years earlier. Two long-term developments contributed to the loss of legitimacy of the government and the ideology it followed. The main reason was an ineffective, ill-designed and unpopular economic policy. After the Portuguese had left some areas FRELIMO occupied the vacant posts in these so-called liberated areas. Soon, the FRELIMO members were perceived as "new exploiters" by the peasantry (Simpson 1993: 311). After independence, socialist ideas became prominent in Mozambique and optimism about the future prevailed. The FRELIMO started to build up co-operative agriculture, large scale state owned farms and they forced the peasants to live in newly built villages. FRELIMO followed Soviet advisers' guidance which was in line with the socialist modernization theory and FRELIMO's cadres started to put emphasis on industrialisation. The idea behind fostering large-scale heavy industry was both, economic and political. The aim of this policy was on the one hand to produce growth in order to create a proletariat able to lead the revolution further. These socialist ideas of industrialization and collectivizing failed and additional measures such as primary schooling and basic health institutions did not work well enough to compensate for economic failure. The alienation of the peasantry from the party due to its collectivizing policy strengthened the RENAMO (Resistência Nacional Moçambicana, Mozambican National Resistance). The RENAMO became the most acute danger for FRELIMO's rule (see below) and RENAMO destroyed the (basic) infrastructure (schools, health facilities) FRELIMO had built.

A turning point for the FRELIMO elite and neighbouring Angola had been the decisions by the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON) not to accept Mozambique's membership application in 1980 and in 1981. This also caused an alienation between the ideological "mother" and her infant: Mozambique's application led to a disagreement between Soviet Union and Eastern European states. The latter (Coker 1981: 629-630) were strictly against the country's membership because they were afraid of the economic consequences. They did not want to become the "paymaster" for underdeveloped countries despite a continuous rhetoric of solidarity. In contrast to other socialist states, the Soviet Union reacted reluctantly but did not deny membership in general.

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<sup>94</sup> The official party history is often biased and ignores human rights violations (for example in Namibia, South Africa) and failures.

Another factor alienating the USSR and Mozambique had been the lack of success of Soviet and Eastern bloc military assistance and advice in terms of fighting the insurgence movement RENAMO. Military instructors from the Eastern European countries, especially from the GDR assisted the transformation from the guerrilla movement to a regular army. The RENAMO was a creation by the Rhodesian intelligence service which should weaken the Mozambican government and "punish" it for the support of Zimbabwean liberation movements. When the Lancaster House Agreement ended the civil war in Zimbabwe the RENAMO was handed over to the South African security establishment. With South African support and a disillusioned peasantry as a recruitment basis, RENAMO became more and more successful and could take control of some provinces in the North and East of the vast country. RENAMO's success demonstrated that the Soviet trained forces could not win over a rural-based insurgent movement. The only alternative for FRELIMO was to find a solution for the lethal threat in negotiation with RENAMO's sponsor South Africa. Under U.S-American brokerage the Machel government signed the Nkomati-Accord between Mozambique and Pretoria. One of the sticking points of the Nkomati-Accord was the agreement that neither side would support movements fighting the other country's regime. The accord failed but brought Mozambique closer to the West. Samora Machel was even invited to Britain and the U.S. These contacts and the famous mediator role carried out by the Community of San Egidio, a Rome-based catholic NGO (Giro 1997) paved the way to a peace agreement between FRELIMO and RENAMO in 1991. The peace agreement ended the bloody and extremely cruel war and helped to initiate a democratization process with free and multiparty elections that took place in 1992. At that time the Soviet Union had already withdrawn from Africa and therefore SU did not play any role in this process. The political shift by FRELIMO to establish contacts with Western powers paid off in the long run: FRELIMO is no long threatened by a scrupulous insurgent movement and the party continued to rule the country under the changed rules of the now democratic game.

Marxist-Leninist ideology was abandoned and replaced by a mentality. Despite many observers (Pitcher 2000; Poppe 2009) who claim that FRELIMO is now embracing neo-liberalism instead of Marxism, I would argue that the references from leading FRELIMO representatives to neo-liberalism currently are more rhetoric than ideology. An ideology is an intellectual construction which guarantees final and definite answers. It is often based on axioms and has much in common with a value and belief based strong and intolerant "Weltanschauung". In contrast, mentalities are fluid and often focus on general common values as development or modernization (Linz 2000: 132-134). The recourse on modernization and development has a long tradition in Africa: Post-colonial governments with the "big men" of the liberation struggle at the top usually referred to these aims and added doses of socialist rhetoric. Besides these ideas to create legitimacy, authoritarian regimes often argue that they are part of a historical mission to prevent national security, order or the way of life of a society. The general and vague character of such mentalities serves the interests of the ruling elite to integrate key or strategic groups into the system. Therefore, mentalities are on the one hand a strategy to increase the legitimacy of the system in general and on the other hand an instrument to increase political support. The use or creation of a mentality is a typical feature of authoritarian regimes, but Mozambique is not an autocracy. This is one of the contradictions of politics in the country.

#### *4. The economic and political record after 20 years*

##### **4.1 Economic and social developments**

Mozambique experienced a period of strong economic growth in the last the decade. The average growth rate between 1996 and 2005 was 8.5% annually (Poppe 2009: 1), which made the country one of the fastest growing economies in the world. Between 2005 and 2011 the GDP doubled. The impressive growth rates can be attributed to a few mega-projects with massive foreign direct investment. The huge aluminium smelter Mozal alone contributes app. 15% to the country's GDP, but offers relatively few jobs. Gauging the undoubtedly impressive growth rates of the country one has to keep in mind the low starting point and one should compare the growth rate with



those of other African countries. Compared to Zambia and Ghana the success seems much more modest. And even Namibia with a population of slightly over 2 million inhabitants has a similar GDP than Mozambique with its 23.4 million people. The following table (Table 1) mirrors Mozambique's economic development with those of some other selected African countries:

*Table 1 GDP-growth 1990-2011 in comparative perspective*

	1990	1995	2000	2005	2011
Mozambique	2,463	2,247	4,249	6,579	12,798
	( - )	(-8,77%)	(+89,10%)	(+54,84%)	(+94,53%)
Namibia	2,350	3,503	3,909	7,262	12,301
	( - )	(+49,06%)	(+11,59%)	(+85,78%)	(+69,39%)
Zambia	3,288	3,477	3,238	7,179	19,206
	( - )	(+5,75%)	(-6,87%)	(+121,71%)	(+167,53%)
Ghana	5,880	6,457	4,977	10,720	39,200
	( - )	(+9,81%)	(-22,92%)	(+115,39%)	(+265,67%)
RSA	112,014	151,113	132,878	247,064	408,237
	( - )	(+34,91%)	(-12,07%)	(+85,93%)	(+65,24%)

(in bn US-Dollar and in % compared to the five-year period before)

Source: World Bank (my own calculations)

Has economic growth reduced poverty in Mozambique? The answer is mixed. As table 2 reveals the absolute poverty was reduced between 1996 and 2008, but in 2008 it is still over 80% of the people that live on less than 2US-\$ (see table 3). In comparison, Ghana's development was more positive. The tables do not reflect regional differences. Outside Maputo and other cities poverty is deeply engrained, administrative capacities are weak and often unable to deliver basic services. In a study published in 2005 the authors of a World Bank paper conclude "The poor in Mozambique are mostly rural, with larger households and more dependents." (World Bank 2005: 43). From 2002 to 2005 many families have fallen back into poverty (Hanlon 2010: 91), something which happened in particular in rural areas.

*Table 2 Poverty per capita ratio at 1, 25 US-\$ a day*

%Percentage of population

Mozambique	1996: 80,6	2003: 74,7	2008: 59,6
Namibia	1993: 49,1	2004: 31,9	—
Zambia	1996: 62,1	2003: 64,6	2006: 68,5
Ghana	1992: 51,1	1998: 39,1	2006: 28,6
South Africa	1993: 24,3	2000: 26,2	2009: 13,8

Source: World Bank (ed.), <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV.DDAY>, last access: 01.11.2012.



Success in poverty reduction is obvious, but the general statistics do not reflect the great differences between regions. The reduction of extreme poverty is less impressive when the 2 US-Dollar limits are used:

*Table 3 Poverty ratio at 2, 00 US-\$ a day in comparison*

% in percentage of total population

<b>Mozambique</b>	1996: 92,6	2003: 90,0	2008: 81,8
<b>Namibia</b>	1993: 62,2	2004: 51,1	–
<b>Zambia</b>	1996: 80,8	2003: 85,2	2006: 82,6
<b>Ghana</b>	1992: 77,7	1998: 63,3	2006: 51,8
<b>South Africa</b>	1993: 41,1	2000: 42,9	2009: 31,3

Source: World Bank (ed.), <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV.2DAY>, last access: 01.11.2012.

The picture becomes even bleaker if the HDI is taken into account. In the 2011 Human Development Index (HDI) Mozambique rates only 184 out of 187 states, leaving only Burundi, Niger, DRC and Zimbabwe behind. Despite limitations<sup>95</sup> of a comparative analysis, Mozambique is still one of the poorest countries according to UNDP, although the country has experienced many years of stable, high macroeconomic growth (Hanlon 2010). The living conditions for the majority of its people have not significantly improved or at least they have less improved than in most other African countries. The life expectancy of 50.2 years is below the Sub-Saharan African average of 54.4 years and especially the per capita income (in PPP) is extremely low with less than 1000 US-\$ (UNDP 2012). Relatively high AIDS-HIV infection rates prevalent especially among migrants working in South African mines precipitate low life expectancy.

*Table 4 Human Development Index (HDI) 1990-2011 in comparison*

	1990 (173 Countries)	1995 (174 Ct.)	2000 (173 Ct.)	2005 (177 Ct.)	2011 (187 Ct.)
<b>Mozambique</b>	0.154 (rank 157.)	0.281 (166.)	0.322 (170.)	0.384 (172.)	0.322 (184.)
<b>Namibia</b>	0.289 (135.)	0.644 (107.)	0.610 (122.)	0.650 (125.)	0.625 (120.)
<b>Zambia</b>	0.314 (130.)	0.378 (146.)	0.433 (153.)	0.434 (165.)	0.430 (164.)
<b>Ghana</b>	0.311 (131.)	0.473 (133.)	0.548 (129.)	0.553 (135.)	0.541 (135.)
<b>South Africa</b>	0.673 (85.)	0.717 (89.)	0.695 (107.)	0.674 (121.)	0.619 (123.)
	0.383	0.395	0.401	0.431	0.463

<sup>95</sup> According to UNDP the HDI figures can only be compared with caution because the quality of statistical data varies and the number of countries taken into account differs from year to year.

	1990 (173 Countries)	1995 (174 Ct.)	2000 (173 Ct.)	2005 (177 Ct.)	2011 (187 Ct.)
Sub-Saharan-Africa (average)					
World (average)	<b>0.594</b>	<b>0.613</b>	<b>0.634</b>	<b>0.660</b>	<b>0.682</b>

Sources: United Nations Development Programme (ed.), Human Development Report 1993, S. 136f.;

Human Development Report 1998, p. 129f.; Human Development Report 2002, p. 151f.; Human Development Report 2007/2008, p. 231f.; Human Development Report 2011, p. 129f.

(Supplemented by: <http://hdr.undp.org/en/data/profiles>, last access: 02.11.2012).

Data on the income distribution reflect high income inequalities. The 20% with the highest income own 51.5% of the total national income. But compared to other African states Mozambique income distribution is not dramatically unequal as the data and the GINI-Index show in comparison.

*Table 5 Income distribution in comparison*

Shares of population groups (quintiles) and their share of the total national income and the Gini index (second column)

	Mozambique 2008		Namibia 2004		Zambia 2006	
highest 20%	51,5		68,6		59,4	
fourth 20%	20,1		15,0		19,2	
third 20%	13,7	45,7	8,2	63,9	11,2	54,6
second 20%	9,5		5,0		6,7	
lowest 20%	5,2		3,2		3,6	

	Ghana 2006		South Africa 2009	
highest 20%	48,6		68,2	
fourth 20%	21,6		16,3	
third 20%	14,7	42,8	8,2	<b>63,1</b>
second 20%	9,8		4,6	
lowest 20%	5,2		2,7	

Source: World Bank (ed.)<sup>96</sup>

Mozambique has come a long way from a country devastated by an extremely cruel civil war with approximately one million citizens killed, with millions of refugees and the same number of internally people displaced. This

<sup>96</sup> <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.DST.05TH.20>, <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.DST.04TH.20>, <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.DST.03RD.20>, <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.DST.02ND.20>, <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.DST.FRST.20>, last access: 01.11.2012.

success is on the one hand the result of government policy; on the other hand massive influx of foreign aid in all forms and shapes has played an important role. The country is still highly dependent on donor support: Mozambique receives high levels of international aid, which constituted 21% of its GNI in 2004, and contributes to about 45% of its 2011 national budget. Partly, this has resulted in ODA-rent-seeking behaviour of state representatives.

The general positive economic and social developments during the last 15 to 20 years are accompanied by high levels of corruption. Corruption in Mozambique is widespread at all levels of state administration. Although, the exact degree of corruption is not measurable the Transparency International Perceptions Corruption Index (calculated by the NGO Transparency International) gives us a rough idea how widely spread corruption is: The Corruption Perception Index (CPI) ranks the country 120 out of 182 countries. All FRELIMO-governments declared that fighting corruption is high on the agenda and have issued many anti corruption measures, for example by strengthening court capacities and establishing new anti-corruption institutions. The government has also signed the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI). The record of fighting corruption has so far been mixed. The implementation of concrete anti corruption measures has often been delayed, often by lack of political will. Corruption by the abuse of office has sometimes brought high prison sentences to offenders, even to cabinet ministers. But in many other cases, especially if party officials are involved, action has not been taken or suspects have been released. In 2000, the journalist Carlos Cardoso was assassinated. He was investigating a high level fraud case which was related to the privatization of one of the largest banks in Mozambique. In the longer run the high level of corruption will further undermine trust and the legitimacy of the government.

#### *4.2 The political record – a defective democracy*

Without doubts, the country has made great progress with respect to building democratic institution and strengthening the respect for human rights. There is a general consensus in international politics and among students of comparative politics that Mozambique is a democracy with some serious deficits. But the country is far from being a consolidated democracy. Comparative international rankings classify the country as “partly free” (Freedom House 2012) or as a “defective democracy” (Bertelsmann Transformation Index 2012). According to Merkel (2004) a defective democracy is a democracy with serious deficits in democratic institutions or rights hampering or damaging the democratic process. The main difference between a defective democracy and an authoritarian system is that the electoral regime in a defective democracy may have deficits but there is still a chance that an alteration in power is possible through elections. The chances for replacing the Frelimo government at the polls have diminished because the main opposition party RENAMO has undergone a process of self-destruction. Merkel distinguishes four sub-types of defective democracies. In an “exclusive democracy” some groups of the society are excluded from “universal electoral rights and their fair execution” (Merkel 2004: 49-50). This was the case in South Africa where the non-white majority was excluded from universal suffrage. In a sub-type Merkel named “domain democracy”, veto powers “such as the military, guerrillas, militia, entrepreneurs, landlords or multi-national corporations – take certain political domains out of the hands of democratically elected representatives” (49). A case in point would have been Chile after the end of Pinochet’s dictatorship when the military was a “state within the state” outside the reach of democratic institutions. In “illiberal democracies”, the rule of law is not fully in place and constitutional rights are often not in place or not respected by the government. Finally, the fourth sub-type is called “delegative democracy”, which means the executive branch of government dominates and other branches can hardly control the executive. This often goes hand in hand with an extremely powerful president at the top.

#### *4.3 Deficits and dangers*

The following deficits can be seen as arguments which might justify classifying the country as a defective democracy:

## Separation of powers

The party system in Mozambique changed from a two-party system to a dominant party system. This happened in 2004 when FRELIMO received over 60% of the vote in the elections. As in most dominant party systems the system of checks and balances is relatively weak. Some observers even see democracy in semi-industrialised countries endangered by a dominant power and speak of an “awkward embrace” (Giliomee/Simkins 1999) between democracy and one-party domination. The separation of powers in Mozambique is defined by the constitution, but in reality, the executive dominates the other two branches of power. In Mozambique, the dominance of FRELIMO – in parliament the party enjoys a majority of 76.6% of the seats - has increased the powers of the directly elected President. He, together with the high echelons of the party, controls the country. The separation of powers is too weak to control the party and too weak to guarantee the independence of the other branches of government. For example, the president appoints all judges at the highest courts (Constitutional Council, Supreme Court, and Administrative Court) who are politically close to the president and FRELIMO. The opposition claims that the judges are not independent and partisan. The parliament enjoys only limited power and FRELIMO members of parliament are under the control of the party’s leadership.

The Electoral Commission was widely criticized because it denied access of the newly founded party MDM (Democratic Movement of Mozambique) – a breakaway from RENAMO – to compete for votes in some provinces in 2009. This raised serious criticism by donors. Elections are free but there is no level playing field for the opposition parties (APRM 2009: 34): FRELIMO has much larger financial resources and privileged access to the media. Observers from the EU and national organizations repeatedly reported on cases of fraud. But seen from a long-term perspective, the quality of elections has improved over the years, although some deficits remain, especially as regards the democratic character of local elections. There had been cases of irregularities (for example with voter registration) and violence mainly by FRELIMO supporters to intimidate voters of opposition in different national and in particular in local elections. In most cases, the police are partisan and aligned with FRELIMO (APRM 2009: 34).

## Autocratic style of leadership and “network-governance”

Many countries in Africa – Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia and others - became independent after a long, often violent liberation struggle against the colonial power, especially in the case of “settler regimes”. The ruling parties emerged from guerrilla movements’ led by charismatic figures which fought the colonial powers. The transformation from fighter to party activist is difficult: The legacies from being an armed liberation movement is – to a certain extent - mirrored in the parties’ style of leadership after independence: cadre deployment politics, strict, even a military intra-party hierarchy, and low levels of tolerance against internal critiques (often called “traitors”). More often than not, a zero-sum mentality in politics prevails even after the country had been liberated. The style of decision-making is often clandestine, lacks transparency and is highly personalized. Policies are negotiated in personal networks – so called “informal institutions” - and constitutionally anchored institutions do not play an important role or are even sometimes facades. Ideologically, the system remains opaque and is guided by the mentality of “developmentalism” and pragmatism. It would be misleading to state that the political institutions in Mozambique are only facades. But the dominance of FRELIMO curtails their potential to control and to act as a counterbalance to those in power and monitor government’s activities. A strong, sometimes authoritarian party discipline is characteristic for FRELIMO and was even strengthened under Guebuza’s rule.

## **A blurred distinction between party, state and the corporate sector**

The distinction between party and state was and is blurred.<sup>97</sup> Some observers even speak of the “fusing of party and the state” (Simpson 1993: 334). FRELIMO activists often identify themselves and the party with the country and many citizens do not distinguish between FRELIMO and the state. The FRELIMO elite were successful in maintaining the neo-patrimonial (Erdmann/Engel 2007) system over decades. Free market and democracy rhetoric succeeded socialist slogans but FRELIMO’s elite stayed in power and kept control of the country by means of an extensive patronage system. When the party opened up its ranks in 1990 the membership increased by 140% in two years. FRELIMO claims to have an impressive membership of 2.7 million. Mozambicans join the party for good reasons: FRELIMO exclusively offers access to wealth and power; they offer career opportunities in the public and large parts of the private sector. President Guebuza himself is a successful business man and one of the richest men in Mozambique. FRELIMO and leading party officials play a crucial role in the economy. They own companies or at least control investment flows. Leading party members have become successful entrepreneurs. The FRELIMO party holding (!) and individual senior FRELIMO politicians push for their involvement in new investment projects. The resulting conflicts of interests are ignored. One example is the cell phone market: While the largest company M-Cel belongs to the state, the president is the main shareholder in Vodacom, the second largest company and the party has a share in the third largest competitor (BTI 2012: 16) through its party holding.

## **Weakness of opposition parties**

The opposition was and still is unable to seriously challenge FRELIMO in the political realm. The opposition parties are institutionally weak and ideologically vague. Especially RENAMO, the strongest opposition party is characterized by the confusing leadership of Afonso Dlakama, heavy infighting, and an often inadequate, even violent rhetoric. Continuing party-infighting led to a split and to the foundation of the MDM.<sup>98</sup> RENAMO’s share of votes in national elections decreased from 48% (1999) to less than 20% (2009). The FRELIMO candidate Guebuza reached 75% of the votes in the last presidential elections. The opposition candidate Dlakama reached only 16.4% (compared to 34% in 2004) and the MDM candidate Daviz Simango nearly 9% of the votes. Simango’s result was a clear success if one takes into account that the party was only founded in March 2009. Simango had been major of the Beira and was expelled by RENAMO. There is no massive repression against opposition parties, but the parties are disadvantaged and fine doses of intimidation make it difficult for them to succeed. An example for the discrimination of an opposition party, already mentioned, had been the partial exclusion of the new Democratic Movement of Mozambique (Movimento Democrático de Moçambique, MDM) opposition party from the 2009 elections by the national electoral commission. Despite the exclusion in some provinces, the MDM managed to receive 4% of the votes nationwide and received 20% of the votes in its regional stronghold in Sofala province. Civil society is largely unable to fill the gap of weak opposition politics. Structural factors as underdevelopment, systematic neglect and the socialist legacy limited the number of modern interest groups and civil society organizations.<sup>99</sup> Many organizations are often close to FRELIMO or are heavily dependent on donor funding and do not represent larger segments of the society.

## **Rule of law: a weak judiciary**

The most important dimension of the rule of law – the separation of powers – was already mentioned above. This section undertakes a closer look at the judiciary system. The justice system was often criticised by civil society and donors. The Constitution guarantees an independent judiciary. Reality, however, is different: In general, judges are party members of FRELIMO. The president nominates top ranks of the judiciary. However, it is not only FRELIMO’s influence (or influence of business or even criminal actors) that weakens the judiciary but also the lack

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<sup>97</sup> This was one of the major points of critique enumerated in the 400 pages long APRM Mozambique Review (APRM 2009).

<sup>98</sup> For RENAMO’s development, see Cahen 2011.

<sup>99</sup> For a more detailed analysis see the Quive/Cuinhanes’ paper.

of well-trained personnel and resources of the courts, which curtails the effectiveness of its functions “severely” (APRM 2009: XXXV). Under these circumstances, the rule of law cannot be fully realized. Journalists also report on many cases of police brutality. Coming back to my description of the concept of defective democracies, this brief analysis reveals certain shortcomings of the quality of democracy. Although, a more detailed analysis would be necessary, there are strong indicators that Mozambique falls into the categories of an illiberal and delegative democracy.

#### *4.4 Excursus: The role of the donors – substitute for checks and balances?*

As mentioned above, in 2011 donors contributed around 45% of the national budget (2010 it was more than 50 percent) which makes the government dependent on them. The donor community perceived the country as a model for Africa for quite a long time. Donors admired the peace process, a policy of (non-institutionalized) national reconciliation and the high growth rates they were mainly uncritical of the FRELIMO-governments during the first two decades. In addition, the international community praised Mozambique for its constructive role in continent-wide and regional integration: Former president Chissano was regarded as a successful AU-chairman. To cut things short, the country was the darling of the donor community. Only recently, this started to change and funds have been withheld because of the government’s slow progress in some fields, especially their fight against corruption. The 2009 APRM-review of Mozambique was critical – in marked contrast to positive and optimistic World Bank reports - and led to a greater distance between the donor community and the country. The alienation between the donor community and the government deepened before and after the elections in 2009. Most donors complained about deficits in the rule of law and the justice system, a half-hearted fight against corruption and the persistence of poverty and social imbalances. They understood the partial exclusion of the MDM from the elections as misrecognition of democratic principles. After the bread riots in September 2010 donors threatened to cancel further aid delivery. In political terms, the donors can play the role of a de facto veto power, i.e. they can act as an - external and extra-constitutional - element of checks and balances which non-democratic tendencies. However, the precondition for such a role would be the unity of the donor community and the political will to act as a watch-dog for deepening democracy in Mozambique.

#### *4.5 The question of legitimacy*

Every political system needs legitimacy. Legitimacy can be understood as a deep and strong acceptance of the system. David Easton (1957) differentiates diffuse (or general) support from specific support as an expression of legitimacy. According to the German sociologist Max Weber legitimacy leads to general loyalty and support from the people. If the majority of the people perceive a system as being legitimate, then this system will not only enjoy people’s support but also be relatively stable, even in times of crisis (Schmidt 2003). In the 21st century political systems only in exceptional cases can be based on tradition, charisma or religion (a case in point are, at least in parts, Iran and Saudi-Arabia) as a source of legitimacy. Sources of legitimacy in modern states are the performance of the political system. The kind of legitimacy, we call output-legitimacy is generated by the production of growth and wealth. Input-legitimacy means that universal participation is possible and that a government is formed along the voters’ preferences. Furthermore, political systems must be responsive to the demands of the people. In addition, a common identity (history, great narratives, etc.) can be the basis for broad acceptance. In democracies, the stability of a system depends on both, output and input legitimacy. Authoritarian systems, in contrast, are much more based on performance or output (for example China) and are therefore more vulnerable in times of economic and social crisis.

FRELIMO still enjoys much respect and acceptance in large parts of the population due to its role as the political force which helped to achieve independence and of peace after the 17 years of civil war. Besides the improving economic and social situation (“output legitimacy”) this is the second important reason which perpetuates

FRELIMO's continued success at the polls. But FRELIMO's legitimacy as the political force that helped to achieve both, independence *and* peace and democracy, is dwindling due to a generational shift in population. It is surprising that the generation of guerrilla fighters still governs a country where the majority of citizens have mostly not much or no personal experience in terms of experiences made in civil war and the countries' struggle for independence.

The still harsh social conditions with continuing high levels of poverty weaken FRELIMO's output legitimacy. There are at least two indicators which indicate the loss of legitimacy. First, the bread riots in 2008 and 2010 which broke out when people revolted against price increases (also for electricity, water etc.) which in turn were precipitated by a devaluation of the local currency (Metical). The unrest in 2010, causing the death of 11 people, other estimates speak of 18, mirrored massive dissatisfaction with the developmental record and social conditions of the last decade.

Second, the dramatic decrease in electoral turnout also marks a loss of legitimacy. The electoral turnout decreased by 50% between 1994 and 2009: In 1994 88% of Mozambique's population voted. This high turn-out can be explained by the fact, that this had been the "founding elections" (the first elections). But in 1999 still 74% of the people voted. In 2009 the turn-out stood at only 44.6%. This low turn-out indicates a deep disillusionment with party politics, both on the sides of the leading opposition party RENAMO and the dominant FRELIMO.

### *5. Summary of the main findings*

Soon after independence in 1975 the former liberation movement FRELIMO established a Marxist-oriented authoritarian political system. Support from the Soviet Union, the GDR and other "socialist brother countries", guaranteed the survival of the one-party rule against aggression from South Africa, which supported the insurgent movement RENAMO. RENAMO also benefitted from FRELIMO's economic policy mistakes. The Marxist-Leninist ideology was officially abandoned in 1989 at the Fifth Party Congress. Soon after Samora Machel's death in 1986 a pragmatic reorientation set in. The FRELIMO leadership was also disappointed by the refusal of COMECON to accept the application for membership of the country. The leading party gave up its ideology, replacing it by a vague mentality focussing on aims such as development, modernization, etc. Abandoning the Marxist-Leninist ideology was the result of domestic and external pressure. The party started to embrace free-market economy and democracy. Although the party ideology lost gradually legitimacy, despite FRELIMO's merits in the liberation struggle, the government managed to survive after 1989 by a mixture of adaptation, structural factors and a smart, pragmatic political management, which helped to generate massive support from the donor community. The party not only survived the "ideological bankruptcy" of communism and forgot about of its past (Pitcher 2006), but was re-elected four times with growing majorities at the polls.

The economic record showed strong growth rates (starting from a low basis level) and a gradual reduction of poverty. Despite impressive growth rates, still over 80% of the population are living on a maximum of 2 US-dollars a day. The performance of the FRELIMO government in socioeconomic terms does not match the potential of the country. Economic growth has not led to "trickle-down" effects. On the contrary, the gap between poor and rich has widened and the Gini-coefficient, measuring income-inequality, stood at 45.4 in 2008 and at 0.42 in 2011. Poverty reduction is too slow. Whereas the majority of the people are poor, the political elite is getting richer. Corruption and practices of bad governance are widespread. Ambitious programs cannot be implemented due to weak state and other capacities. Economic challenges consist of dependence on marked prizes for aluminium<sup>100</sup>, high levels of corruption and a high dependence on foreign aid.

Politically, Mozambique has developed into a defective democracy. Compared to the time before 1989 Mozambique is a much freer and democratic country than before. The election results mirror the will of the population,

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<sup>100</sup> The aluminum smelter Mozal is responsible for most of the export earnings.



although in political terms, there is no level playing field. Opposition parties have insufficient resources for effective campaigning. The paper argues that the country can be classified as a defective democracy for several reasons (weak rule of law, etc.). The main problem for democracy in Mozambique is the continued dominance of FRELIMO which weakens the separation of powers and leads to a strong overlap between if not fusion of party, state and the economic elite.

President Albert Emilio Guebuza does not seem willing to continue with further democratization and efforts to increase good and effective governance remain half-hearted.

## *6. Perspectives*

Mozambique did not choose an alternative path of development. It followed the Western model of simultaneously establishing democracy and a market economy. All in all, the path of Mozambique led by FRELIMO proved to be successful, especially when we compare the country's record with the records of cases such as Democratic republic of Congo, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Zimbabwe, and Madagascar.

Future political developments are largely dependent on the future of FRELIMO. The main questions will be first, whether the party will be able to start with substantial reforms leading to a greater separation of state and dominant party. Without substantial reforms, in particular social reforms, the party's legitimacy could erode further. If reforms are not realized or even postponed, social unrest is likely to grow. In 2010 bread riots broke out and revealed the dissatisfaction of large parts of the population with the Mozambique's political system which has largely failed to produce development despite annual growth rates between 5-10%. These riots and many cases of violence, including police brutality (Hanlon 2010: 93-96), brought up the question of the political and economic system's stability. The main threat to stability might come from social protests. Here it might be instructive to cite from the recent report, published by the African Peer Review Mechanism (ARPM)<sup>101</sup> which was published one year before the riots broke out:

"Poverty, together with economic and social exclusion, is also identified as a major cause of violent conflict in society. Some of the violent conflicts in Mozambique can be traced to persisting imbalances in regional development in terms of investments, socio-economic infrastructure, service delivery and large scale projects that could alleviate unemployment." (APRM 2009: 31). It is the young generation, many of them educated but unemployed or surviving on jobs in the informal sector, who have the "tacit support of their elders" (Hanlon 2010: 94) and who led the riots and demonstrations. Sometimes the violence is irrational, directed against health workers vaccinating people against cholera.

Second, the question is how stable is FRELIMO? At the moment party coherence is strong and discipline prevails but the party is not a monolithic bloc.<sup>102</sup> Guebuza was confirmed as party president at the Xth Party Congress held in Pemba in 2012. A programmatic or strategic reorientation of FRELIMO is therefore unlikely. He cannot run for president again since the constitution sets a two term limit for the president. So far, no candidate has been chosen by FRELIMO for the next elections in 2014.

Future splits of FRELIMO or RENAMO could increase political competition and therefore strengthen political pluralism and break the dominant party system, which undoubtedly has had its merits in the difficult transition process after the civil war was ended.

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<sup>101</sup> The APRM is part of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), which has become the development program of the African Union (AU). It consists of a voluntary peer review process on governance in African countries, which signed the APRM protocol. The review process includes different steps. A review panel visits the country under review and collects information from the government, political actors, and civil society. Based on the finding a comprehensive report is tabled and discussed with all relevant stakeholders.

<sup>102</sup> See for the ANC as the dominant party in South Africa (Schmidt 2006).

It remains to be seen, whether more political space will be granted to parties and civil society groups. Although the donor community could theoretically act as a watch dog for democracy, it is first and foremost the people of Mozambique – the civil society including social movements and political parties - who decides over the course of their country. Public unrest and disorder are likely to continue or even to grow if reforms are stalled.

It is too early to assess the effects of the recent discovery of large fields of natural gas in Cabo Delgado in the North. According to estimates, Mozambique can become the 14<sup>th</sup> largest gas producer. The question is, how to handle such a potential and how to avoid the resource curse affecting many countries in Africa. Ill-managed resource-richness can undermine democratic institutions, foster endemic corruption, lead to violent unrest or even the formation of warlords and insurgent movements among the losers (Hoffman/de Souza Martins 2012).

It is difficult to see the path ahead and social sciences have a poor record of predictions. Suffice it to mention the case of the fall of the Berlin Wall. Currently, the governments in Mozambique (and in Angola and Zimbabwe) are worried that some kind of “Arabrebellion” could “jump” to their countries and undermine their rule. Social protests in Angola and Mozambique already took place. In Angola, the government has become increasingly nervous about a handful of internet bloggers trying to organize people. Talks between the political parties in Mozambique about the future of the country must be seen in this climate of growing uncertainty. Due to its established channels of participation and experience with democracy Mozambique is in a much more comfortable position to match the challenges of this task. But also efficient service delivery is necessary in order to make sure that the people further accepts the existing political and economic system and FRELIMO’s rule. If such an acceptance can be reached, there is a good chance that the stability of Mozambique is more than “pseudo-stability”. This implies further adaptation of the political and economic system and that the social imbalances which undermine stability and legitimacy of the political order in Mozambique are reduced.

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## The state of civil society in Mozambique's era of post socialism (Prof. Samuel Quive and Carlos Cuinhane)

This paper aims to analyze the state of civil society in Mozambique era of post socialism. The relationship between civil society and development, and how civil society may look like in the coming years is discussed. The paper describes the origin and the development of civil society in Mozambique from colonialism to democratic period. In each period, the nature and type of civil society is illustrated. Literature review was used to collect information for the discussion of this paper. Results of literature review show that civil society in Mozambique has its origin in colonial period and it developed and shaped its objectives according to different political system implemented in Mozambique. While in colonial period, civil society aims to contribute to Mozambican identity and achieve national liberation, after independence, its objective was to build a new society (modern society) based in the vision of the socialism. During the war period, foreigners joined and created new type of civil society, which was based on humanitarian aid for refugees; and after socialism (in the so-called democratic period), foreigner and national civil society aimed to rebuild the society, fight against starvation and poverty, and promoting development. The conclusion is that civil society in Mozambique is represented by different groups and interests. These groups include intellectual, foreigners and community based groups. Many of civil society organizations develop humanitarian aid activities, and they are not very interested in political issues. Those civil society organizations that are strongly interested in political issues have not yet enough power in influencing government policies. The strength of the ruling party is creating a perception that the Mozambican civil society is forged because many of its leaders are associated to the Government. Thus, civil society might not reach its objectives, but act as a mean of support for the ruling party.

### 1. Introduction

This paper describes civil society in Mozambique's era of post socialism. We analyze the development of civil society from colonial to post socialism period; describe the nature, objectives and the characteristics of civil society in post colonialism period; illustrate the challenges of civil society; and describe and analyze the actual political environment and its impact on civil society. The analysis of this paper is based on the literature review available about civil society in Mozambique, both of Mozambican and international scholars. The paper refers also to Gramsci's view on the emergence, nature and objectives of civil society. The paper begins with brief conceptualization and theory of civil society; it then discusses the development of civil society in Mozambique. The third topic is a discussion of features of civil society in Mozambique's era of post socialism, its characteristics and challenges. Finally the actual political environment and its influence on the civil society are analyzed.

### 2. Conception and theory of civil society

The word civil society derives from the Latin notion '*civilis societas*' and refers to communities which conform to norms that rise above and beyond the state. But the origins of the modern concept of civil society are to be found in the early stages of modernity at the end of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Triffonova, 2003). However, its definition is still a difficult task. This is because the concept is ambiguous and it can mean different things to different people.

The ambiguity of civil society can be seen when we look at how Hegel in XIX century conceptualizes civil society. He referred to it as an institution lying between the family and the state. From this definition it was not clear whether it was an institution of intermediation and thus with a role to play, or whether civil society was an intermediate institution that covers the set of socio-economic relations and forces of production as understood by Marx (Negrão, 2003).

According to Lehbruch (2001), the denotations of 'civil society' have undergone significant changes over time and they differ according to various national contexts; but now, it seems consensus in political science that civil

society is an intermediary between the private sector and the state. Thus, civil society is distinguished from the state and economic society, which includes profit-making enterprises. But it differs from the sphere of family and family-life. This means, according to Diamond (1999), that civil society is the realm of organized social life that is open, voluntary, bound by a legal order or set of shared rules. Thus, civil society involves private citizens acting collectively to make demands to the state or to express in the public sphere their interests, preferences and ideas or to check the authority of the state and hold it accountable.

Diamond's definition is similar to that proposed by Bunbongkarn (2001), who conceives civil society as a realm that encompasses a wide range of organizations concerned with public matters. They include civic, issue-oriented, religious, and educational interest groups and associations, some of those are known as nongovernmental organizations, and others as informal associations, and they are all loosely structured.

In some extent, civil society may become an institution or be conceived as such, which aims to avoid or counter-vail authoritarian and totalitarian action of the government. Gellner (1996), for example, suggests that civil society is a set of institutions and associations that are sufficiently strong to avoid tyranny, but that are nevertheless permeable, allowing the free entry and exit of individuals, instead of being imposed by birth or maintained by some dreadful ritual.

Gellner's definition perceives civil society as a set of legally (with proper rules, values and norms) organized people who seek to monitor government actions and maintain the social order of the society. However, Martin Shaw (quoted in Triffonova, 2003), suggests that civil society should be seen as the sphere of associations, situated in the society and in distinction to the state, involving a network of institutions through which society and groups within it represent themselves in a cultural, ideological and political sense (Triffonova, 2003). But in a society like Mozambique, Parekh (quoted by Reibel 2010, p. 90f) suggests that civil society is a realm full of associations based on traditional allegiances, ties of blood, inherited loyalties or the "ancient of birth", such as castes, clans, tribes, ethics and religious communities.

It is important to note that Parekh's definition may be considered as limited to a certain, maybe the Context of India, but not fully applicable to the case of Mozambique and its present political situation. Civil society in Mozambique is no longer based only on traditional allegiances and ties of blood, but is founded in a diversity of people not with standing their ethnicity, origin or political affiliation.

The above discussion regarding civil society presents different views, but there are some important elements in which various authors seem to concur and which we adopted to our analysis. All authors agree that civil society comprises associations or organizations different from the state and the market; they are voluntary organizations and help citizens to express themselves in the public sphere; sometimes those organizations are legally institutionalized; they have norms and values that orient the members, and they are non-profit oriented; their objective is to make demands vis à vis the state and to build in the society a common vision of the future. In addition to the view of the cited authors, we understand civil society as encompassing associations which do not discriminate their members or others along racial lines, origin, age, sex, culture, and political orientation, social and professional status.

Based on our conceptualization of civil society, we assume that the concept of civil society varies historically and according to the culture, context, space and the objective of its conceptualization. For example, what was civil society in Mozambique during colonialism period is not the same what civil society is after independence and in the age of post- socialism. In the same vein the concept of civil society in Mozambique at least for quite a long time was not the same used in western countries. We will return to this point further below.

In terms of theory, civil society has been an object of different discussion and views. However, in this paper, the discussion will be based on the theory of Antonio Gramsci (Jones, 2006) who theorized civil society as an inde-

pendent political activity and a crucial sphere of struggle against various forms of tyranny. However, he also saw civil society as a potential bulwark that helps to support the bourgeoisie's rule.

Gramsci argued that whereas in the East, where civil society was weak, revolution might have succeeded through a direct violent assault on the state (as in Russia in 1917), in the West, where civil society was strong, this would not be possible. The institutions of civil society formed the 'outer earthworks' of the state, through which the ruling classes maintained their 'hegemony' or dominance in society. It was necessary to transform civil society in order to create an alternative hegemony of the subordinate classes, before challenging state power (Trifonova, 2003).

According to Gramsci, each class develops its own intellectual groupings. While some traditional groups, such as priests and lawyers, continue from previous phases of society, many new groups develop 'organically' and closely related to the development of capitalism. The new groups are managers, educators, social workers, etc. These groups play central roles in the institutions of civil society and contribute to maintain the existing hegemony of various social classes and strata over other social classes and strata using the state as a mean to domination.

In his theory Gramsci stated that citizens can associate with everybody who aims at achieving the same aim and more or less substantial economic, political and/or socio-cultural change. The aim is rational and citizens can join themselves and they can achieve radical changes than that planned before. Citizens have a freedom to participate in different associations according to their objectives (Semeraro, 1999). This means that an individual can be a member of more than one organization.

Gramsci's theory inspired and helped to guide various social movements in development countries and especially in countries with socialist political systems. According to Trifonova (2003), many societal forces in opposition vis à vis the government have no doubt that due to the authoritarian character of the Communist regimes, which made a direct challenge to their legitimacy very difficult, it would be easier to develop civil society organizations which are based on cultural institutions (which in turn makes them an indirect challenge to the values of the system).

This theory is important since it enables to analyze the development of civil society in Mozambique's era of post socialism. It is interesting to analyze whether civil society developed after the phase of socialism is a result of initiatives of local citizens, cultural institutions or other factors, and it is instructive to analyze the role of civil society in relation to the state. Before we do this, we will first discuss the origin of civil society in Mozambique.

### *3. The development of civil society in Mozambique*

The origin of civil society in Mozambique can be traced back to the middle of the 20's century, i.e. its origins are to be found in the colonial period. From this period to independence, civil society changed and shaped in form and content according to the conditions of the respective historical periods. The analysis of the development of civil society in Mozambique can be divided into four periods: the first period lasts from colonialism period to independence (from 1930 to 1975), the second period lasts from 1975 to 1984, the third period can be dated from 1984 to 1992, and the fourth period is from 1990/2 to 2012, which will be considered as focus of the analysis of civil society in Mozambique's era of post socialism in Mozambique.

#### **3.1 Civil society during colonialism**

Many authors (Francisco, 2009; Eys, 2002, Negrão, 2003) date the origin of civil society in Mozambique back to 1930, because it was at that time that some Mozambicans organized themselves in urban areas and claimed their rights against Portuguese colonialism. According to Eys (2002), some indigenous Mozambicans groups organized in a small association to claim their social and cultural identity. However, according to Francisco (2009), this group did not only claim their social and cultural identity, but also aimed at achieving political liberation. It was from



these indigenous associations that the liberation movements<sup>103</sup> were originated and gained space, expanded and it was in this context that in 1962 FRELIMO (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique) was founded. FRELIMO led the fight which ultimately to independence.

The origin of civil society was mainly in urban areas, but authors like Pequenino (2006) defends that civil society was also present in rural areas where communities associated themselves in groups in order to solve social problems. Such groups were organized among hunters, fishermen, builders and farmers who interchanged organized an exchange of their productive activities.

The emergences of these associations took place in the context of the emergence and development of independence movements, Pan-Africanism ideals, negritude and revolutionary socialism (Francisco *et al.*, 2007), which was expanding all over the world.

In this period, civil society was characterized by indigenous associations, cultural groups and syndicalism (Eys, 2002), Mozambican native associations, Mozambican black associations in Maputo and Mozambican living in Lisbon, Portugal (Negrão, 2003). These associations acted and developed their activities without consent of the Government. It is important to mention that during this period the colonial law did not allow the development of indigenous associations. Thus, these associations emerged and acted, and they were not officially registered.

As indicated by Francisco (2009) and Eys (2002), the objective of civil society in the colonial period was to achieve social and cultural identity and later on, when the political movements emerged, the main objective of these associations became common and political: to achieve freedom and independence. All activities developed, such as cultural, literature and others turned as a mean to achieve the independence of the country.

### **3.2 Civil society after independence**

After independence in 1975, the only existing party FRELIMO took over the power and established a socialist regime. In this period, civil society was developed and controlled by the government. According to Negrão (2003), after independence, civil society was developed according to the objectives of the party and the Government under FRELIMO's control.

It was in this context that "democratic mass organizations" emerged such as Mozambican Women's Organization (OMM); Mozambican Youth's Organization (OJM), Mozambican Labour Organization (OTM), Teachers National organization (ONP) and National Organization for journalists (ONJ) (Negrão, 2003). These organizations were considered as representatives of all social strata and the population as a whole, and their objectives were to develop a close link between government and population. Decisions made by the government (top) were transmitted to the population (down) through these organizations. It was these organizations that also were expected to transmit the needs and expectations of the population; later those issues were presented and discussed in parliament which was a creation of and under the control of the government. Therefore Francisco *et al.*, (2007) noted that the democratic mass organizations were not representative in a strict sense of the word because they excluded political, cultural and social diversity due to strict directive control of the ruling party.

Although the government seemed to control those organizations, some associations could develop outside the state's strict control. Negrão (2003) mentions opposition political organization such as RENAMO (National Resistance of Mozambique) and other civil associations such as Christian Council of Mozambique (CCM), Caritas of Mozambique and the National Union of Peasants (UNAC) which succeeded to develop despite the state's attempts to hold all political and societal movements under control.

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<sup>103</sup> Some of movements liberation that later united and formed Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) were National African Union of Independent Mozambique (UNAMI); National Democratic Union of Mozambique (UDENAMO) and; Mozambique African National Union (MANU).



It is important to mention that due to political and ideological orientation of the part in the Government, which aimed to modernize Mozambican society, all traditional practices (traditional healers, traditional wedding known as *lobolo*, traditional faith churches) and former traditional chiefs that worked during colonial period were forbidden. Therefore, the civil society created after independence was not inspired by intellectual and professional groups as Gramsci put it, but instead government developed the organization according to its objectives.

Until 1984 there were few associations in Mozambique. Aside from those mentioned above, we would like to mention NGOs such as the Mozambique Red Cross the General Cooperative Union and Doctors without Borders (Francisco *at al.*, 2007).

### **3.3 Civil Society during civil war**

The civil war between RENAMO and FRELIMO began two years after independence and ended in 1992. According to Negrão (2003), the civil war spread all over the country in 1980. The development of civil society from 1980 to 1987 stagnated and decreased because the civil war destroyed the actions of civil society created after independence. Mozambican society was dominated by two antagonism armed groups: FRELIMO and RENAMO.

In 1984 the ruling party, FRELIMO, held a meeting (4<sup>th</sup> Congress), and among other decision of the congress, the party decided to ask for help from non-socialist countries. This decision helped to establish contacts with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank (WB), whose member Mozambique became around 1986 and 1987. This decision also influenced the political orientation of the country, most significantly the development from a one-party system to a multi-party system. This objective was reflected in the change of the 1977 National Constitution and the development of a new National Constitution published in 1990. It was the new constitution that institutionalized democracy in Mozambique. According to Pequenino (2006), it was in 1990 that legislation passed Law 8/91, which allowed everybody to create associations.

The decision taken by the 4<sup>th</sup> Congress of FRELIMO in 1984 were important because they led to the creation of a new Constitution (1990), which in turn opened opportunity to everybody to create his/her own association; and it also opened the way for international organizations (INGOs) to deliver aid and to help refugees. According to Negrão (2003), it was from 1988 and forwards that western Non-Government Organizations began to operate in Mozambique.

The emergence of INGOs contributed to the rise of civil society in Mozambique and in fact helped to substitute mass democratic organizations established by FRELIMO. The INGOs were oriented to humanitarian and development issues and their aim was to help civil war refugees and to improve the situation of the country, which was considered among the poorest of the world. These organizations neither had local members nor a representative in the country and they trained local people regarding the management process of Non-Government Organizations (Negrão, 2003).

INGOs were severely criticized by different scholars. Negrão (2003) mentions that during the civil war, Non-Government Organizations acted as a source of surviving of western people, because they were organizations without personality, without its own ideology. Sogge (1997) defends that local associations were neglected by international Non-Government Organizations because they were not enterprises, and therefore, they could not do business as western organization could do. Adam (1997) classified these international Non-Government Organizations as groups which were hunting misery, from which they would get benefit.

The criticism of INGOs was related to the way they integrated themselves in the society. According to Negrão (2003), although the impact of INGOs was positive, their relationship with local people remained negative because some funding used by INGOs were from their origin countries and part of it was converted as external debt, without the consent of Mozambique. Furthermore, the funding was not used efficiently and there were high operational costs. Most of the funding was spent for the payment of the high salary of staff, who were from foreign

countries (Negrão, 2003). This means that western civil society also used a top-down approach, the same used by the government during the era of socialism.

A brief analysis of the development of civil society in Mozambique since colonial period to civil war period shows that the concept of civil society was labelled and changed according to historical circumstances and its objectives were shaped in accordance with the context in which they emerged. This finding has important implication as regards an interpretation of Mozambican civil society in the light of Gramsci's theory. If we consider this theory, we can say that it was only before independence that Mozambique developed civil society, because in this period the associations were voluntary, while after independence almost all local associations were formed by the government; and during civil war, Mozambique was settled by foreign (western) civil society; and, therefore what developed was not a Mozambican civil society.

#### *4. The state of civil society in Mozambique post socialism*

The analysis of civil society in Mozambique's era of post socialism is associated with two other historical events: the end of one party rule and the emergence of democracy through the establishment of a new Constitution in 1990 and the end of civil war in Mozambique in 1992. The end of socialism in Mozambique is also historically linked to the fall of communism in Europe and the end of apartheid in South Africa in 1990.

The emergence of civil society in Mozambique developed faster after the fall of socialism, but as it happened during the civil war the civil society was dominated by INGOS and foreigners. However, this phenomenon could be observed not only in Mozambique. According to Triffonova (2003), since the 1990s, INGOs have emerged in every post-socialist country and those organizations could be seen as important forces helping to democratize decision-making processes, to protect human rights and to provide essential services to those in need.

In Mozambique, after the civil war had ended, INGO tried to help civil war refugees and to give help to those who most urgently needed; they began to train local people and they helped to develop local organizations (NGOs), which acted like the INGOS and which used the same methodologies as the INGOS (Negrão, 2003). A census conducted by National Institute of Statistic (INE, 2006) showed that at that time there were a total of 4853 Non-Profit Organizations in Mozambique. Among these 4853 organizations, 21% were created before independence (1974); 14% of the organizations were established from 1974 to 1983; 25% of the organizations were created from 1984 to 1993 and 40% of the organizations were created after 1994.

The data provided by INE (2006) shows that the growth of civil society organizations was linear. However, it is important to mention that the rapid development of civil society organizations only happened after 1984 and that the data of INE comprised only registered NGOS. Even more important seems to be that INE's data neither do differentiate between national and international NGOs nor do they include informal organizations (known as community based organizations). The growth of civil society organizations was influenced by the end of socialism, the establishment of democracy, the emergence of western organizations and training of local NGOs, the end of civil war, and the emergence of HIV and AIDS. This last factor led to the emergence of numerous local associations which intended to raise public aware of this terrible disease and the prevention of further HIV infection.

According to Francisco *et al.*, (2006) there is a diversity of civil society organizations acting in different areas in Mozambique. The authors identified twelve groups, namely those active in the fields of culture and recreation, education and research, health, social services, environment, development and housing, low, advocacy and politics. Furthermore, they differentiate between philanthropic organizations and those which promote volunteering, international cooperation. Finally they mention commercial and professional associations, unions and community organizations (Francisco, *et al.*, 2007).

The boom of local civil society led many scholars to criticize this development. According to Negrão (2003), local NGOs created by western NGOs were service delivery organizations and not civil society organizations (Negrão, 2003).

Civil society developed more strongly and new dimensions to its activities were added according to the context of the country. These activities made a difference to the local NGOs which closely linked to INGOS. According to Negrão (2003), what he calls real civil society only appeared when organizations such as Agenda 2025, Mozambican Group of Debit, Christian Council of Mozambique and the Poverty Observatory developed in 1996. The author suggests that these organizations represented what he calls civil society because they involved every Mozambican, notwithstanding his/her origin, culture, political orientation and ideology, and the participants defended a national common objective and vision of the society.

However, the emergence of these organizations did not replace international organizations. Various studies (for example Haapanen and Waller, 2007; Francisco *et al.*, 2007) show that Mozambican civil society is still dominated by national and international organizations and informal associations which have different interests.

According to Negrão (2003), the composition of civil society and its objectives changed after civil war. The development of local organizations shifted from help in need to action focussed on one or more national common objective(s). Thus, organizations who followed a common objective, independently of any ideology gave other organizations of the community (which were not necessarily NGOs) the opportunity to join their action. Thus it was a group of people working together, people differed in terms of their ideology, and religion; people organized in those groups discussed the future of the public sphere, different point of views were acknowledged and local NGOs and community organizations acted on par with international NGOs; people organized in those groups addressed issues concerning the future of the country and particularly the issue of social justice; cultural diversity was recognized and considered as a base for social interaction and integration.

Many of civil society organizations are located in Maputo city and other urban centres rather than in rural areas (Haapanen and Waller, 2007, Francisco *et al.*, 2007; Bellucci, 2002). Francisco *et al.*(2007), for example, show that over 70% of 4853 non-profit institutions work in 5 provinces (Nampula, Gaza, Inhambane, Maputo city and Maputo Province), while less than 30% work in the remaining 6 provinces.

According to Haapanen and Waller (2007), many of those organizations located in Maputo become more professional than those located outside Maputo. The organizations located outside Maputo city are still weak with regard to their ability for making in-depth analyses of issues they are working with.

In terms of legal status and political space, there is a legislation that allows the civil society. But according to Haapanen and Waller (2007), the legislation is still on paper and civil society is seen only as comprising registered associations and it excludes different kinds of informal groups and movements. Francisco *et al.*, (2007), notes that the relationship between civil society and the state is fragile in terms of mechanisms for mutual accountability and transparent and effective monitoring. The interaction between civil society and the state is shallow and without any clear formal rules; and the relationship between civil society and private sectors (private enterprises) is still very weak.

Mozambique's civil society develops local and international links and establishes patterns of cooperation, but it still relies strongly on international funding<sup>104</sup>. This in turn means that Mozambican civil society organizations are still dependent on donors' agendas, which sometimes do not fully reflect the "real" problems noticed at the grass

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<sup>104</sup> A study conducted by Francisco *et al.*, (2007) for mapping civil society showed that 70% of funding of organization was from foreign funding, while 25% was from private companies and families and only 3% was from the Government.

roots and the objectives of the local organizations (Haapanen and Waller, 2007). Many of those organizations just have a weak infrastructure, limited financial and other resources (Francisco *et al.*, 2007).

Literature on civil society in Mozambique (for example Haapanen and Waller, 2007; Francisco *et al.*, 2007; Reibel, 2010; Pereira, 2011) also reveals that civil society invested very little in promoting values. Many of the organizations do not campaign for government transparency, and therefore their role in supervising government activities is limited. However, civil society organizations promote tolerance within their memberships and in the society. They endorse non-violence action which helps to stabilize and found peace. They also promote the eradication of poverty within society. In terms of transparency, Francisco *et al.*, (2007), shows that corruption is very frequent in civil society organizations.

Analyzing the data provided by literature on civil society in Mozambique, it is important to note that the emergence of civil society in Mozambique's era of post socialism has to do with changes of their context, i.e. the change of the regime, the adherence of the country to neo-liberalism, the kind of democracy which is based on the Constitution of 1990 and the end of civil war. Results of literature review show that the emergence of civil society in Mozambique did not primarily come from the grassroots; rather, it was linked to the INGOs that came from Western countries to Africa. Only after INGOs established and began to train local people, many local NGOs emerged. The appearance of local NGOs was also related to the social, cultural and political diversity that developed in Mozambique after socialism.

In Bulgaria civil society is considered as the third sector in the community alongside the state and the market (Triffonova, 2003); whereas in Mozambique civil society is embedded in and closely related to state, market and society. It is from this close relationship that civil society emerges and defines its objective. In a way, this kind of cooperation between state, market society and civil society might be seen as a reaffirmation of Gramsci's view on civil society which might be read as conceptualizing civil society as a resource for improving governance.

#### ***4.1 The state of civil society and development in Mozambique's post socialism***

Civil society is generally associated as an essential condition of societal, political and cultural development. This is because the diversity of civil society may cover most if not all interests to be found in the society. Furthermore, and according to Triffonova (2003), civil society can be seen as a precondition for the development of democracy. This has to do with the fact that democracy is seen as involving not merely the formal establishment of certain rights, institutions and procedures, but also the consolidation of the social relations which support these aspects (Triffonova, 2003).

In Mozambique, civil society has played an important role in those processes leading to democracy. Various studies (Negrão, 2003, Haapanen and Waller, 2007, Reibel, 2010) reveal that in 2000 civil society forced the government to join the fight against corruption. Furthermore the National Elections Committee was established and its chairman was elected from a civil society organizations. This means that the government recognizes that civil society has an important role to play in the development of the country.

In terms of social achievements, civil society has been successful in the realization of some major activities, which in former days were seen as being the government's responsibility. Such activities include the construction of schools, health centers, wells and launching of small and medium income generation projects, implementation of programs in prevention and fight against HIV/AIDS; collaboration with the governmental bodies in achieving and effective delivering of anti-retroviral drugs against AIDS to the people living with HIV (Haapanen and Waller, 2007, Francisco *et al.*, 2007). Civil society also focuses on educating communities about social issues such as transmittable diseases, the need to improve sanitary health, peace and reconciliation through music (Pryor, 2008, cited by Reibel, 2010), and alphabetization of adult people in the remote community area.

Civil society has also achieved important economic results. According to Haapanen and Waller (2007), civil society achievements in advocacy work include the approval of better land and family laws, a greater share and influence in designing the state budget and economic and social plans and Mozambique's debt cancellation in 2000. Negrão (2003) noted that the international debt of Mozambique was reduced from USD 5.6 billions to USD 1.3 billions in 1998. The results of this debt cancellation was positive, because from 1996 to 2000, the annual increase of inflation decreased from 46% to 2%, and the average of GDP increased by 10% per year. Therefore, Government saved a lot of expenses after the reduction of the debt, and the money could be used for addressing social issues.

Civil society also helped to improve the cultural area. Here we refer to the emergence of different associations defending local values and promoting national and traditional music. Some of best known associations are Mozambique Musician Association, Mozambican Association for Musicians and Mozambican Association of Writers (the latter is concerned mainly with the preservation of literature). It is important to mention that actually there are many cultural associations (formal and informal) in rural and urban areas. Many times, these associations play an important role in promoting advocacy, social and health project implementation, and foster the adherence to civil rights and Human rights.

In the last decade, civil society focused on the need to improve public policies and on community development. However, according to Francisco et al., (2007), civil society has a limited impact on changes in policies and on governance and in general on fundamental issues for the development of Mozambique because of its weakness in dimensions such as structure, environment and values. According to those authors the impact of civil society is limited in terms of influencing public and financial policies, the standards of human rights, of holding state and private corporations accountable, to respond to social interests, to inform, educate and empower citizens such as marginalized people and women. Civil society also has limited impact on building social and economic capital, and civil society organizations are also weak in the area of lobbying for state social provisions, meeting pressing needs directly and response to the needs of marginalized groups of the society.

#### ***4.2 The challenges of civil society in Mozambique's era of post socialism***

Many analysts (Negrão, 2007, Francisco et al., 2007, Pereira, 2011, Reibel, 2010, and Haapanen and Waller, 2007) are still sceptic about the sustainability of civil society's efforts in Mozambique.

The first challenge for civil society has to do with the legal provisions. Although there is a law and many associations are keen to register their organizations, the procedure is complex and expensive, since only when an association has a minimal of ten members the organizations can be registered (Pereira, 2011). Besides, there is no law that guarantees civil society access to information on government affairs (Haapanen and Waller, 2007).

The second issue is related to the environment and the values of civil society. Civil society's development takes place in the context of a weak democracy due to manipulation by political parties especially in pre-election periods and weak coordination among social actors; absence of regular assembly meetings or other deliberative meetings; lack of self management of the organizations, small structure of the organizations, and finally there is widespread poverty (Francisco et al., (2007, Pereira, 2011, Bellucci, 2002). Mozambican civil society is also characterized by weak transparency, and corruption is widely spread due to lack of culture of accountability; poor communication; limited knowledge of statutes and legislation in general and conflicts of interests in particular. In addition, civil society does not participate actively in political life and the relationship between civil society and the state is very fragile in terms of mechanisms of mutual accountability, transparency and effective monitoring (Francisco et al., 2007).

The third concern is related to funding and sustainability. Civil society organizations funds come mainly from international donors (Francisco, et al., 2007, Bellucci, 2002, Pereira, 2011) rather than from its members or other

local actors such as the government, enterprises and other stakeholders. Therefore, lack of sustainability and extreme dependence on international donors may lead to a development where such organizations do not always foster social development (Belluce, 2002). Authors such as Thomas (1992) suggest that a dependency on foreign development aid leads to a weakening of the role of the government. This should be seen as a threat because it undermines the function of the state and promotes the absence of citizens in national issues such as elections; furthermore such a development fosters corruption and might support a lack of transparency of government's expenses (Reibel, 2010).

The fourth challenge of civil society is related to its impact on and relationship with the government. Francisco et al., (2007) and Negrão (2003) consider the impact as limited. The reason for this limitation is due to marginal participation of civil society in the conception and implementation of development policies. For instance, according to Negrão (2003), civil society is only informed about what is happening and does not intervene in the definition of a project and the best way for its implementation (Negrão, 2003). Thus, those organizations are sidelined. In addition, although civil society is committed to fight against poverty the doubt persists as to whether civil society organizations are really creating the institutional foundations for sustainable poverty reduction because up to now they have played the role of observers (Francisco et al., 2007).

These challenges bring some implications relayed to the role of civil society and its impact. In Mozambique civil society action does not support the transformation necessary to create an alternative hegemony of the subordinate classes (population in general); neither do civil society organizations help to achieve radical changes. Civil society is still mainly a source which helps certain people and social strata to survive, i.e. it is a source of livelihood for many citizens who are members of those organizations. People only remain members of the association as long as funding lasts, i.e. as long as this organization helps to generate income. Once the funding (mainly from foreign sources) has stopped, many of the members shift and look for other associations, where they become new members.

This attitude of many of organizations of civil society confirms Gramsci theory, which states that citizens have freedom to associate to any organization and dissociate whenever they want. However, Gramsci did not explain the motivations. Some of the reasons for the movement of the citizen to associate are related to the means that he or she gets as a member of the organization. The incentive can be material (money through salary, specie) or non-material, such as opportunities to achieve his or her interests in the present or in the future. Hence, the incentive of the members of the organizations may be conceived as a key element of surviving of civil society. This means that even if a certain organization dissolves, the members can still join a new or another organization if and when this organization serves their objectives and offers incentives of various sorts.

### *5. The future of civil society in Mozambique's era of post socialism*

The analysis of civil society based on the available literature guides us to predict the future of civil society in Mozambique. Our discussion of the future of civil society is based on 5 scenarios.

The first scenario is related to the persistence of the international financial crisis. This situation bodes ill for the development and sustainability of civil society, since many of the local civil society organizations depend on international aid and they cannot finance their activities by themselves. Thus, if the development countries, where the funding comes from, further suffer under the financial crisis, then they may not be succeed to provide aid, and therefore, many of the local civil society organizations may struggle to survive.

The impact of the international financial crisis may be diminished by political circumstances. This second scenario emphasizes the recognition of the importance of the persistence of civil society. This is the case in Mozambique, where the government acknowledges civil society as an important partner and mechanism to achieve social de-



velopment and sustain peace. Most recently, just to give an example, the government appealed to civil society to unite and prevent social conflicts, to help to maintain peace, to fight against social exclusion (homelessness and discrimination of the elderly), crime prevention, to support programs against infectious diseases (such as HIV, gonorrhoea, tuberculosis, and cholera), to prevent violence against women and children, poverty and other issues that hinder the development in the society. The appeal of the government may be based on the idea that civil society has high capacity of mobilizing people, and therefore, they can promote social cohesion. This scenario seems favourable to the development of civil society.

The third scenario is also favourable to the development of civil society. This scenario is related to government's action as regards eradicating poverty. The government is promoting the eradication of poverty in rural areas through funding associations and individuals in the context of their strategy of the development of rural areas and using the Rural Development Fund<sup>105</sup>. This development began in 2005. The government also promotes eradication of urban poverty through youth associations within the framework of Urban Poverty Reduction Program that began in 2011. These actions are helping to develop the emergence of civil society both in rural and urban areas, since people realize that through creating associations they can receive funding and develop their activities.

It is important to mention that this third scenario may help to shift the objectives of the existing civil society, since those funded associations have economic objectives (i.e. generating livelihood). Thus, activities such as advocacy, human rights promotion, monitoring government activities and creating transparency and other national issues may be undermined by the those associations.

A fourth scenario that encourages the development of civil society is related to the political environment dominated by the ruling party (FRELIMO). Actually some so-called mass organizations with a long history and close linkages with the ruling party, such as the Mozambican Women Organization (OMM) and the Youth National Council (CNJ), which is linked to Mozambican Youth Organization (ONJ), are acting strongly in promoting the development of associations of women and youth in rural and urban areas. Thus, associations are being recognized as a way to achieve social and economic status. This is based on the idea that when people acting together, they can achieve better results and they will be heard by the government.

The previous scenario is dangerous. This is because the development of those associations implies that those organizations have close linkages to the ruling party, and this relationship may limit the impact of those organizations as regards what we would call the real purpose of civil society, i.e. defending the common vision of the whole people and monitoring the government. In addition, it might be that the ruling party becomes even stronger and that this development might undermines the power of other parties. Hence, if this is true, the ruling party may be seen as promoting associations, which in turn would support its ideology. This situation may lead the disappearance of "the real civil society".

The fifth scenario is related to the emergence of intellectual organizations, such as Institute of Economic and Social Studies (IESE) and the Public Integrity Centre (CIP), whose action is different from other associations' activities. These organizations are headed by intellectuals and people who gained experience from within government institutions. Although these organizations are also funded, in part, by international donors, their actions are based on scientific research and publications. These organizations have research programs and guidelines, which are used to produce scientific documents and data related to poverty, civil society environment, political and economic, research on the impact of projects of multinational corporations, analyses of the impacts extractive industry

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<sup>105</sup> Both rural development fund and urban poverty reduction program are based on the method of funding associations who are willing to develop incomes activities (trade, agriculture, livestock, etc). The funding is attributed in condition of credit without interest, but the associations have to pay back the money asked. However, many associations and individuals that have access to the funding perceive that the government has just offered the money to help them to eradicate the poverty, and therefore, they do not fully pay back the fund.



might have, corruption, and many other issues. Such information is, in turn, used for the purpose of founding critique of and exert pressure on the government to change or adjust its development policies.

Although the information is scientifically based, the government is not necessarily or immediately responsive to the recommendations of those organizations. Thus, these organizations also are still far away from reaching what we see as one of the most important aims of civil society: monitoring government's action, holding it accountable and achieve results which may lead to significant societal, political and other changes in Mozambique.

Based on these five scenarios, civil society might develop in three different directions. First, many of the associations will move from being non-profit organizations and become profit-oriented organizations; this will happen if the flow of international funding dries up. However, those organizations may not declare themselves being profit-oriented institutions (in accordance with the respective law). Rather, many of those organizations may keep their status as non-profit organizations while developing economic activities. Second, many associations may develop closer links with the ruling party as a strategy to get more benefits for its surviving. This does not mean that they will become political parties, but they may use this potential development in order to pressure the ruling party and to reach their economic goals. Third, civil society will develop stronger intellectual capacities and this will further reduce its influence on politics and policies. Thus, we think that it is possible that in the nearer future civil society organizations may not develop into strong institutions with own values, norms, democratic internal structures and with a sustainable vision of the further development of the society, which may act as an alternative power of the people.

## *6. Conclusion*

Civil society in Mozambique varied historically and according to the respective context in which it developed. The emergence of civil society was influenced by different issues and, thus its objectives shaped according to each contextual situation. While in the colonial period, civil society aimed to achieve what can be called a Mozambican identity and national liberation; after independence, its objective was to build a new society (i.e. modern society) based on the vision of the socialism. During the period of civil war, foreigners joined and created new types of civil society organizations, whose most important aim was to bring humanitarian aid to the refugees; and in the period after socialism (i.e. the democratic period), foreign and national civil society organizations aimed to rebuild the society, together they fought against starvation and poverty, and promoted development.

The majority of organizations of civil society developed after socialism. The development of civil society was influenced by the end of socialism, the establishment of democracy based on the new Constitution of 1990, the activities of western organizations and their training of local NGOs, the end of civil war; the emergence and rapid spread of HIV and AIDS and other social problems such as poverty as an important political matter that should involve every member of the society.

Since its boom, civil society has achieved certain positive impact in political, economic, social and cultural spheres. But the impact of those organizations has been limited due to internal problems of civil society and because of restraints the political environment exerts on those organizations. Thus, due to lack of financial sustainability, the strong influence of ruling party on civil society organizations and the emergence of intellectuals who started to build their own organizations, its future is ambiguous. Some associations will move from being non-profit organizations to profit organizations; others may closely relate to the ruling party as a strategy to get more benefits for the survival of their own organization. Finally civil society organizations built by intellectuals may stay independent from economic activities and close political affiliations with FRELIMO, but then those organizations might end up without any significant and direct influence on monitoring government affairs.

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## Vietnam

### Twenty one years (1991–2012): the civil society in Vietnam and its participation in the reform and development course of the country (Prof. Dr. Dang Ngoc Dinh, Hoang Giang Dang)

#### 1. Foreword

In the framework of the project supported by RLS (Germany) and the Centre for Policy Studies and Analysis (CEPSTA - Vietnam) on the topic "Alternative Left Theory - an international comparison of experiences from four countries" this paper analyses the status of the Civil Society (CS) in Vietnam and its participation in the Reform and Development Course of the country in the period 1991 – 2012.

The approach of this research is based on the definition of CS as "the arena outside the family, the state and the market where people associate to advance common interests". In this approach State and CS have been considered as interrelated in the spirit "good Civil Society" (*CIVICUS, 2005*) and as not opposed to each other.

After having a Introduction with the Vietnam context in the time of twenty years ago, brief overview on CS in Vietnam, including definition, concept and features of Vietnamese CS the research contents focus on the analysis of the participation of people and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) mainly on policy advocacy, policy improvement in Vietnam, including the oversight of policy making as well as policy implementing, with the achievements, difficulties and challenges. Looking to the 10 coming years the authors also propose a question: CSOs will be engaged effectively into creating modern institutions of governance in Vietnam?

The authors of this paper would like to extend sincere thanks and appreciation to CEPSTA, Ms. Nadja Charaby and especially to Dr. Jörg Wischermann for his very valuable comments and ideas in the paper TOR developing process.

#### 2. Summary

Civil Society is defined in this paper as "the arena outside the family, the state and the market where people associate to advance common interests". In this definition, however the boundaries are very fuzzy between the state and the society. The basic assumption of the paper is that Viet Nam has been going through a fundamental process of societal change since the mid 1980s, triggered by economic change with the appearance of the private sector and people participation, including CS actors that helped Vietnam to survive after the Soviet Union downfall in 1991 and to have remarkable achievements, mainly on poverty alleviation.

Recently, information about operation of Vietnamese civil society organizations (CSOs) is opened more and more, research works about Vietnam CS are appearing progressively and contributing actively to the development of Vietnam CS. But due to consequences of the Vietnam – America war and the post – Soviet Union period in the past, the Vietnam government considered the term 'Civil society' such as a 'sensitive' term that sometime has a negative connotation.

The strength of Vietnamese CS is its diversified nature based on human activity and creativity. The weaknesses of CS and associational life are, first of all, related to the framework for organisations, which still limits the potential of CS with respect to service delivery and, even more, with respect to advocacy as means of holding the state and the private sector accountable and for promoting transparency and fighting against corruption.

There are several CSOs trying to move to the roles of Advocacy, Lobbying for participation, cooperation and communication among CSOs and with related government bodies in the policy development process. The main contents of this research are concentrated in the CS contribution to the policy advocacy process and the authors propose that in this process "the best" position of Vietnam CS role should be located in the position of "Watch-dog" with the spirit of "good Civil Society".

After having Introduction and brief Overview on Vietnamese CS in Vietnam, an Initial Assessment of CS in Vietnam has been analysed based on a common methodology developed by CIVICUS (World Alliance for Citizen Participation) with a framework in four dimensions: The structure of CS; the environment (political, socio-economic, cultural and legal) for CS; the values of civil society, and the impact of CS activities.

One important part of the paper contents has been focused on CS participation in the policy advocacy and oversight processes with the case studies: Empowering CSOs for Conflict Resolution; CSOs participation in Anti-corruption; and the participation of CSOs in monitoring the performance of local government.

Looking to the 10 coming years the paper authors would like to give an outlook: How will be the role and impact of Vietnam CS at that time. The authors estimate that the social, legal and economic environment for Vietnamese CSOs will be improved; the institutions and mechanism on the interaction and partnership between the state and CS sector will be set up more clear and more transparent. However, only in the time after the year 2020 Vietnamese CSOs can play not only the role of policy advocacy, but also the role of oversight (watchdog) in policy making and implementing in the modern governance system of the country, including the engagement of CSOs of intellectual communities (think tanks) into the processes of policy dialogues on important issues of the country development course.

### *3. Introduction – Vietnam Context*

#### ***3.1 Vietnam has survived after the Soviet Union downfall in 1991***

The collapse of the Soviet bloc severely jolted the remaining communist world. Vietnam suddenly found their chief benefactor, from which substantial assistance had consistently flowed, to have vanished. Consequently, the Vietnamese leaderships had to attend immediately to sorting through alternative policies that might bring about rapid economic growth while averting the disintegration of the socialist state and the unraveling of communist-party dominance.

Vietnam has moved into the post-Cold War world era adroitly and painlessly. It's economy has integrated into regional and global markets. There are following political factors may help to explain (Bunck, 2009).

*(i) The degree of Cold War economic dependence:* By 1985, a decade after reunification, the Vietnamese government confronted raging inflation, low productivity, economic mismanagement, famine in some provinces, rising numbers of fleeing refugees ect. Vietnam never came to rely on Soviet economic aid. Indeed, throughout the Cold War Vietnam never received more than \$1 billion (\$14 per capita) annually in military and nonmilitary aid from the Soviet Union (Frederick Z. Brown, "Vietnam Since the War: 1975-1995").

*(ii) The reaction to the collapse of the Soviet empire:* The Vietnamese regime confronted the economic crisis triggered by changes in the Eastern bloc much earlier and more decisively. As early as the mid-1980s Vietnamese leaders, especially Politburo member Nguyen Van Linh, recognized the gravity of their country's food shortages. Vietnamese leaders thus consciously and deliberately focused on raising domestic production while decreasing external economic dependence. To increase the food supply, the Vietnamese regime introduced modest market-oriented agricultural reforms. For instance, the government allowed families in cooperatives to sell on the open market any excess produced above a state quota. Such limited incentives, offered to virtually all farmers, increased production significantly. In December 1986, the government legalized and encouraged private entrepreneurship in a range of enterprises. It dismantled agricultural collectives and returned land to families to farm. It opened the country to foreign trade and investment. These policies further boosted food production and created a surplus that might be exported in exchange for hard currencies. In fact, by 1989 Vietnam had become and remains the world's third largest exporter of rice (Douglas Pike, 1994).

*(iii) The extent of policymaking consistency:* Although some researchers claim that Vietnamese leadership was forced to start the process of Doi moi (Fforde 1995, Kerkyliet 2005), in fact, the Vietnamese leadership has governed with remarkable consistency from reunification in 1975 to the transition of the 1990s. Since the mid-1980s the regime has steadfastly maintained its long-term plan of economic reform.

*(iv) The characteristics of the leaderships:* Perhaps as a result, the Vietnamese government in the 1980s responded to their crisis readily and adopted a realistic, less ideological approach with relative ease.

*(v) The nature of traditional culture:* For centuries Vietnamese society has emphasized social harmony (what the Vietnamese call *Tín*), communal cooperation and an orientation toward the group rather than the individual, and unabashed loyalty and deference toward authority. Traditional Vietnamese society has also stressed the importance of social duty, loyalty (*Trung*), discipline, and perseverance (*Nghĩa*). In Vietnam, traditional culture provided a solid foundation upon which the revolutionary regime could promote a wide array of Marxist-Leninist attitudes and values. A strong element of continuity existed between the traditional culture and that which the regime aimed to create. To ask Vietnamese citizens to adopt the ideal Marxist characteristics seemed neither radical nor absurd.

*(vi) The nature and substance of regional relationships:* In July 1995 the United States normalized diplomatic relations with Vietnam and opened an embassy in Hanoi. Finally, in September 1995, Vietnam joined the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), an increasingly influential regional organization, and now is member in the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum. Vietnam has thus successfully compensated for the deterioration of its global socialist family by aggressively pursuing regional ties and vastly increasing diplomatic and economic contact with the West. The new regional support system, in turn, encouraged the regime to establish a different focus, seek new objectives, and expand its markets and trade partners. The rapidly developing Little Tigers of Asia, especially Singapore, Taiwan, and Korea, took tangible initiatives to support their words of counsel. Their companies began to invest heavily, and their public and private sectors promoted the development of the Vietnamese infrastructure.

*(vii) The degree of commitment to long-term economic reform:* Vietnam's commitment to promote economic change and development runs deep. Several pieces of evidence build a case that Vietnam will continue and possibly further accelerate its efforts toward market transformation. Whether the government will move toward a greater opening in order to gain and preserve these regional memberships likely depends on the extent to which economic reforms are seen as weakening party control. However, some evidence suggests that, when pressed, the Vietnamese leadership will make the necessary changes.

### ***3.2 Appearance of new societal actors including Civil Society in Vietnam***

During the 1980s and 1990s, facing an economic crisis, including serious food shortages, Vietnam took the historic step of making the change from producing for subsistence to producing for profit and capital accumulation, a process formalised in 1986 by policy reforms known as Doi Moi.

In this research our basic assumption is that Viet Nam has been going through a fundamental process of societal change since the mid 1980s, triggered by economic change. Societal changes go along with processes of socio-political differentiation, manifesting themselves in socio-cultural changes and are linked with the appearance of new societal actors (Datta and Pham Lan Huong, 2012). The most important actors seem to be the Civil Society (CS). Participation and strengthening the role and influence of CS therein helps the political system, the State, the people and helps to improve governance (Wischemann, 2011). This assumption can refer to the overall question and research based on it might help to answer it: Vietnam survived after the Soviet Union downfall in 1991 and

has remarkable achievements on poverty alleviation due to - at least to a certain point– an increase of the participation of societal forces, including CS.

The constitution 1992 endorsed the reform process with the shift from a centrally planned economy to a “market economy with socialist orientation” and international integration. In the governance aspect there has been also the institutional shifting from a total state domination of development activity to an acceptance of the contribution of other development actors, especially the emergence of CS outside the state. But up to now, on social groupings there exists the domination of politico-social Mass organizations (Vietnam Fatherland Front, Women Union, Farmers Association, Trade Union, Communism Youth Union, Veterans Association).

With the contribution of development actors, including CSOs, the Vietnam economy has recovered from crisis and entered a period of high growth to ensure the macro stability for development and to minimize unnecessary collapse during transition. In worldwide Governance Indicators Vietnam has high Index on political stability and absence of violence; the Human Development Index (HDI) is ahead of economic development.

### ***3.3 New problems in the transition towards ‘middle income’ status***

Whilst the transition to market economy in the 1980s combined a series of tactical retreats by conservatives pushed by growing commercial forces, after the fall of the Soviet Union the 1990s saw rapid economic growth without either the significant emergence of new social forces requiring political accommodation or fundamental Party reform. But in the first decade of the new millennium new problems and opportunities arose as the country moved towards the transition towards ‘middle income’ status. So far, a powerful growth in the private sector, far greater openness and social dynamism has not been clearly reflected in changes in political thinking, and it is increasingly possible to argue that the main challenge facing Vietnam is in finding new political strategies so as to move on from techniques of rule that remain based upon Leninist architectural principles, no longer so helpful in governing within a polity now far-removed from Soviet era realities (Fforde, 2010).

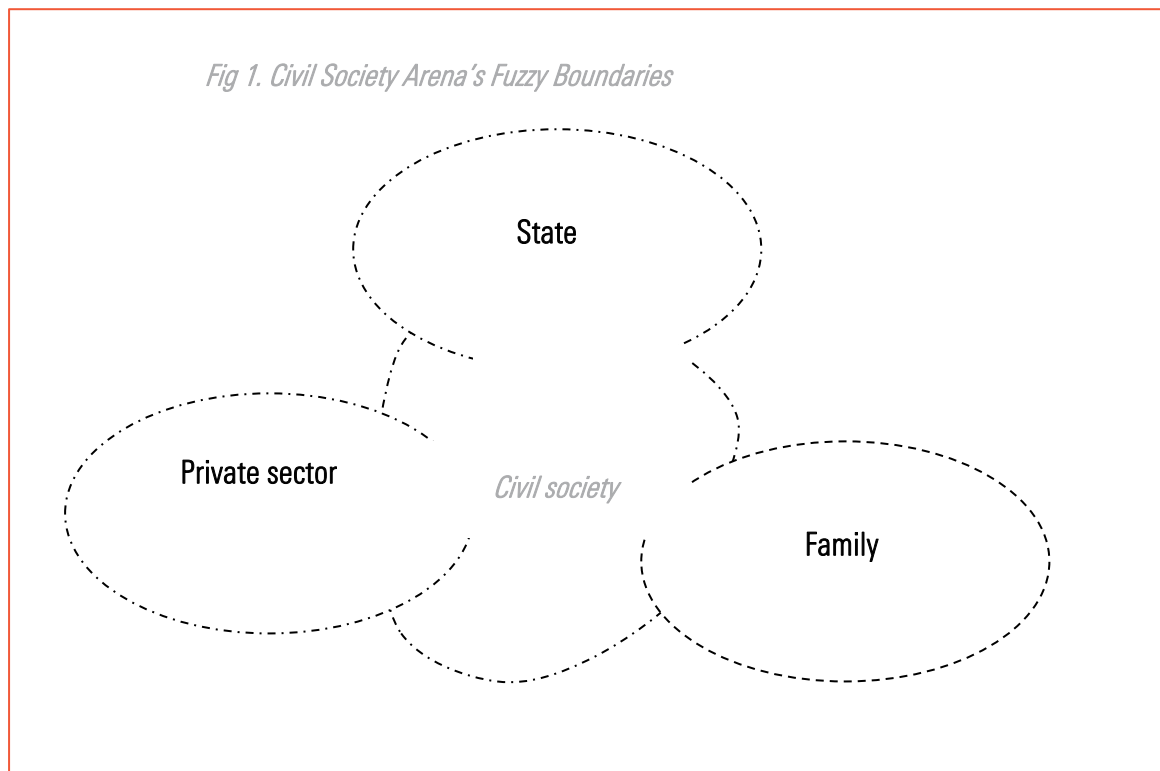
## ***4. Brief Overview on Civil Society in Vietnam***

### ***4.1 Definition of Civil Society***

The term “civil society” has been used by scholars, donors, development activists, government officials and media in recent years although there is no consistent understanding of what is “civil society” as well as “civil society organizations” in the Vietnamese context. In several researches authors used the “social”, “public” or “civic” organizations. We use however the CS definitions that are more closed to the research purpose.



The definition of civil society used is: The arena outside of the family, the state and the market where people associate to advance common interests (CIVICUS (2005). The important point about this definition, graphically presented in Fig. 1, is that it is broad and open, and it emphasises the fuzzy borders between the various sectors,



which is of central importance in a country like Vietnam, where the associational sector interacts closely with the state. It also aims to take account of the *functions* of organisations rather than their forms, which is to say that it includes any efforts to support activities and values promoting the well-being of the citizens through charity, philanthropy or other means. The definition is more expansive than others that include only organisations or associations as the core of civil society, because informal groups and coalitions are also counted. This expands the definition of civil society beyond just an associational sector to include a broader number of activities “to advance common interests”. The definition is inclusive and flexible enough to adjust to individual countries, because the particular criteria for defining civil society are dependent on national perspectives.

According to this definition, structure of CSOs in Vietnam mainly includes: (i) Mass organisations under (and including) the Vietnam Fatherland Front (VFF); (ii) Umbrella organisations under the VFF; (iii) Professional associations; (iv) VNGOs (also Science & Technology organisations if they register under VUSTA); (v) Informal groups; (vi) Faith - based organisations and; (vii) INGOs. In some researches the authors do not put Faith-based organizations separately and put them into “Issue-oriented and NGOs (Cuong, Vinh and Wischermann, 1999).

Civil society can be re-conceptualized as a process of cross-sectoral networking and alliance building among individual activists and organizations. Civil society networks are built on personal connections and develop into flexible, often informal structures that engage in path-breaking advocacy with authorities and elites (Andrew, 2011).

#### **4.2 Brief Overview on CS researches and projects in Vietnam**

Since the mid-1990s, a few Vietnamese scholars have started studying “people’s organisations”, and in the early 2000s a study of “civic organisations” was initiated (Bui The Cuong, 2005). Foreign scholars also started to write on the subject in the mid-1990s, but the majority of the scholars did not consider the mass organisations to be part of civil society; rather, they were seen as part of the State-Party system. The status of the newly appearing Vietnamese NGOs (VNGO) was also debatable, as they did not have a membership base and their leaders came

almost exclusively from the state bureaucracy or the Party. Most of them could not even be classified as independent (Michael L. Gray, 1999). This argument is valid only for CSOs based in the North, especially those based in Ha Noi, the same phenomenon could not be observed in the same vein in Ho Chi Minh city (Wischermann et al, 1999). According to the dominant (neo-liberal) criteria, there was basically no civil society in Vietnam, even if a few organisations might have the potential to develop into one.

Recently, information about operation of Vietnamese civil society organizations (CSOs) is opened more and more, research works about Vietnam CS are appearing progressively and contributing actively to the development of Vietnam CS. Within the last decade quite an impressive number of studies on civil society, Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) and Civic Organizations in Vietnam have been published. Norlund (2006, 2007), Hannah (2007), Menge (2009) and Lux and Straussmann (2004) focus explicitly on the subject of civil society. Kerkvliet et al. (2008), Thayer (2002, 2009), Abuza (2001), Wischermann (2002, 2003), Wischermann and Nguyen Quang Vinh (2003) and other authors in their contributions to Kerkvliet, Heng, and Koh (2003) focus on the relationship between CSOs or Civic Organizations and the Vietnamese state, etc (Wischermann 2010).

There have been also several projects, researches in Vietnam as below:

- *The Civil Society Fund of the World Bank* was created in 1983 as a way of supporting small, nonprofit, civil society organizations (CSOs). It focuses on capacity building, empowering and strengthening the voice of vulnerable groups including disadvantage children, youth and women, people with disabilities, urban migrants and ethnic minorities.

- *Civil Society Index - Shortened Assessment Tool in Vietnam*, research project supported by the UNDP, SNV and CIVICUS (2005). The project purpose is to introduce initial analysis on the current situations, comprising strengths and weaknesses, and prospects for the civil society in Vietnam; to assess the state of civil society in Vietnam based on a framework of 74 indicators, divided into four dimensions of civil society: structure, environment, values and impact.

- *The role of Vietnamese CSOs in Urban Environment management in Vietnam: Case study in North Thanh Xuan ward-Hanoi city*, Master Thesis (2006) of Nguyen The Anh. This thesis try to assess the role played by Vietnamese CSOs in real urban environmental management situations and point out their limitations, their potentialities of development in future through the case study in North Thanh Xuan ward in Hanoi.

- *Irish Aid: Civil Society Organisations and NGOs in Programme Countries Vietnam (2010)*. An essential part of this process is strengthening the capacity of indigenous CSOs, NGOs and other non-State actors, including Trades Unions and Faith-based Organisations to become more involved in service delivery, advocacy, policy formulation and other activities in the overall effort to reduce poverty and promote justice.

- "*Civil Society Empowerment in Advocacy and Policy Development in Vietnam*" project funded by United Nation Democracy Fund (UNDEF), 2012, with the participation of more than 40 CSOs and representatives from relating governmental authorities. The project is to empower CSOs in their advocacy capacities and to increase contribution to democratic policy development in Vietnam.

- Evidence-based Policymaking in Vietnam project (2006) supported by the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) and carried out by the Center for Analysis and Forecasting (CAF) under the Vietnamese Academy of Social Sciences (VASS). The project main objective was to provide an understanding of the role of research institutes and think-tanks in policymaking in Vietnam and in so doing provides an understanding of the role of one specific element of civil society in a transition country.

- *Empowering Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) for Conflict Resolution in Rural Areas in the Urbanisation Process*, evidence – based research project supported by the Embassy of Finland in Vietnam (2006). The project purpose is

to strengthen capacity of CSOs in Vietnam and to facilitate dialogue between civil society and the government in resolving rural conflicts focusing on land use and environment pollution.

- *Corruption Prevention and Anti-Corruption (CPAC) - Situation Assessment and Capacity building on CPAC for CSOs and rural communities*, project supported by the Embassy of Finland in Vietnam (2008). The project aims to (i) assess the implementation of the CPAC legislation, (ii) enhance the capacity of CSOs and rural communities on CPAC, including the ability to recognize, organize and skills to prevent and fight against corruption and (iii) enable public debate on the implementation of the CPAC legislation.

- *Promoting efficient interaction between the National Assembly (NA) and civil society in Vietnam*, EU funded project (2010). The general aim of the project is to contribute to increasing the influence of the NA on the governmental and legislative decision making process and to improve the quality and the efficiency of the mechanisms of interactions between civil society and NA as well as to ameliorate the political responsiveness of the NA on local and national levels.

- *Pathways for participation* – a project (2011) funded by United States Agency for International Development (USAID). The aim of the project is to enhance the capacity and position of CSOs providing HIV services at community level in order to improve service quality and access to services of people living with HIV (PLHIV) and most-at-risk populations (MARPs).

- *Civil Society and People's Participation*, Mid Term Review of the Grassroots Democracy project supported by Norway Plan. (2010). The Review was commissioned to assess the progress, relevance and effectiveness of the grassroots democracy project and suggest activities for increasing community participation and project sustainability. It was also meant to assess the quality of people's participation.

- *The Viet Nam Provincial Governance and Public Administration Performance Index (PAPI) - Measuring citizens' experiences* (PAPI 2009 - ), evidence – based project supported by the UNDP. It provides objective, evidence-based measures of provincial performance in governance, public administration, and public service delivery. It also sheds light on analytical issues that need policy consideration at the national level.

What came out of all these projects? The first thing we can see is that almost of these projects have been funded by international donors; the second one is that very few studies carried out by Vietnamese on CS has been published; and not any research on CS in the state research programs funded by the Government has been published.

### **4.3 Features of Civil Society in Vietnam**

#### **4.3.1 CS institutions in Vietnam are *not* independent from the state and the Party**

One of the core challenges to understanding civil society in Vietnam is to confront the fact that institutions are *not* independent from the state and the Party but, on the contrary, are deeply entangled with each other and the state, and under the supremacy of the Party. The state has, since the revolution, considered the state sector to be the most important in Vietnam, and, in accordance with Marxist-Leninist theories, also became the agency that defined the framework for civic organisations or civil society. Nevertheless, since *doi moi*, the organisations and associations have taken on quite different forms, functions and objectives, and they undoubtedly gained in importance during the 1990s.

Each type of organisation emerged in specific historical circumstances. The faith-based and village-based groups have the longest history, having been present in the villages for centuries. The mass organisations were set up in connection with the Communist Party's establishment in 1931 and the August revolution of 1945. They were seen as intermediaries between the Party and the people following the revolution and the establishment of the Party's power as of 1954 in the North, and 1975 in the South. Since the *doi moi* reforms, particularly from the late 1980s,

the mass organisations have nonetheless changed form. They receive less support from the state and have to operate semi-independently from the Party. The number of grassroots organisations and clubs under the mass organisations expanded considerably in the late 1990s. The Women’s Union and Farmers’ Association grew particularly dramatically, primarily in the rural areas, and the Vietnamese NGOs started to emerge in the early and mid-1990s. By the mid-2000s, it was more broadly accepted among scholars, donors and organisations that there was in fact a civil society operating in Vietnam despite the country’s one-party political system (Norlund, DN Dinh et al, 2006).

#### 4.3.2 A Law on Associations has been discussed and not approved yet

The legal framework for organisations varies according to the different types of organisation. The first “Law of Right to set up Associations” was promulgated in 1957. For a long time, legal changes were small, and only after *doi moi* did a broader legal framework begin to take shape for mass organisations, VNGOs, INGOs and funds. A new legal framework was introduced for the mass organisations in 1989, providing them with more independent management. The first framework for INGOs was also introduced in 1989, and the PACCOM (People’s Aid Coordinating Committee) was established as a government body to cooperate with INGOs. The first important step towards the establishment VNGOs was the passing of a decree on non-profit science and technology organisations. The first Civil Code, passed in 1995, began the process of building a framework for the CBOs; social and charity funds were included in 1999; and a decree from 2005 created a framework for small-sized financial institutions, i.e. mainly credit groups. The legislative environment improved for most of organisations in 1995, and since then a Law on Associations has been discussed.

The Ministry for Home Affairs (MOHA) is the government institution charged with outlining the legal framework for organisations and for permitting associations to be established. There are multiple ways to register an organisation, but all involve long and complicated procedures. In recent years, VUSTA (Vietnam Union of Science and Technology Associations) has developed into one of the most important umbrella organisations for many of the professional associations and the VNGOs. Some are registered directly with VUSTA at the central level and others register with one of the provincial VUSTA organisations. Others register under a ministry, and some research NGOs register with a university. As for the CBOs, they can register in accordance with the Civil Code, but it is also possible to register with one of the mass organisations, such as the Red Cross or some of the other organisations under the Fatherland Front, or with a cooperative (Vasavakul and Nguyen Thai Van, 2006). The draft Law on Associations would see all organisations registering with both MOHA and a line-ministry, a suggestion which has caused much debate among the organisations.

CS action in Vietnam could help to lessen problems in functional areas of governance, could turn out to be a new and effective additional resource especially as far as problems are concerned that represent issues of misrecognition and mis-representation. It could play a decisive role in efforts that aim, for example, at raising women’s security, improving gender equality and ensuring equal rights for People living with HIV/AIDS (Wischermann, 2010).

*Table 1. Main categories of civil society organisations*

Category	Types of organisations included in category	Relations to state	Vietnamese definition
<b>Mass Organisations</b>	1. Women’s Union 2. Farmers’ Association 3. Youth Organisation	<b>Fatherland Front</b>	Socio-Political Organisations

Category	Types of organisations included in category	Relations to state	Vietnamese definition
	4. War Veterans Association 5. Worker's Organisation (VGCL)		
<b>Professional Associations and Umbrella Organisations</b>	1. Umbrella organisations like Red Cross, VUSTA, VUAL, Cooperative Alliance, etc.  2. Professional Associations	<b>1. Fatherland Front</b>  <b>2. Registered with an umbrella organisation. Central or provincial organisations</b>	1. Socio-Professional Associations  2. Social and professional associations; some belong to the NGOs
<b>VNGOs</b>	Charity Research NGOs Consultancy NGOs Educational NGOs Health NGOs	<b>VUSTA, Line Ministry, Provincial or District People's Committees</b>	Social Organisations; NGOs
<b>Community-Based Organisations (CBOs)</b>	Service and development-or livelihoods- oriented Faith-based organisations Neighbourhood groups Family clans Recreative groups	<b>Indirect affiliation to other organisation or Civil Code</b>  <b>Many are not registered</b>	Rural collaborative groups Faith-based organisations Neighbourhood groups Family clans

#### 4.4 An Initial Assessment of Civil Society in Vietnam

##### 4.4.1 Four dimensions for the Vietnam CS assessment

The assessments are based on a common methodology developed by CIVICUS (World Alliance for Citizen Participation) with a framework of 74 indicators to assess civil society. The indicators are arranged in four dimensions: (i) The structure of civil society; (ii) The environment (political, socio-economic, cultural and legal) for civil society; (iii) The values of civil society, and (iv) The impact of civil society activities (Norlund, DN Dinh et al, 2006).

(i) *The structure* of CS in Vietnam shows a very broad-based civil society, but a complicated mixture of organisations of different origin, structure, legitimacy, purpose and financing. The depth of membership is, on the contrary, substantially lower, because members are not very active. This has an overall impact and weakens the structure. Network between organisations are very weak, which diminishes the impact of their activities, learning and advocacy, and the umbrella organisations do not provide sufficient support infrastructure. Capacity building and infrastructure are some of the organisations most pressing needs.

(ii) The assessment of *the environment* for civil society is based on seven issues: political context, basic freedoms, socio-economic context, socio-cultural context, legal environment, state-civil society relations and, finally, state-private sector relations.

The situation of the country is generally stable and free from major economic or social crises, and inequalities are moderate, the literacy rate is very high from an international perspective. The rule of law however is still only partially established in the country, despite years of administrative and judicial reforms; and corruption is substantial in the public. Even if the basic civil rights are in principle guaranteed by the constitution, press freedom was an issue of debate, but most found that liberty in this field is considerable. One of the main causes for the weakness of civil society is its environment. The legal environment is not enabling for most organisations, with the exception of the mass organisations, which enjoy special privileges from the state and the Party. The relations between the state and the CSOs in general are below medium, and relations between the CSOs and the private sector are also judged to be below medium.

(iii) The analysis of the *values* of CS in Vietnam and how they promote the values in society comprises seven issues: democracy, transparency, tolerance, non-violence, gender equity, poverty reduction and environmental sustainability.

The *values* of CS in Vietnam are characterised by engagement in charity, voluntarism, peace, and a fairly high level of trust and spiritedness within CSOs, in spite of the erosion of traditional values in society at large happening as a result of modernisation. On the other hand, some values are neither practiced nor promoted by CSOs, such as transparency and democracy, both of which will be important if the organisations are to become stronger and more trusted in society. Tolerance is at a medium level, but CSOs promote it more strongly in society than they practice it. Participation is practiced more commonly and seen as a kind of democracy.

(iv) The impact of civil society activities. The issues discussed included: influence on policy, holding the state and private sector accountable, responding to social interests, empowering citizens, and meeting social needs.

The impact of civil society on human rights was discussed in terms of the different definition of human rights in Vietnam vis-à-vis the West. It is a “sensitive” issue in Vietnam, and civil society is by and large not involved in human rights advocacy. However, if the definition also includes social and economic rights, civil society is very active in the field. Nevertheless, Civil society’s impact on social policies was also assessed as quite low, but this kind of impact is getting better in recent years, civil society action’s impact on laws on gender equality, domestic violence, non-discrimination of PLWHIV (Wischermann 2011).

#### **4.4.2 Overall assessment of Vietnam CS**

CS is defined in this paper as “the arena outside the family, the state and the market where people associate to advance common interests”. In this definition, however the boundaries are *very* fuzzy between the state and the society. It is argued that in an inclusive perspective of civil society, all the organisations should be seen as part of civil society, including the mass organisations, which are the most extensive organisations, present at all levels in almost all the provinces.

Given the overlap between state, Party and CS in Vietnam, the dynamics of CS cannot be seen primarily as the state *versus* CS. Much of the change involves activities taking place within the state sphere. However, there are also activities taking place outside or, at least, on the outskirts of the state sphere, in groups organised at the grassroots level – even within the mass organisations. These include religious groups, ethnic communities, and groups for art and culture and various forms for livelihoods activities. This view is obviously different from the idea of the CSI project, according to which autonomy is important for associations.

The *strength* of civil society is its diversified nature based on human activity and creativity. Vietnam is still a poor country and it faces many hurdles to overcome poverty and increasing inequalities. It has to develop its economic and social potential, and liberate its population's potential for helping the country's disadvantaged people. At the same time, civil society can be inspired and supported by the state through various forms of cooperation. The state is in the last resort responsible to the population for ensuring that the new challenges are met in a way that helps improve the people's well-being, but it can cooperate with the civil society, and civil society can as well contribute by holding the state more accountable.

The *weaknesses* of civil society and associational life are, first of all, related to the framework for organisations, which still limits the potential of CS with respect to service delivery and, even more, with respect to advocacy as means of holding the state and the private sector accountable and for promoting transparency and fighting against corruption. The legal frame is not enabling for establishing of organisations and networks at present. Second, the mass organisations' role as social-political organs for the Party has changed to include service delivery. They have, however, not changed much in their internal structure in order to accommodate their new roles; the mass organisations still need to build the capacity to handle many of their programmes. The management and organisation of the professional organisations is less formed than the other kinds of organisations, but they have a great potential for voluntarism that could be employed more actively. The VNGOs appeared later on the scene for many reasons, some for charity, others for employment, but they mostly aim to support the poor and people with difficulties. They also need to build their capacities in order to become reliable partners to work with the government and donors. Third, the organisations do have umbrella organisations, but they are generally weak and do not provide enough support for the various organisations' activities. Networks are weak in general, and vulnerably groups like ethnic minorities have at present no networks.

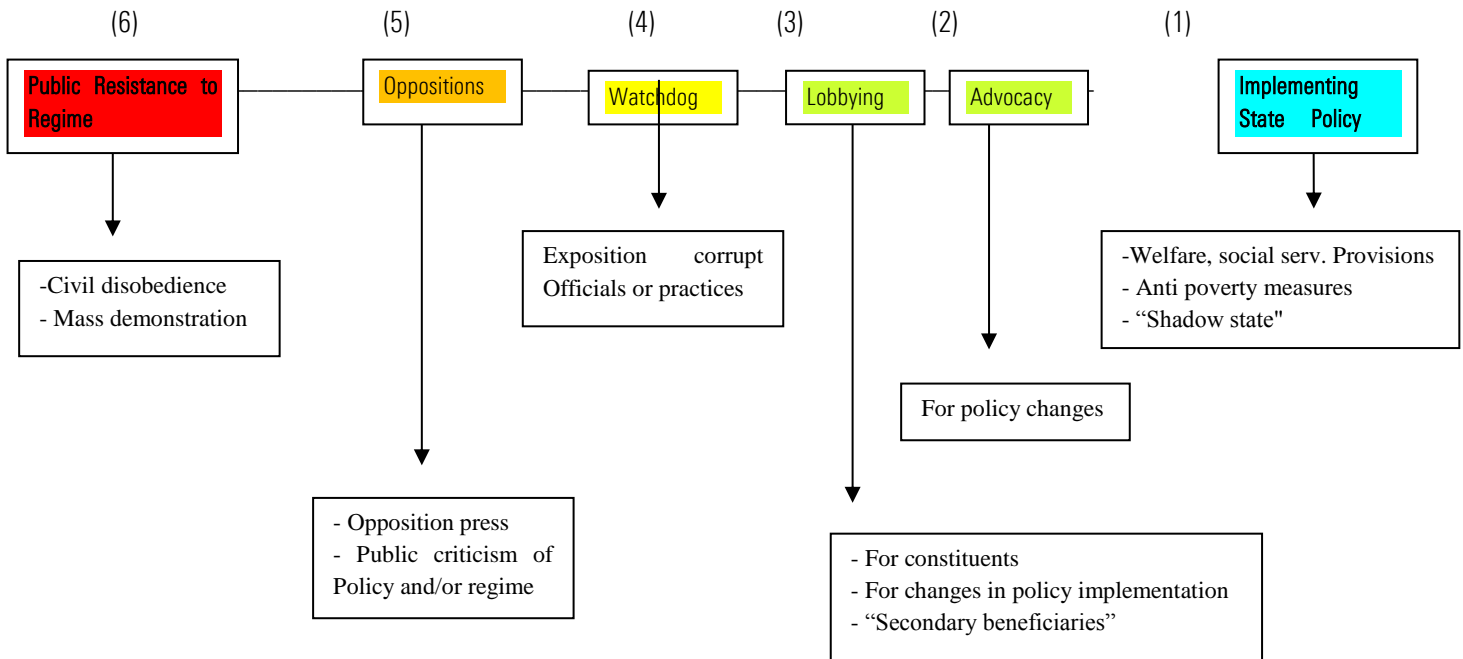
#### ***4.5 The "best" position of Vietnam CS in relationship with the state in the policy improvement process***

##### **4.5.1 Continuum of Civil Society Roles in the policy improvement process**

In this part the authors focus the argument on the role of CS in the policy improvement process, herein the roles of CS in relationship with the state can be described by the axis of five positions in Fig. 1. In the position (1) implementing state policy CSOs limit their activities to providing social services, anti poverty measures in line with official development policy.



Fig 1. Continuum of Civil Society Roles (Hannah 2003:9)



CSOs are, for the most part, restricted in their activities to act as "shadow state" actors. But in order to participate in the process of policy improvement CSOs should move to the left in Fig. 1 with the position (2): CS roles of Advocacy (for constituents, for changes in policy implementation); the position (3): Lobbying (for policy changes); the position (4): Watchdog (exposition corrupt officials or practices). In this context CSOs should be more active in promoting policy change. At the same time, usually the state does not like CSOs to take on roles that challenge state behavior and policy. That is in Fig. 1 the state does not want CSOs to move to the left more with the position (5): CS roles of Oppositions (opposition press; public criticism of policy and/or regime) and the position (6): CS roles of Public resistance to regime (civil disobedience; mass demonstration).

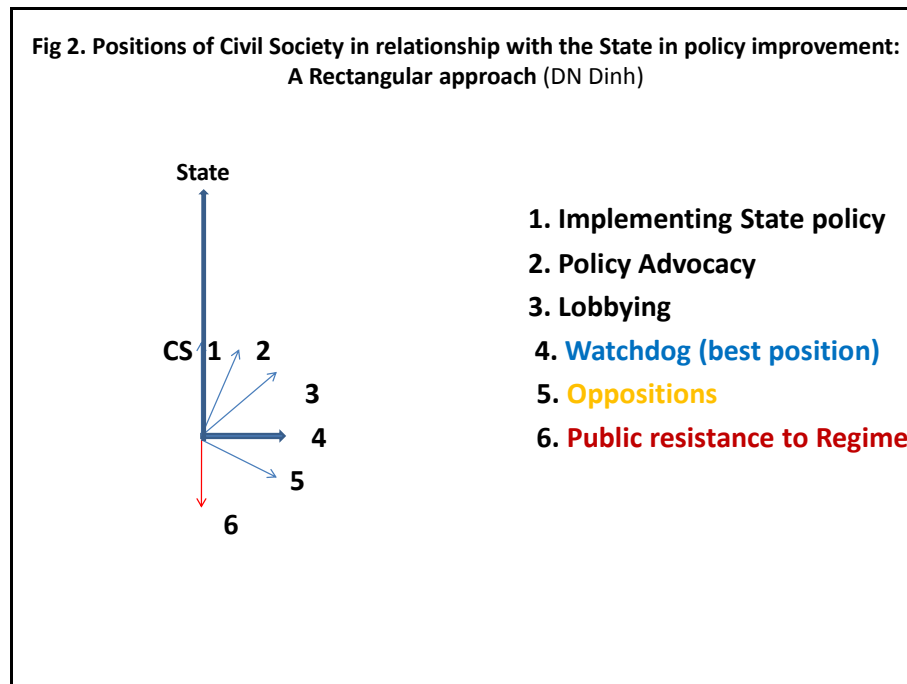
For the current situation of CS in Vietnam the Mass Organizations as well as many CSOs are staying in the position (1) of implementing state policy. Recently, there are several CSOs trying to move to the roles of Advocacy, Lobbying for participation, cooperation and communication among CSOs and with related government bodies in the policy development process. Up to now, there are many difficulties for CSOs to move the position (4): The Watchdog role of CSOs.

#### 4.5.2 The "best" position of Vietnam CS in improvement process: A Rectangular approach

The Continuum of Civil Society Roles in policy improvement process in Fig. 1 can be also described in Coordinates diagram in Fig. 2. In this diagram the function (role) of the state is a vector value located in ordinate and the role of CS is described by the vector located in different positions, in there the CS contribution (impact) value to the Governance (policy improvement) is the projection on abscissa of each CS position vector. In the position (1) CS role/function is totally inside the state role, it seems that the contribution of CS to the country Governance (in the meaning of policy improvement) equal zero! This is the same for the position (6) where CS position is totally opposed to the state role!

In the context of current situation of CS in Vietnam the authors of this research advise that the "best" position of Vietnam CS role in the policy improvement process should be located in the position (4) of Watchdog with the

maximum value of projection on abscissa of CS position vector. This position helps to avoid the “extremist” positions in the Continuum of CS Roles, and in this position interrelated with the state the contribution of CS to the policy improvement achieves maximum value and the integrated vector of Governance has also maximum (longest) value. The vector value of Governance will be minimum (shortest) when the CS role moves to the position (6) of “Public resistance to Regime”. The position (4) of CS role is also reflected the “good CS” meaning (CIVICUS, 2005).



The important role of CS in the policy improvement process is shared with other researchers as well as social activists, for instance:

Civil society action is introduced as a highly useful resource, which could help to overcome the imminent crisis. This differs from the common approach seeing civil society in the context of “peaceful revolution” or simply as helping the state to get rid off costly social services. It also differs from the view on governance, which focuses mainly on aspects of administrative and process-oriented elements of governing and on such forms and processes of governance with the main objective to perpetuate political stability (Wischermann, 2010)

The society is getting more complicated and not any state system, however big it is, can solve all problems arisen in the society; Therefore, along with management by laws being a state function, the state need to respect and develop self-governance, self-settlement of the society through its diversified and immeasurable linkage inside such society. It is not a must for self-settlement measures inside social organizations of civil society to follow institutionalized customs and laws. These measures usually emerge instantaneously and flexibly upon belief, close acquaintance and practices of parties in certain circumstance (Phan Dinh Dieu, opinion exchange, 2009).

### *5. Civil Society participation in the policy advocacy, oversight processes*

#### **5.1 Legal Framework**

In Vietnam in legal documents there is always exists the encouragement of people’s participation in every aspect of political and social life. Its slogan, “People know, people discuss, people do, and people monitor” gradually gained influence in the political and socio-economic system at different levels. Opportunities for people to participate in civil society to deliver public services and to critique policy have emerged. Some illustrations are below:

A grassroots democracy Ordinance in 2006 allowed peoples feedback on the performance of local authorities, which helped increase their responsibilities. Laws recognized cooperatives as independent and voluntary organizations that did not pursue economic benefit, but served the rights of the members.

Decree 177 and, recently, Decree 148 (signed by the Prime minister) created the initial legal conditions for the establishment of social and humanitarian funds. Decree 88 created the legal framework for the establishment of associations, recognizing the roles, functions, responsibilities and rights of associations. The Government announced a mechanism allowing associations to provide social consultation, feedback, and supervision (Decision 22/2002/QĐ-TTg dated 30/1/2002 on VUSTA's activities on social consultation, feedback, and supervision).

There have numerous legally recognized non-government professional associations, research and training centres, and international NGOs (INGOs), and thousands of informal, unregistered, and hence not officially recognized organizations.

In the policy development process of Vietnam, CSOs play a very important role in representing the needs of the community, advocating, and contributing to better government policies. However, the weaknesses in competency and the limited advocacy skills, as well as the quantity and quality of CSOs involved in the advocacy and policy development process prevent CSOs from fulfilling these roles successfully. In addition, the existing legal framework and the government's limited recognition of CSOs' roles are also barriers for CSOs to contribute to development. Therefore, it is important to empower CSOs in Vietnam through internal and external approaches to participate effectively in democratic policy development in Vietnam (*Nguyen Huy Cuong, 2010*).

In Vietnam the difference between the civil society in the past and today lies in the degree of its participation and capacity to influence developments (Bach Tan Sinh, 2002). But up to now Civil Society remains a politically sensitive issue.

The space for "participatory governance" seems also to be changing in the new environment. However, participatory governance is not leading to increased participation by a broader civil society; rather, it is leading to decentralisation and increased participation in the governance system and the electoral system. The mass organisations are gaining a new and more important role as mediators between citizens and the government, whereas the role of civil society as a broad-based counterbalance to the state is, in fact, only a minor concern for the Vietnamese Party-state. Improving the quality of governance is the main focus of the government, which views the administration as the core manager of the Party-state. CS has pushed more actively for increased space in society, and its conditions seem to be improving in the present period, as the country is preparing to adjust the structures in Vietnam to the new challenges, especially to create the modern institutions with the contents like transparency, accountability, and corruption control,...

## 5.2 Empowering CSOs for Conflict Resolution

### 5.2.1 Environmental Conflict Resolutions

Due to the ongoing process of urbanization and rapid economic growth, in Vietnam more and more environmental conflicts around issues of pollution emerge, especially in residential areas near landfill sites where big urban areas dump their waste. In many cases, it is difficult for authorities (central and local governments), enterprises (management boards) and local communities to reach a mutually satisfactory agreement and to find a conciliatory solution. For these reasons, establishing and operating landfill sites in the country, particularly around big cities like Hanoi, Hai Phong, Da Nang, etc. faces a number of challenges.

In September 1999 and in 2001, local residents lay down on the road to prevent garbage trucks of the Urban Environment Company (URENCO) to reach the landfill, leading to huge heaps of garbage in many streets of Ha Noi for several days.

On 8 August 2004, around 100 people of Trang Cat ward went to Hai Phong People's Committee office to present their requests: (i) to stop dumping garbage in Trang Cat landfill; (ii) to clarify the spending of VND 6.1 billion (from a budget for land compensation) for the construction of the landfill; and (iii) to clarify the responsibilities of local authorities and punish the culprits.

*Source: VNExpress, 9/8/2004*

The study "Community-Driven Regulation as a tool for Environmental Conflict Resolution: A Focus on Landfills in Vietnam" (Dang Ngoc Dinh et al, 2005) has overall objective that is to use the model of community-driven regulation to evaluate the current situation and to find an environmental conflict resolution to improve institutional responses to environmental protection policies in Vietnam with an active involvement of the CSOs.

Appropriate mechanisms for a dialogue between local communities and the public administration on environmental protection can only be established with an active involvement of a civil society. Such development can, to some extent, be supported by the state and political organizations. However, the best practice is to allow and promote environmental initiatives by the public itself (Rolf Samuelsson, First Secretary of the Swedish Embassy in Vietnam, 2005).

There are some findings of the study:

- The lack of direct involvement of local CSOs in the planning and operating of landfill sites caused environmental conflicts to become more severe in Vietnam recently.
- The sharp increase of this type of conflict, which has led to the term "landfill conflict", is due to a series of reasons like (i) increasing anxiety of communities over health hazards; (ii) a lack of public participation in landfill management; (iii) negative impacts on local economies and low financial compensation; (iv) a decline in public trust in local governments and landfill management boards.
- To prevent or minimize conflicts and to ease public worries over environmental pollution in the long run, it is necessary to find solutions which consider significant factors such as (i) the introduction of governmental policies

reflecting public expectations; (ii) compliance with legal provisions by environmental protection agencies and managers, and (iii) involvement of social organizations and mass organizations. Addressing problems this way will help to keep up the process of rapid industrialization and urbanization while at the same time ensure material benefits and public health for people living near landfills.

- Active CSOs can successfully complement the work of authorities and environmental agencies, especially in cases where provisions in environmental laws have not yet come into effect and where the capacity of state-controlled agencies to implement legal measures is still insufficient.

### 5.2.2 Land Conflict Resolutions

The Evidence-based project funded by the FLC, the Embassy of Finland in Vietnam "Empowering Civil Society Organisations for Conflict Resolution in Rural Areas in the Urbanization Process: A focus on Land Conflict Resolutions in Vietnam" (*Dang Ngoc Dinh and partners, 2007*) has the aim: To strengthen capacity of CSOs and to facilitate dialogue between CS and the government in resolving rural conflicts focusing on land use; To contribute to the improvement of government policy and governance capacity towards balancing 3 institutions: state, market (private), and CS, as well as empowering CSOs to deal with development issues of Viet Nam.

Farmers who have lost their lands in exchange for industrial parks say:

"The farmlands which we have ceded to industrial parks are located in densely populated areas, but enterprises can hire only few laborers. What will happen to our children's future when they have no land, no vocational training and no jobs in enterprises?"

*Source: An ninh thế giới, 19/2/2004*

Until early 2010, most provinces in the country are of the view that the complaints of administrative land price for calculating compensation, support and resettlement are accounting for 90% of the total complaints. This situation demonstrates the mechanism of settlement of administrative complaints in general and the resolution of administrative complaints about land price calculation for compensation, support and resettlement still have many weaknesses, do not meet the requirements of the pressing and urgent reality of the land conversion process of the country (World bank 2010).

The project has been executed based on following hypothesis: Does the lack of policies encouraging the participation of CSOs including research institutions (think tanks) in many cases led to heighten the severity of conflicts of land and environment in Vietnam today?

Up to now in Vietnam, CSOs and common people, especially the poor, lack a strong voice. The participation of local CSOs is hindered by a lack of information about policies, laws and regulations of the government. Almost all CSOs have not yet been given the authority to participate in decision-making, management and monitoring processes, including the resolution of conflicts. One additional obstacle is a lack of routines to facilitate this participation, despite policies requiring this kind of participation.

There are the project findings: (i) Almost all the people being asked highly appreciated roles of mass organizations in propagandizing, explaining policies. However, in many cases, these organizations failed to listen to and reflect the true view of local communities but only acted with function of "mobilizing" people to implement policies, acted as an "extended arm" of local authorities. Therefore, it is difficult to solve tensions of people properly; (ii) In

Vietnam, the lack of participation of CSOs and people in decision making was become the “tradition” that is not easy to overcome at once; (iii) Currently in Vietnam, there is an unfortunate reality that many projects bringing title “national benefits” or “local benefits” but, on implementation, they make people difficulties in life, leading to tension and protest of people.

“The people want peace, not want to lodge complaints, only reluctantly they take action whenever there is no choice. The cause of action is land price policy on compensation when land is recovered by the State is not satisfied, which make many people complain. This policy seems not sound and problematic. Furthermore, the quality of administrative decisions is not high, so there are still mistakes which raise the claims”

*Source: Le Quan Binh, Chairman of the Committee of Defence and Security of the National Assembly, 2009; Hoang Ngoc Giao, 2009.*

## 5.2 CSOs participation in Anti-corruption

### 5.2.1 Corruption in Viet Nam is a systemic problem

The nature and extent of corruption in Viet Nam has been categorised in a variety of ways, ranging from administrative, political, and judicial corruption, to public sector and private sector corruption, and also petty and grand corruption (with the former tending to be understood as small-scale, everyday corruption, and the latter being larger-scale). The truth of the matter is that corruption in Viet Nam, as in many other countries, occurs at all levels and in all sectors. Put simply, corruption in Viet Nam is a systemic problem.

The idea that corruption is a systemic problem can be understood with reference to three tendencies within the state in Viet Nam: (i) to view public office as a vehicle for personal enrichment; (ii) to pay attention to servicing one’s patronage network rather than working for some notion of the public good; and (iii) to use uncertainty and a lack of clarity in respect of regulations as an instrument of rule (Martin Gainsborough, Dang Ngoc Dinh and Tran Thanh Phuong, 2009).

“Corruption is popular in the fields of land use and infrastructure construction projects, in which district government are the owner of the project while commune government only plays the supervision role, as such district government “eats more than commune government” (*Group discussion in Lam Dong province, Survey of FLC Project 08-01, 2008*).

“Land corruption brought large illegal benefits while committing corruption is not so difficult compared to other areas as it has the practice of covering up for each other and thus hard to discover. Several discovered land use corruption cases show that from commune to district and provincial levels, it’s very difficult to fight corruption as everybody had a piece of cake” (*Trinh Xuan Thu, Deputy Director of The General Department of Security, The Laborer, 27/9/2006*):

Taking advantage of state policies on prioritizing economic development, calling upon investment, many individuals and organizations raced to set up project for the purpose of land allocation. Main violation was land allocation beyond competence, making corrupt use of project to share or sell land for profit, to divide land into different lots and sell backgrounds, to bribe for the purpose of legalization of land occupation. In many localities, change in land use purpose was manipulated in order to retrieve land at low compensation price, and then it was sold or leased for big profit. It was super profitable “business missions” (FLC Project 08-01, 2008).

### **5.2.2 CSOs participation: Opportunities and Challenges**

Recognizing the systemic nature of the problem of corruption, it is clear that an integrated approach to tackling corruption is likely to pay special attention to increasing transparency and improving enforcement. The key objective over time is to make the system more accountable, and to increase the costs of corruption. Strengthening the role of civil society and the media in the fight against corruption is critical because along with transparency and enforcement this is crucial to making the system more accountable.

The Anti-corruption Law (2006) has created an important legal framework for civil society’s engagement however due to the tradition of fighting against foreign aggression, CSOs in Vietnam still have some features of “shadow state”. In this context, if the authorities are corrupt, it is difficult for CSOs to represent the will of the people and hold them to account for their actions.

The project “Corruption Prevention and Anti-Corruption (CPAC) - Situation Assessment and Capacity building on CPAC for CSOs and rural communities in Vietnam (*Dang Ngoc Dinh and partners, 2008*) has been evaluating policies based on field surveys, by the research question: Is one of the important reasons for the less than expected improvement in anti-corruption, and ineffective enforcement of the Anti-corruption Law after two years in Vietnam, because of institutional deficiencies, in particular the lack of decentralization of power to civil society organisations? The role and participation of CSOs in anti-corruption is not fully exercised and the mechanism and regulations are still lacking with regards to involving CSOs in anti-corruption activities?

The survey results in the 9 provinces showed that two fields breed the most corruption with the rate at far above of the other fields were land management (85.87%) and construction project (84.81%). The biggest issue in the field of land management in this period was land reclamation (allocation) for projects and accounting of land clearance and settlement.

The voice of CSOs reflecting that of the people is a strong pressure on the fight against wrongdoings in the society. The stronger the CSOs, the stronger the supervisory power of the people. CSOs form the third block supervising the business block and Government agency block. They supervise the authorities in their implementation of public policies and law execution (Nguyen Thi Kieu Vien and partners, 2010).

Even though the Anti-corruption Law has asserted a positive role for the mass media, in reality they are puzzled and unsure about their role in the fight against corruption. At this time there is little protection for people who denounce corruption. The Fatherland Front and its member organizations do not have the power and authority to shield and protect whistle blowers.

## ***5.3 The participation of CSOs in monitoring the performance of local government***

### **5.3.1 CSOs and citizens are capable of monitoring and assessing governance and public administration**

Given the increasing demand for objective information; improved transparency and accountability in policy making and implementation; and more equal access to corruption-free public services, CSOs and people actors are encouraged to play a more active role in monitoring the performance of local governments.



“The Viet Nam Provincial Governance and Public Administration Performance Index (PAPI)” project (Jairo Acuña-Alfaro, Dang Ngoc Dinh and partners, 2012, [www.papi.vn](http://www.papi.vn)) provides objective, evidence-based measures of provincial performance in governance, public administration, and public service delivery. It also sheds light on analytical issues that need policy consideration at the national level. The philosophy behind PAPI is to consider citizens to be “public administrative services end-users,” who are capable of monitoring and assessing governance and public administration in their localities.

PAPI measures the standards of governance and public administration drawn from citizens’ experiences in their interactions with governmental authorities at different levels. As a tool to monitor performance, PAPI contributes to accelerating continued improvement in governance and public administration performance. In an environment reliant on “self-assessments” by government stakeholders to measure government performance, PAPI helps provide a bottom-up perspective, by studying people experiences and perceptions.

The design and survey methodology of PAPI has been validated through a step-by-step approach of piloting and iteration. In 2011, PAPI was further improved and implemented across all 63 provinces in the country. It captures 13,642 individual citizens’ experiences in a groundbreaking effort to support a more evidence-based policy making process. PAPI is the largest and first-ever survey of its kind in Viet Nam. In total, PAPI is a composition of 6 dimensions, 22 sub-dimensions and 92 different indicators.

### 5.3.2 PAPI Index and Findings

PAPI is a multidimensional metric system of mutually reinforcing processes that important for governance and public administration. PAPI looks at six different dimensions of provincial governance and public administration, including: (i) participation at local levels; (ii) transparency; (iii) vertical accountability; (iv) control of corruption; (v) public administrative procedures, and (vi) public service delivery. Each individual dimension is a combination of three to four sub-dimensions and these are grouped from indicators respectively.

Composition of PAPI: Six dimensions, 22 sub-dimensions

#### **D1. Participation at Local Levels**

- 1.1. Civil Knowledge
- 1.2. Opportunities for Participation
- 1.3. Quality of Elections
- 1.4. Contributions to Local Projects

#### **D2. Transparency**

- 2.1. Poverty Lists
- 2.2. Communal Budgets
- 2.3. Land-Use Plan / Pricing

#### **D3. Vertical Accountability**

- 3.1. Interactions with Local Officials
- 3.2. People’s Inspections Boards
- 3.3. Community Investment Supervision Boards

#### **D4. Control of Corruption**

- 4.1. Limits on Public Sector Corruption
- 4.2. Limits on Corruption in Service Delivery
- 4.3. Equity in Employment
- 4.4. Willingness to Fight Corruption

#### **D5. Public Administrative Procedures**

- 5.1. Certification Procedures
- 5.2. Construction Permits
- 5.3. Land Procedures
- 5.4. Personal Procedures

#### **D6. Public Service Delivery**

- 6.1. Public Health
- 6.2. Primary Education
- 6.3. Infrastructure
- 6.4. Law and Order

After 3 years of PAP carried out at the central level, there is increasing recognition of the PAPI data's usefulness and credibility. For instance, the Government Inspectorate (GI) and the Office of the Steering Committee on Anti-Corruption (OSCAC), which are in charge of the anti-corruption work in the country, have taken the findings from PAPI to complement their reporting requirements under the governmental corruption monitoring and evaluation frameworks. Additionally, the Ministry of Home Affairs (MoHA), as a leading governmental agency in charge of the implementation of public administration reform (PAR), is looking at PAPI as a potential framework to guide and complement its upcoming set of PAR indicators at the central and local levels.

PAPI findings have been reflected the overall image of the country, for instance:

- *Control of Corruption*: Corruption has been recognized as a systemic problem in Viet Nam. To gauge how endemic the problem is, PAPI asks citizens about their experiences with corruption and bribes in the public sector. The survey reveals that corruption remains a problem across several sectors, bribes are required to receive medical care, to get a job in the public sector, to apply for a land use right certificate, for children to receive better treatment in schools, and to apply for construction permits, ect. At the national level, only 40.33% deny the need to pay bribes for public sector employment; personal relationships seem to play a very important role for those who wish to pursue careers in the public sector. This is evident in the small variance across provinces. This confirms the systemic nature of nepotism in public sector employment, even at the lowest level of governmental. A much lower number of citizens believe their local officials were serious about controlling corruption. Only 22.95% of respondents in the national sample thought local officials were serious in dealing with exposed corruption cases, a remarkably low proportion.

- *Transparency and Accountability of the Governance*: Citizens remain largely unaware of local level land use issues, with nearly 8 out of 10 citizens not aware of land use plans in their localities. Two local-level institutions tasked with monitoring public sector performance and public investments at the local levels are the People's Inspection Boards (PIBs) and the Community Investment Supervision Boards (CISBs). These are intended to provide a channel for citizen oversight over grassroots and community level projects. However, citizens seem to be only dimly aware of their existence, although these boards have been in existence across the country. In 2011, only 34% citizens knew PIBs exist and only 15% of citizens are aware of the existence of these monitoring boards CISBs in their localities.

## *6. Looking to teen coming years: CSOs will be engaged into creating modern institutions of governance in Vietnam?*

### *6.1 "State management" or "Governance"?*

Vietnam has made remarkable economic progress within the last decade and has weathered the global financial crisis rather well so far. Nonetheless, the country faces a time of especially great difficulties and challenges in three important functional areas of governance—legitimate rule, security, and welfare (Wischemann, 2011).

Although the term 'state management' is familiar to most Vietnamese, the term 'governance' is relatively new. When we refer to 'governance' we have in mind something much broader than 'state management.' State management is part of governance, but the governance system also includes citizens, firms, CSOs, and many others playing a variety of roles. Only by integrating governance fully into the country program will we be able to support Vietnam's aspirations for building a modern governance system by: Strengthening Accountability; Expanding Access to Information; Reducing Corruption (The WB, 2010).

### *6.2 Challenges on the governance system of the country*

- *Corruption is rising*: Currently in Vietnam governance difficulties are related to "a weakness of hierarchy within the Party-State apparatus" (Wischemann 2010, Fforde 2009). Thus, it proves difficult to gather and to focus state

power for the purpose of coping coherently and deliberately with the various demands which Vietnam faces en route to middle income status. Another manifestation of governance weakness is corruption. Well-informed observers even claim that corruption is rising (Wischermann 2010). Corruption is perhaps one of the biggest challenges in governance and public administration in Viet Nam today, as it has become embedded in the overall administrative system and serves as a major obstacle to the success of reform.

- *Low ranking in the Worldwide Governance Index.* In the table 1 there have been enumerated 08 indicators of modern governance Index and its scores of Vietnam in the years 2006 and 2010 (Gainsborough, 2010), among them some performance values are very weak: Media Independence and freedom of Expression (1,0/7,0); Free and Fair electoral. Law and elections (1,0/7,0); Accountability and Public voice (1,48/7,0); and Civic Engagement and Civic Monitoring (1,67/7,0).

*Table 1. Governance Index scores of Vietnam*

SCORES	2006	2010
1. Accountability and Public voice	1,56	1,48
2. Civil Liberties	3,02	3,11
3. Rule of law	2,49	2,37
4. Anticorruption and Transparency	2,71	2,54
5. Free and Fair electoral. Law and elections		1,00
6. Effective and Accountable Government		2,25
7. Civic Engagement and Civic Monitoring		1,67
8. Media Independence and freedom of Expression		1,00

Note: Scores are based on a scale of 0 to 7, with 0 representing weakest and 7 representing strongest performance

### **6.3 Can be Vietnamese CS moved to the “best” position – Watch-dog?**

The structure of civil society in Vietnam is very broad-based, comprising a large number of organizations, associations and groups, but there exists the lack of strategies and weak umbrella organizations and networks. The structure of civil society is judged to be of limited strength.

The socio-economic environment for civil society shows a mixture of conducive and less conducive factors. Limits on political competition and rights leave much room for improvement. Civil society in Vietnam is operating in a slightly disabling environment.

The impact of civil society’s activities is assessed limited in terms of influencing public policies on issues like social policy and national budgeting. Nor is civil society having much impact in holding the state and private sectors accountable.

It is needed to analyze the main reasons of these challenges. For instance:

By giving civil society a clearer voice in all aspects of life, not only in the field of service delivery, but also in capacity building and advocacy activities at all levels, the country can contribute considerably to achieving economic and social development in an equitable way. Civil society has, moreover, a very important potential role in promoting transparency and anti-corruption (Norlund, DN Dinh et al, 2006).

"I feel that Vietnam State embrace too much work. Constantly talking about downsizing, but the number of staff is still on the increase, a public servant still takes too much work. But how the state system can manage all matters. Need to change the management way towards enhancing the management autonomy of the people. Civil society is Vietnam's tradition so there's no reason to oppose it. Should set policy and laws of the state besides the benefit of people. Need to create a legal framework for these organizations to reconsider their activities, and promote the role of people better

*(Le Dana Khanh, Senior expert in Economics)*

Most registered organizations, as well as many unregistered grassroots civic groups, do not challenge the state but rather supplement the work of the state. They see themselves as partners working on projects in support of state policy, advocates for improved state services, or as representatives of marginalized groups. Their work focuses on medical and educational service provision, poverty alleviation, and other forms of development assistance. The vast majority of civic groups consciously avoid operating in sensitive or overtly political areas for fear of retribution (Gainsborough 2008).

"Now there are some opinions opposing to civil society. The cause of fearful problem is due to inadequate awareness on civil society. Many views showed that civil society is opposed to the State but there is also the view that civil society is the goal of a market economy. From two points has led to psychological fear, even limited

*(Nguyen Vi Khai, Senior Researcher on CS)*

Up to now the Law on establishment of Associations and the function and roles of CSOs have not been passed by the National Assembly, even after several drafts and prolonged discussion. This is the reason for the lack of legal backing for mandating the involvement of CSOs, social-profession organizations and voluntary associations in tackling corruption.

"Instead of prohibition for organizations, the State needs to create a legal framework to manage and create a comfortable environment for these organizations. Our State now has almost quitted subsidy thinking with companies but with society is not. So first thing to do is to overcome barriers on power and build suitable management mechanisms on the basis of natural development of civil society"

*(Hoang Ngoc Giao, Director of LERRES)*

CS cannot be organised and led by others; however, an enabling environment and support for capacity building are important preconditions. Therefore, while the government needs to open up the space for an independent civil society through changes to the legal framework, civil society needs to take a proactive role in identifying its best strategies for making positive contributions (Norlund 2006).

Based on the findings presented above, Looking to the 10 coming years, the authors of this study estimate that the social, legal and economic environment for Vietnamese CSOs will improved; the institutions and mechanism on the interaction and partnership between the state and CS sector will be set up more clear and more transparent. However, only after the year 2020, CSOs can play not only the role of policy advocacy, but also the role of oversight (watchdog) in policy making and implementing in the modern governance system of the country, including the engagement of CSOs of Intellectual communities (think tanks) into the processes of policy dialogues on important issues of the country development course.

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## Economic growth and sustainable development in Vietnam (Dr. Dao Thanh Truong, Prof. Dr. Le Ngoc Hung, Nguyen Thi Hien, Bui Thi Phuong)

### *1. Vietnam's points of view about economic collapse of the former Soviet Union*

Vietnam officially started its economic renovation at the sixth National Conference of Communist Party of Vietnam in 1986. Five years later, in 1991, the Soviet Union collapsed. Very few studies were done from economic and sociological or psychological perspectives about the collapse of the former Soviet Union in Vietnam. It seemingly the event was a too sensitive, complicated or different in terms of its direction and solution to a newly adopted renovation course of Vietnam at that time. Thus, insight researches and comparative studies of renovation efforts to compare with what was taking place at that time in the former Soviet Union before and after 1991 looked odd and not necessary (National Centre of Social Sciences and Humanities 1995, 311). In that circumstance, some official positions would be sufficient not to discuss much, especially when Vietnam was seemingly too busy with its Doi Moi process and less time to judge too strange event of collapse of the Soviet Union. In fact, the collapse of the Soviet Union in early 1990s caused the world economic instability and reduction of development resources for developing countries including Vietnam.

Economic Renovation (Doi Moi), which has long roots in the late of 1970 and officially stated in 1986, to give a picture about clearly Vietnam's growth and development were taking place in a very special international context characterized by the collapse of the former Soviet Union in the early of 1990s. In economic term, the collapse of the (former) Soviet Union is in fact a replacement of an economic model that was based on the public ownership with two major sectors of the state and collective economy and an organized market by an economic model basing on a public and private, individual and foreign investment sectors and free market. Economically, Vietnam has been experiencing similar change of the economic model, but without similar collapse, though it has witnessed social, economic crisis. But, after while Vietnam overcame that crisis, gradually achieved socio-economic stability, growth and set forth its goal of sustainable development. In general, economic indicators show life quality of the people improved during the last 25 years since its start of official socio-economic Doi Moi, in 1986. The question comes now is why Vietnam overcame the socio-economic crisis to stabilize and develop sustainably?

### *2. Research Propositions*

This paper uses results quantitative and qualitative researches and statistics to clarify five of following positions of economic growth and sustainable development in Vietnam since its start of economic renovation. There may be several research hypothesis of why Vietnam has overcome that socio-economic crisis to stabilize and develop sustainably back to 1975:

*1. Renovation of socio-economic development course, policies.* The recognition, support of economic management initiatives in rural and urban areas and constantly constructing and implementing socio-economic the renovation course is decisive factor for the success of efforts in stabilizing the economy and sustainable development in Vietnam.

*2. The development of household and individual economies in rural areas:* This period from 1976 to 1986 remark self-supply in agriculture with the changes were made in awareness, attitude and behavior of people living in the rural areas to the market mechanism: peasant households moved quickly to agricultural commodity production. When open economic policies were introduced to private and individual economic sectors and product-based system following so-called 'fence-breaking' (Fforde, 1989), was practiced in agriculture at the beginning of 1980s, the production force of peasants was liberalized and it resulted in increased agricultural production output.

3. *State economic sector actively participated in a market economy.* Due to economic problems of low productivity, stagnancy underemployment, low income, etc. the state sector including state agencies and economic units had to implement three-part plan with more efforts made in implementing so-called Plan C, and cadres and employees in the state sector were quickly responded to the market system to increase income and hence, increased their awareness, attitude and behavior to the market-oriented economy accordingly.

4. *The development of business entrepreneurship.* The change in the state economic sector to the market one and the formulation and development of non-state economic sectors working by the market orientation created employment and income opportunities for working people including a number of redundant from the reduced state sector, from agriculture and rural areas caused by urbanization and other socio-economic changes.

5. *Opening up the economy to the world economy.* The fact that economic sectors expanded foreign trade relationship to economies beyond COMECON block (including the former Soviet Union and eastern European economies) opened up important and critical import, export and capital market opportunities to replace economic aids coming from the former Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Vietnam faced a serious socio-economic crisis and had to started Doi Moi course and succeeded rather than failed as some other countries. What is noteworthy is that when the situation of socio-economic crisis was recognized both people and leaders, managers tried to seek for door out and in the end, their points of view met in the "thought, attitude and behavior changes" in order to realize the common goal of prosperous people, powerful, democratic, equal and civilized nation.

### 3. *Theoretical approach*

Interpreting the emergence of the capitalism in the West Max Weber pointed out the spirit of the Capitalism and Protestant ethic expressed and implemented by people in their economic behavior (Weber 2008). A French social scientist, Pier Gourrou, studied carefully peasants in the Red River Delta in Vietnam at the first half of XX Century and found out interesting features and characteristics of so-called "village-commune industry", "rural industry" in Vietnam as the product of different economic behaviors of "village industry" of peasants at the beginning of XX Century.

So, one possibly rely on the ideas of Weber and Gourrou to put forwards a common position of the success of Doi Moi in Vietnam and the failure in the former Soviet Union's Perestroika. On the one hand, thank to the fact that village-commune market economic habits were allowed to come out, put into practice and developed Vietnam's Doi Moi in economic field was successful. On the other hand, Doi Moi policies gradually "untied" village-commune market economic behavior rather than swiftly liberalizing to induce shocks for actors of village-commune market economic behaviors. That is one of the whys of success of Doi Moi in Vietnam and failure of the Soviet perestroika where market economic habits were nullified totally. Some authors mentioned a two-fold relationship of the "Doi Moi" in Vietnam with 'the bottom up" of the people and "top-down" of the CPV and Government-"in the emergence, perception and meeting the demand for adjusting economic policies-to enable Doi Moi" (Duong Phu Hiep 2008, 440). In this process there was the transmission of state-owned enterprises (SOEs) into "virtual share companies", virtual share holders". (Fforde 2004)

### 4. *Evidences of economic growth and development*

The question raised is why Vietnam's economy did not collapse as the Soviet Union and other socialist economies did at the formulation of a multi-sector economy working by the market mechanism? Vietnam did not fail, on the contrary, it overcame difficulties, stabilized its economy and improved the living standard for its people. It is nationwide known that pre-Doi Moi socio-economic difficult situation provides one of factors for important achievement of Vietnam's Doi Moi. It is true (Cited Pham Minh Chinh & Vuong Quan Hoang 2009, 88), at the most difficult time, right after the unification of the country the socio-economic difficulties became serious that production was stagnant in both agriculture and industries, the national per capita income was USD 98 in 1975 and then increased to USD 101 in 1976 and it was down to USD 99 in 1982.

Right after the start of Doi Moi, actual GDP increased from (GSO. Cited Pham Minh Chinh & Vuong Quan Hoang 1099, 99) VND 109,189 in 1986 to 213,833 in 1996 and 335,784 in 2008; accordingly per capita income increased from US\$ 202 in 1986 to USD 325 in 1996 and made five times to USD 1030 in 2008. By now (2012), Vietnam has created a unified market economy with thousands of commercial household economic units, individual, private firms engaging in market based system while an “organized market” with the participation of mainly state economic sector that is gradually reduced in terms of number of units and their forms. There were before two markets, “organized market and free market” and two price systems, the price system of the state and free price system. In the context of two-face economy, a great part of the state capital and assets has been transformed into private properties in the name of state-owned enterprises (SOEs), cooperatives and state staffs. In rural areas, millions of individual and household economic units actively moved to commercial production, to market oriented mechanism, and involved fast in free market.

However, it can be seen that in the North, a market economy was not completely abolished, even in rural areas, when most of peasants became agricultural cooperative members they mainly lived with a market economy of so-called 5% land plot allocated to them. In the South, the market economy was present and it was a difficulty for the process of collectivization introduced in the agriculture after the unification. This means that when the state terminated the goal of imposing cooperatives peasants were liberalized to devote forces for the development of commercial agriculture. Therefore, material economy that is often divided into two: production sector (material) and non-production transforming into an economy of more economic sectors rather than split into a production (material) and non-production, and was not blocked in industry and agriculture but expanded in a multi-sector, including also trade and services. What is special is that not only trade and services but also agriculture has been commercialized and servicized; trade has been also commercialized in the sense that they are operating in a market based mechanism, rather than in a manner of giving, in-kind, barter exchanging.

### *5. The matching of Doi Moi course and ‘village-commune market economy’*

This section tries to clarify an important idea, i.e. the “gradual, step-by-step” matching of the Doi Moi course in the thought and policies to “village-commune market economy” of million working people in urban and rural areas of Vietnam that provided factors for success in the transition of economic model of the country.

In 1975, Vietnam was entirely unified politically and started commonly implementation of national ownership economic model with two main economic sector system-state and collective-in the whole country. But, after several years this model revealed failures impeding production and created difficulties in the people life in both North and South of Vietnam, though the two parts of the country had different starting points. State management agencies like the Ministry of Finance, State Price Commission, The Commission of State Planning, the Ministry of Domestic Trade, the Ministry of Agriculture and two ministries of Heavy and Light Industries undertook the a bureaucratic, subsidies, administrative, command economic management mechanism but did jobs of “village-commune market economy” with the most remarkable sign “very busy with working out detailed exchange rates of agricultural products for industrial goods, materials as inputs. For example, in 1986 (Nguyen Thi Hien 2008, 274) 1 kg of fertilizer for 1.3 kg of paddy, 1 liter of gasoline for 4 kg of paddy.

By the beginning of 1987 at the second Conference of the Central Commission of CPV (Section VI) Vietnam officially dropped a barter exchange system between the state and peasants and thank to this change the peasants escaped from the mechanism of material regime economy to move to a commercial system. However, one can see that in the Northern rural area, even at the time of basically completion of the collectivization regime in agricultural sector the market economy of village-commune type was not completely abolished. By the end of 1960 about 85.8% of peasant households with 68.1% of farm land become the members of 40,422 agricultural cooperatives. By 1986, there were 16,743 cooperatives, 40,228 agricultural production groups, 964 unions of production groups

and 2,300 production teams nationwide; They attracted 94.18% of peasant households and 80.84 % cultivated land area. (National Centre of Social sciences and Humanities 1995, 121)

But even when the majority of peasants involved as cooperative members they still lived with free market stemmed from plots of 5% of land area retained after they contributed land and production tools to the cooperatives. By the end of 1960s, the GSO provided the information of up to 70% of peasant households' income from 5% land plots and the rest of 30% came from 95% of land areas they contributed to their cooperatives (Tran Phuong 2009, 15). Because the land use efficiency of cooperative land was of 2 tons a hectare/crop while that of 5% land was 5 times more. "At that time 5% land of peasants was the main income source for their subsistence and 95% land of the cooperatives gained very low yield was very common" (Thai Duy 2008, 293). The period where the collectivization reached the peak of scope was also the time peasants relied mostly on family economy (National Centre of Social sciences and Humanities 1995, 124): Some authors estimated the collective economy contributed less than one third of peasant household income in 1976-1980. Among a number of reasons of ineffectiveness of agricultural cooperatives a remarkable one was the poor management qualifications of leaders and managers.

In the urban area, partly because of the lack of disciplines and the habits of stallholders enterprise managers and employees worked officially by provisions of the state and informally went beyond those provisions to meet state, collective and their private needs. Urban households, including servant ones, were very active in production like raising pigs, chickens, growing vegetables to improve their day-by-day meals. All state employees, urban and rural citizen could be involved in the 'village-commune market' to make benefits from price difference of subsidized goods at the free market price. The differences between these two prices were very big at times and place. For example, 'it would be ten-time like it was in February of 1988. At that time the subsidized price of rice sold by coupon was VND 50-55 a kilogram while the free market price was 450 dong a kg of similar quality rice-state trade rice"<sup>106</sup>, the price of "newly harvested rice"- newly made and sold by private traders was VND 500/kg, 600/kg of the best quality rice". (Nguyen Thi Hien 2008, 267)

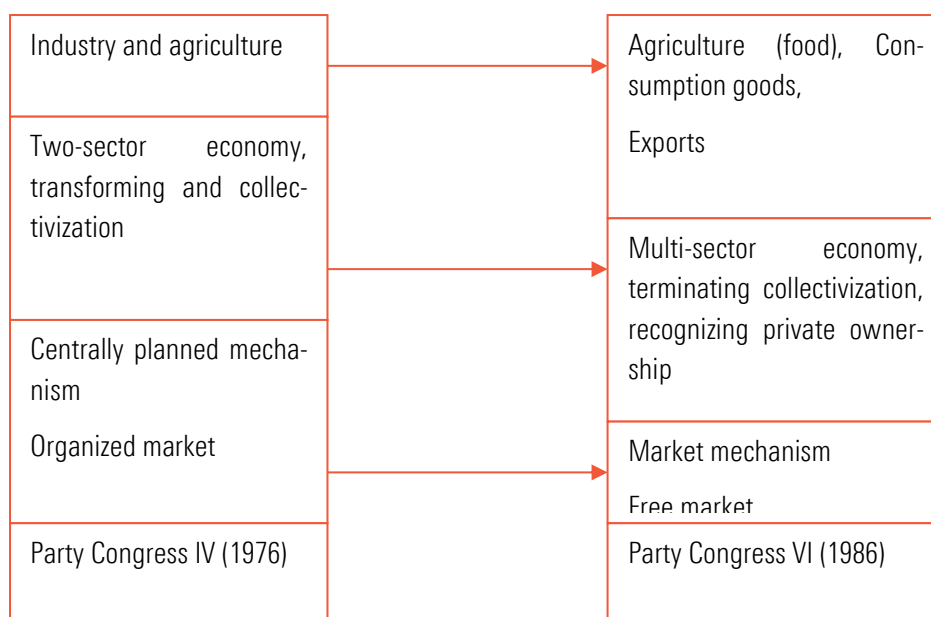
In the South, there was a market economy and therefore it was very difficult to impose transformation and collectivization in agriculture. A material economy that is often divided into two sectors: (material) production and non-production, moved to a multi-sector economy without the division into two sectors-production and non-production, neither limited in industries and agriculture but expanded to multi-sectors in industry, agriculture, trade and services. A special point is that there were not only trade and services in a market economy but trade was also commercialized in the sense it runs by a market mechanism rather than buying and selling by in-kind giving and taking as it was before. So, in urban area the more efforts made in transforming state-owned trade and industry and managing them the mechanism of centrally planned and bureaucratic, subsidized the more stagnant production situation became the more passive state employments and workers to obey the command of the economic plans and at the same time tried to seek for policy and mechanism gaps for rent seeking, for example from buying state-subsidized cheap goods. Even the state-run trade system could not keep itself as exchange, sale-purchase nature: "The whole state-run trade system of hundreds people became warehouse keepers, guarders with the main job of getting goods in and out by commands; nothing of trading and exchanging commodities."(Tran Phuong, 2009, 15)

In rural area, the situation was similar though in a little different form: the more collectivized agricultural activities the more it nullified the motivation of production of cooperative members and made the motivation of small hold-

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<sup>106</sup> State Trade (Mau Dich) represented a system of trading established by the state that had abnormal monopoly in purchasing agricultural products and reselling them at subsidized prices to state employees and cadres. In 1980 -1985 the system of State trade purchased about 40% of total produced pork in the whole economy. To Nguyen Thi Hien "Abolishing subsidy system through price-break through in economic reform". Dao Xuan Sam, Vu Quoc Tuan. *Doi Moi in Vietnam: Memories and thought*. Tri Thuc Publisher. Hanoi. 2008. Pg 267)

ers more dynamic and stronger to exploit the potential of 5% land plot retained to member households. Therefore in both urban and rural areas the situation became more common: “the more pushing measures to socialism the more negative reaction it faced from the practical life” (Tran Phuong, 2009, 15). Before the Doi Moi, both old economic model and economic management mechanism were conflict to economic motivation and behavior of the people. When those economic model and management mechanism were maintained but lacked resources from their aids from countries belonging to socialist block this conflict became obvious in the sense that policies became more rigid and could not be adopted in the life while the people had to be proactive in involving in the village-commune market economy to survive. In that circumstance renovating the economy in the direction of a market one became appropriate not to make the conflict as anti analogy, and to free production force of village market economy type of the whole society to ensure social stability and economic growth. The diagram below describes some features of two economic models, the economy dominated the period before 1975 and the other model was created after 1986.



*Diagram: Transforming economic model of 1976 into a model of 1986*

The assessment of the time before 1986, The resolution of Congress VI (1986) indicated weaknesses of the economy before the Doi Moi, such as the growth of agriculture for the period of 1978-1980 was only 1.9%/year; thank to the contract system introduced during 1981-1985 the growth rate in agriculture moved up to 4.9% a year. Food production for the period of 1976-1980 was only 13.4 million ton a year, and for 1981-1985 it reached 17 million ton a year.

*Table 1. Some economic indicators of the time before the Doi Moi (1976-1985)*

	Growth rate of agriculture (%/year)	Food production (million ton /year)	Growth rate of industry (% /year)
1976-1980	1.9*	13.4	0.6
1981-1985	4.9	17	9.5**

Note: \* 1978-1980; \*\* Year 1979-1985.

Source: CPV, The Document of Party Congress VI, Publisher Truth, Hanoi Pg 13, 14.

## *6. Doi Moi: economic renovation course and policies*

Some Vietnamese theoretical economists argue that there are three wrong perceptions about the time before Doi Moi (1975-1986): First, the perception that that period was of crisis of shortage, missing opportunities, darkness as the “Eve of Doi Moi”, but in fact, this time was also of mistakes, failure and success of initiatives in economic, production and business management (Viet Phuong 2008, 19). Second, by 1986 with Congress VI the Vietnamese Communist Party had a comprehensive economic renovation policy. In fact, Congress VI continued renovation course laid down by previous congresses IV and V, rather initiated any entirely new economic policy course. Third, Doi Moi in Vietnam was initiated by several individuals who were authors. In fact, Doi Moi was the product of the people under the leadership of the party and management of the state where every person, social group, made contribution in different ways.

A mistake by some national and international experts in their discussions about Doi Moi course in Vietnam was that the Doi Moi of Vietnam was started in 1986 by the bottom-up initiative in the form of trial-error. Regarding this a Vietnamese economist stated clearly as follows: “In fact, it was started ten year before the sixth CPV Conference in 1986, from 1976-1986 period, consisting of two basically different time frames of 1976-1979 with old economic mechanism and policies and big mistakes that led to stuck and crisis. From 1979 to seek for way out there was an exploiting process of a number of burning breaks-through for renovation under the leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam” (Dao Xuan Sam 2008, 23).

In 1981, it was the first time Order 100 by the Central Commission of the Communist Party of Vietnam Secretary made on product contract to household in agricultural production and Decree 25-CP of the Government on three-type (A, B and C) plan system in industrial sector: plan A was that imposed by the state, plan B was a production made by an enterprise by using inputs supplied by the state and Plan C was the production an enterprise was to implement itself by looking for inputs and market. But, the two-price system continued to work in the national economy with the dominating ‘asking-giving’ mechanism.

Economic renovation policies of Vietnam was defined by Congress VI as the start of the Doi Moi of the communist party in the way of economic thought, style of economic management, economic management organization and staffs in all fields but first of all, in economic field. In practice, renovation efforts were made in all four sectors (agriculture, industrial, trading and non-state services, external relations with countries of socialist block and others economies, transforming SOEs to work by self-business accounting regime. Following this direction of economic renovation Doi Moi in other fields including education, health, culture and sports by the modal of ‘socialization’, ‘State and people do together’.

The expansion of non-state economic sector with the civil relationship taking responsibility of the life, self-management to replace the state subsidies represented a great step forward. This helped create ability to realize policies of socialization, co-pay, the state and people do together, helpful to suddenly abolishing a long-lasting subsidy regime in 1989. Moreover, it was also comfortable to release hundreds thousand of workers from state economic sector in 1989-1990. That is why, most of working people with their family economy, could sustain when they left the state and collective sectors. The policy of socialization and co-pay saved non-economic fields especially education and health where degradation was very common due to reduced limited state subsidies” (Dao Xuan Sam 2008, 50).

Discussions about issues like transforming, cooperativization, private economy, free market, product contract, household contract, business accounting at grassroots, economic management decentralization and planning, price mechanism, salary and money, etc. all were going around the pillar of theory of socialist economy. The question then is would the development of a multi-sector economy undermines the people’s ownership and would the expanding of free market damage directive plans, that is would they make two advantages of the socialist economy? There was a very conservative argument that “participating in a market economy defeats the ideology of



socialism, restoring exploiting classes" (Dao Xuan Sam 2008, 45). In 1990, thank to economic achievements worries and conservative arguments reduced and new disputes temporarily came down but in 1999 some scientists still argued that there were exploiting classes and social strata trying to fight against socialism (Dao Xuan Sam 2008, 60-61). However, these conservative points of view were not accepted, the document of Party congress IX (2001) stated the relationship between economic sectors and classes and strata was cooperation and fight among the people, under the leadership of the party to achieve the common goal: the national independence in the close relation to the socialism, prosperous people, strong nation, equal, democrat, civilized society. This point of view was continued to be confirmed by Congress X (2006) and Congress XI (2011).

### *7. Strategies of the socio-economic development*

Though "sustainable" was not mentioned 1991 strategy clearly stated the development position of sustainable development "economic and social development in the way of consolidating national independence and building up the socialism in our country is a process of realizing the idea of prosperous people, strong nation, moving to modern society, in a society where the people are the owners, of kindness, culture, discipline, abolishing exploitation, inequality, creating conditions for everybody to be prosperous, free and happy" (Strategy of socio-economic stabilization and development 1991, 8).

The development strategy of Vietnam in 2011 started using terminology of "sustainable development" meaning the combination of economic growth with social equity and environment protection. It linked sustainable development to fast development. The objective of 1991 strategy was "prosperous people, strong nation...the people as the owners". This objective was continued to confirm in the strategies of 2001 and added with "equity, democracy and civilization" and again it stated the goal of building the country of socialist Vietnam. In terms of economic growth, the Strategy of 1991 clearly stated the position "everybody is free to do business in accordance with the law, the legalized ownership and income are protected by the law". And the strategy of socio-economic stabilization and development stated clearly the position: "the economy is run by market mechanism under the management of the state". In 2001 this position was developed to "a market economy oriented to the socialism".

### *8. From "a person doing business" to "businessman"*

It is the first time the document of the Party Congress, namely the Strategy of 1991 officially appeared an actor of a market economy, a person who is doing business as an object of a great policy in section of state organization and cadres. The strategy of 1991 defined a management mechanism and a great policy "developing a team of people doing well business of different degrees including owners of household economy and managers of big-scale firms".

The strategy of 2001 defined a position of development of "encouraging people of business and every one to become rich for him- herself and for the country". After 20 years "a person doing business" became officially "businessman". The strategy of 2011 identified a direction of socio-economic development, renovating growth model, restructuring the economy: "Developing businessman in terms of both the number and management capacity, giving value to social responsibility and conduct; to improve legal framework to increase the linkage labor employers and employees".

### *9. Lessons in the employment of experts in policy making*

During and after the time point of Doi Moi (1986) Vietnam received both material and spirit support and knowledge and experience in economic management from other countries. Especially, the team of economic management cadres learnt much from socialist countries, especially from the former Soviet Union: Soviet experts shared their progressive ideas in market economic management and Vietnamese were ready to learn and master



quickly those knowledge and ideas that might not be listened by the soviet leaders<sup>107</sup>. A decisive factor theoretically is to trace back the study and employment of Leninist position in New Economic Policy with the idea of the development of market relations and private economy during the transition to socialism. Theoretical and practical studies and disputes of Vietnamese scientists during 1979-1990 were taking place before and after party's congresses. Initiatives, experiences and requirements of changes, reforms from the bottom in agriculture, rural areas, firms and urban areas.

The role of the party and state as the leaders in summing up experiences, making change in the way of thought and solving problems is one of decisive factors for success in policy and choice making. That is why, in 1989 when it was decided to liberalize prices and abolish the centrally planned mechanism the market one gained favorable legal environment and internal resources accumulated for years to operate in dynamic and efficient way. While at high leading level of the country, Congress VI (1986) laid down the task of drafting the manifest of construction of the country at the transition to the socialism and the strategy of socio-economic stabilization and development to the year 2000. In 1991, these two documents were approved by Congress VII (1991). How were these two documents written?

Right after Congress VI, i.e. in 1986 the Polit-bureau created a sub-committee on the draft of the manifest and another sub-committee on the work of the strategy. The latter sent this task to 6 independent organizations and agencies as follows (Tran Duc Nguyen 2008, 89-90):

(1) The Institute of long-term Planning and Production Force Allocation under the State Committee of Planning; (2) Central Economic Committee of the party; (3) The Center of Scientific; (4) Higher Party School named after Nguyen Ai Quoc; (5) National Economic University Hanoi; (6) Economic University of Ho Chi Minh city.

Draft teams were to study practices in Vietnam and international experiences via study tours in four main countries including Thailand, Indonesia, Taiwan and Korea. They discussed, worked out and agreed upon study methodologies that focused on changes in the thought in policy making that to build up the socialism did not necessary to go in different way of what the capitalism did but to find right things relevant to the needs and aspirations of the people and conditions of the country and tendency of the era.

Another lesson is to use advisors (Tran Duc Nguyen 2008, 114-121): in 1993, PM Vo Van Kiet formulated a team of advisors on economic and administrative reforms with the name of Reform Advisory Team (RAT)<sup>108</sup>. The task of the RAT is to assist the PM in making economic and administrative reform policies. In RAT changed its name to Research Team in Socio- Economic and Administrative Renovation (RTSER) with shortened name as Team of Renovation Research (TRR), consisting of 21 members. In 1998 it was improved to Research Commission of the PM (PM RC) consisting of about ten members and more than 20 experts as consultants invited to join the Commission. It was dissolved in 2006. The main feature of the PM RC was to conduct studies and propose ideas in independent way as most of its members did not hold leading and management positions in the state agencies that they did not care about keeping their positions and they could concentrate time and energy in the task. The PM RC made contributions to the construction of socio-economic development strategy, policies for the periods of 1991-2000 and 2001-2010, five-year socio-economic development plans and political documents of party's congresses in economic and administrative reforms, participated in drafting Investment Law, Enterprise Law (Pham Chi Lan 2008, 194-195).

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<sup>107</sup> Le Ngoc Hung, the author of this paper used to being an interpreter of one of these long-term training courses (one year) held at Moscow Management Institute in 1986-1987.

<sup>108</sup> Decision 494/TTg 5 October 1993.

## *10. The development of entrepreneurship*

Vietnam gained entire freedom, nation unification in 30 April 1975. In September of 1975 the 24<sup>th</sup> Central Conference (Section III) issued the resolution on keeping a multi-sector economy in the South for a certain time parallel to a solely-sector system of public ownership in two forms of the state and collective in the North. Thus, the concept of a multi-sector economy was used ten years before the start of Doi Moi in 1986. However, in the South, socialist reforming was insisted by jointly public and private partnership where and socialist economic sector, especially socialist nationalized economic sector should be strongly developed and put into practice its “leading role” in the multi-sector economy.

The term of “private economy” was officially used in Party’s documents of the 6th Central Conference (section VI, March 1989). The Law of Private Enterprise (1990) and The Company Law of 1990, Strategy of 1991-2000, The Constitution of 1992 recognize the rights of doing business of citizens in accordance with the law. The Enterprise Law (EL) of 1999, the 5<sup>th</sup> Central Conference (Section IX, 2002) decided that party members engaged in private business should be mirrors in the complying legislation and policies. Documents of the Party and economic policies all encouraged the development of a multi-sector economy. This open economic policy has made contribution to promote the entrepreneurship nationwide in the direction that both SOEs and non-state enterprises increased in the number. As a result, more employment was created for people. A clear role of economic institution Doi Moi in freeing business resources can be seen in a following example. After 3 year implementation (2000-2002) of the EL of 1999 the total number of newly registered enterprises reached 55,793, much higher than the number of 45,000 accumulated of 9 years of 1991-1999.

At the time of feudalism in Vietnam, trading people including traders, businessmen were looked down and ranked as the lowest group of 4-strata of the society of ‘sỹ nông công thương’ (state officials/leaders, peasants, industrial workers, artisans and traders). Even at the time of the construction of socialism, i.e. before 1986, traders were also seen as ‘non-socialist’ that they needed to be treated under ‘socialist transform’. Economic institutions were further reformed and enterprises regardless forms of ownership are to work under a general law, the EL of 2005. As a result, in 2006 there were 2176 SOEs and 250,000 private enterprises and 5,900 enterprises of foreign investments (FDIs), about 3 million of business individual, households, about 15,000 cooperatives, 13,730 farms and 12 million farm households engaged in commercial farming (Vu Quoc Tuan 2008, 129-130).

## *11. Lessons learnt from the development of entrepreneurship*

Along with lessons drawn from on-time assuage of policies and especially enterprise laws and orienting social opinions to support the development of enterprises is a lesson in the implementation of enterprise law. In this aspect, it is important to note activities of the EL Task Team that is of 18 members (Pham Chi Lan 2008, 201). The Team has made valuable contribution to free firms from ‘small’ licenses that created many difficulties, disturbances and affected negatively firms. Thank to efforts made by the ET Task Team the PM decided to abolish 64 small licenses in February 2000 and further abolished 27 small licenses and transform other 34 into kinds of business conditions in August 2000.

## *12. Opening the economy*

An important feature of socio-economic renovation in Vietnam is to open the economy up to the region and world and international integration. This provides an objective need requiring the national economy to join the world one. Vietnam had paid special attention to expanding international economic relationship before the collapse of the socialist block (1989-1991). Along with economic relationship developed with economies of Block I (socialist countries), Vietnam has developed trading relations with countries of block II such as Japan, Hong Kong, Singapore, Australia and many others. In 1977 Vietnam became a member of the United Nations and quickly expanded relationship with its organizations like UNDP, FAO, UNCPAD, UNESCO, UNICEF and UNIDO. In 1987, Vietnam first time promulgated the Law on Foreign Investments (Nguyen Van Nam 2008, 225-226) and, as a result, in 1988 it

attracted 37 FDI projects with total capital registered of USD 341.7 million. Therefore, when the resources balanced by important and exports from the former Soviet Union decreased suddenly Vietnam economy could rely on resources balanced from other sources to overcome crisis and stabilize its economy. Figures in below table indicate export value of Vietnam to countries of Blocks I including socialist countries with the former Soviet Union ranked as the first, decreased dramatically from USD 439 million in 1986 to USD 80 million in 1991 while export value to countries of block II increased greatly from USD 384 million to 1,890 million for the same period. At the same time import values from block I decreased while it increased strongly from block II.

*Table 2. Changes in import and export values to blocks I and II in 1986 and 1991*

Indicators	1986	1991
Total export values	882.9	1,970
To Block I (mainly the Soviet Union)	438.9	80
To Block II	384.0	1,890
Total import values	2,155.1	2,239
From block I	1,659.4	290
From Block II	495.7	1,949

Source: *The situation of Vietnam's economy 1986-1991*. Tri Thuc Publisher. Hanoi. 1992. Pg. 50. Pg.279. Nguyen Thi Hien. Abolishing subsidies-A decisive step of Doi Moi in economy, International.

Right after the reduction of balanced resources from countries of Block I, and mainly from the former Soviet Union, according to General Statistic Office (GSO) (Pham Minh Chinh & Vuong Quan Hoang 2009, 111): in 1992 Vietnam attracted 196 FDI projects with total FDI of USD 2,208 million and by 2008 Vietnam had 1,059 projects with total FDI of USD 61,100 million.

With the policy of "more friends and fewer enemies" in 1988 and until now Vietnam wants to be a friend of many countries, to promote cooperation for the piece and development Vietnam succeeded in restoring the relationship with IMF and the World Bank in 1993, joined ASEAN in 1995 and realized CEPT/AFTA in 1996. That is why (Nguyen Van Nam 2008, 231), total import and export value of Vietnam with ASEAN member countries increased from USD 3.3 billion in 1995 up to USD 15 billion in 2005. Vietnam-USA Bilateral Trade Agreement (BTA) was signed in 2000 and it became effective in 2001, as a result, after a year effective, Vietnam export to the USA doubled, from USD 1 billion in 2001 to about USD 2.4 billion in 2002. After 11-year negotiation (1995-2006), Vietnam officially became the 150th member of WTO in 2007. This means that Vietnam committed to the development of a full market based economy and starts its international integration officially and on equal base.

### *13. Lessons learnt from the opening the economy*

Before and today the opening up the economy, development of trade relationship and international economic integration have been facing difficulties and challenges of questions relating to the development route of the country. How the international economic integration relates to the route of "nation independence and socialism"? Will the international economic integration create new opportunities to realize the goal of "prosperous people, powerful nation"? What should be done with international economic organizations and financial institutions which are becoming global economic ones? The results of recent international economic integration indicate a lesson of "the more proactive to be in international integration the more sustainable development of the country will be. And, on the contrary, protected and closed-in-itself sector and industry they will be left behind, less developed and unable to compete and the danger of losing will be greater" (Nguyen Van Nam 2008, 248).

#### *14. Lessons learnt from the socio-economic renovation*

According to analysis tool of SWOT, an expert who has been involved directly in the efforts of renovation of trade sector assessed the strength and weakness, challenges and opportunities of the Doi Moi as follows: "during the first years of the Doi Moi, in the context of the pressure of long socio-economic crisis and the legacy of long-lasting war and economical block and embargo and mistakes of old economic mechanism, the most important motivation of economic renovation was to rescue ourselves, the biggest opportunity of the renovation was no other choice and the most favorable condition was the consensus within the leading apparatus and society. The biggest obstacle was the ability to find on our own a new development way for the country; the biggest difficulty was how to design an appropriate mechanism of socio-economic mechanism for the country. And then, the force of the impetus, the agreement and decisive, political will helped us to grasp opportunities, overcome difficulties, challenges to gain great results in changing out thought, renovating economic mechanism, create new, very fundamental changes in the economic system, opening an entirely new stage for our nation development" (Pham Chi Lan 2008, 216).

#### *15. Lessons learnt of projection of direction and further policy renovation*

The lesson learnt about recent socio-economic renovation shows the role of starting point of policies: renovation of policies. Therefore economic growth and sustainable development of Vietnam in the coming time will also start from policies. "The solution of further policy renovation should start from development policies. New policies appropriate to the practice will be feasible themselves, efficient to make changes of old organization and modal of leadership and management and work out new ones" (Dao Xuan Sam 2008, 86). However, some experts argue that the assuagement of new policies with renovation contents, including socio-economic development strategies of 1991 and 2010 is not sufficient because it needs the organization of implementation, monitoring and evaluation in scientific way policy process to ensure the effectiveness, efficiency and equity the real life. In practice, policy makers do not respect these three Es. As a result, "these development strategies are those of the Communist Party of Vietnam and State that they cannot attract the interest and concern of the people, firms to see as theirs, for them. This is the weakness of the process on development and direction of strategies, limiting the usage and outcomes of strategies" (Tran Duc Nguyen 2008, 121).

Several authors suggested positions that the economic renovation in Vietnam represented an 'step back of the history', as a temporary departure of management measures and socialist transformation and from the goal of the socialism" (Tran Phuong 2009, 16). That is why this position suggests "Doi Moi' in Vietnam is a way out of an economic crisis but not the solution to fundamental socio-economic problems, that is, not the solution for the problem of sustainable development in Vietnam in the future

#### *16. The tendency of changing the growth model*

Several authors argue that the success of Vietnam's Doi Moi reflected in the economic growth rates and poverty reduction were attributed by effective mobilization of internal resources including putting in the play initial advantages of low cost labor and FDIs (Tran Tho Dat 2012, 130). The most important factor was liberalized working force and put in practice! By nature, it was nothing than the habit of doing business in the village-commune market manner that had been accumulated and reflected in working for marginal products from 5% land plots and "fence breaking" and three component planning in urban area and "illegal contracting" system in rural area right before the start of Doi Moi in 1986. De Vylder and Fforde discovered this point when they emphasized that the process of renovation in Vietnam was gradually emerging via actions of "breaking fence", overcoming challenges to production, trading and business activities in both urban and rural areas, in all industries, agriculture, handicrafts and trading of Vietnam (De Vylder 1988). At the same time, policy makers gradually recognized and analyzed good and bad initiatives from theirs themselves in order to officially started Doi Moi course of economic

growth and development made in 1986. The learning process, gradual error trial (Van Arkadie 2003, 71) for renovation was taking place at both macro and micro levels and in all socio-economic sectors. Therefore, even with the decisive agreement it still took almost a half a decade for Vietnam to work out its socioeconomic development strategy in 1991.

The first feature is material fund and low skill labor-based growth. Many scholars agreed that (Tran Tho Dat 2012, 120) that Vietnam's growth model at the stage of Doi Moi was based on the value-added of 'input' factors of physical resources including natural ones and labor of low professional levels, that is extensive growth. Capital investments doubled labor, so it was not intensive growth model basing mostly on human resources, sciences and technologies, in other words, 'invisible capital' or 'non-material capital' (The World Bank 2011). A study (Dang Thi Loan 2006, 88) indicates: the contribution of the productivity of total factor productivity (TFP) to annual GDP growth increased from 15% in 1992-1997 to 22.5% in 2001-2005. But, the contribution of capital and labor factors still accounted for 77.5% of which capital accounted for 57.5% and labor 20%. At the same time, the contribution by TFP included all intellectual, science, technologies to GDP growth of Thailand is 35%, Philippines 41% and Indonesia 43%. Another study reveals (The Economic Commission of The National Assembly-Macro-economic policy advisory team 2012, 241): the contribution by TFP decreased strongly in the period of 2005-2009 the growth of Vietnam's GDP was totally dependent on the contribution by production inputs and labor (See diagram below).

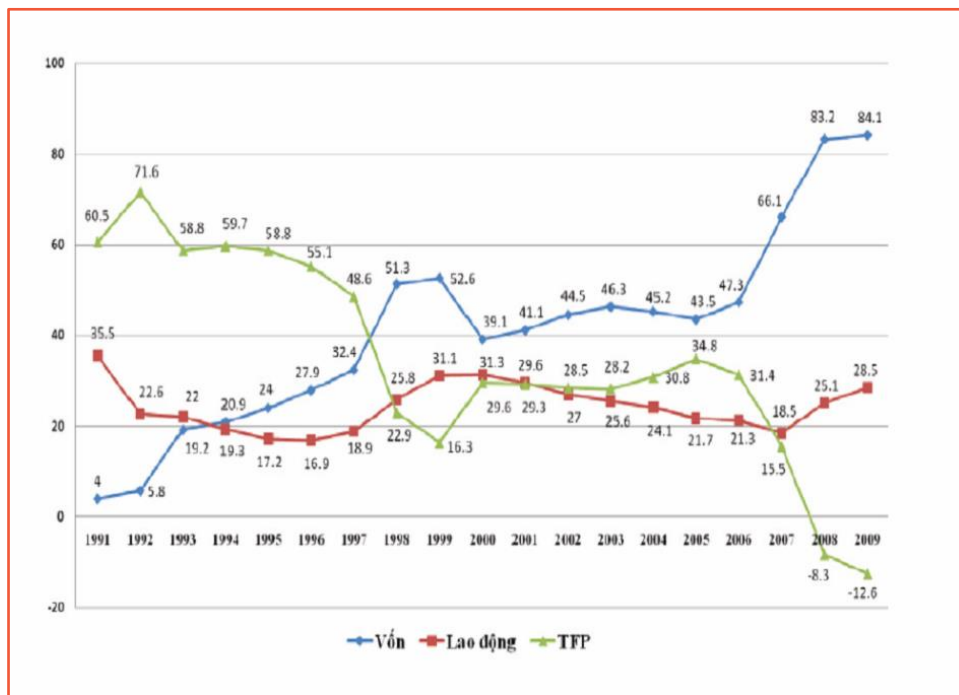


Diagram (The Economic Commission of The National Assembly-Macro-economic policy advisory team 2012, 241). The contribution made by capital, labor and TFP (total factor productivity) to economic growth, %, 1991-2009

The second feature was the slow speed of economic restructuring. Regarding

restructuring economic sectors: The rate of contribution to GDP by agriculture, forestry and fishery decreased from 38.1% in 1986 down to 20.6% in 2010, while the portion of industries increased from 28.9% to 41.1% and that of services increased from 33% up to 38.3% for the same period.

Regarding restructuring forms of economic sectors: In 1986, the composition of economic sectors in GDP was made up by two main sectors: state sector was of 39.7% and non-state sector was of 60.3%. By 1989 the state sector contributed 33.4%, and non-state sector contributed 64.5% and FDIs contributed 2.1%. In 2010, the composition of the economy started to move stronger with the portion of FDI sector up to 18.7%, non-state sector to 47.5% and the state sector was unchanged of 33.7% (See Annex ).

The third feature was slow speed of modernization of the economy. During ten years (2001-2010) the growth model of Vietnam was characterized by increased investments and the portion of non-agricultural sectors but decreased the economic performance in terms of GDP growth rate, employment and exports.

The fourth feature was low economic efficiency, with high inflation, import deficit and increased public debt.

*Table 3. Several indicators of economic growth rate of Vietnam, 2001-2010*

	2001-2005	2006-2010	Changes
GDP growth rate	7.5	7.0	-0.5
Increase rates of labor, employment in the national economic sectors	2.9	2.8	-0.1
Per capital GDP growth rate	6.3	5.9	-0.4
Rates of increase in exports	17.5	17.3	-0.2
Rates of increase in investments	17.8	19.3	1.5
Portions of non-agricultural in GDP	75.5	79.4	4.0

Source: Ngo Doan Vinh. "Several issues of renovating the modal of economic growth in our country" in Vu Van Phuc. *Renovating the modal of economic growth, restructuring the economy*. Publisher of National Politics. Hanoi. 2012. Pg. 38.

Recent economic growth of Vietnam relied mainly on extensive factors such as capital investment and labor rather on intensive ones like science and technology (Danh Son 1999, 118-119). In 1985-1995, Vietnam's exports were mainly food, rice, raw materials, accounting for about 70%, and about 30% of processed products and rest of about 2% of equipment, machines and chemicals (Danh Son 1999, 165). Even when the portion of non-agricultural sectors increased, that is increased the level of industrialization, but the increase speed was slow resulting in poor economic performance, Vietnam's labor productivity was rather low even it increased as compared to that of other countries.

*Table 4. Several indicators of economic growth quality*

Indicators		2001	2005	2010
Social labor productivity, at current price	USD/ laborer	857	1313	2196
Social labor productivity, at 1994 price	Mil. VND a laborer	7.3	9.2	11.2
GDP/1 invested VND, at 1994 price	Times	2.4	1.8	1.4
KWh/1 GDP unit	KWh/USD	0.86	0.98	0.86
GDP/person, at current price	USD	402	642	1224

Source: Ngo Doan Vinh. "Several issues of renovating the modal of economic growth in our country" in Vu Van Phuc. *Renovating the modal of economic growth, restructuring the economy*. Publisher of National Politics. Hanoi. 2012. Pg. 40.

With this situation of economic growth rate of Vietnam recently the 6<sup>th</sup> Conference of CPV laid down the course: "Transforming economic growth model from extensive to intensive with expanding the scope and focus on improving the quality, effectiveness and sustainability" (CPV. Documentation of the XI Conference 2011, 191). A basic and important modal of transforming that was started by the Government was "restructuring the economy", restructure or reform of the economy of the economic structure. Several researchers have mentioned about 20 reform areas including "reforming investment structure", "reforming political system", "reforming creation system", reforming educational and training system", "reforming natural system", and 'reforming the system of resi-



dence" (Ngo Doan Vinh 2012, 26-35). Some researchers determine two main topics of the reform of the structure of national economy, "state" and "enterprises" (Ngo Doan Vinh 2012, 35), that is to follow top-down approach, a sort of politic study and economic study without the bottom-up one and sociological approach.

A strategic issue is that Vietnam is still poor, whether it makes investments in education and training fields and in economic growth? A neutral choice is to do both. But, in practice it would not be feasible and effective. A survey mentioned above is presented clearly in the list of 14 sectors/fields of growth priority in 2011-2020 made by some strategy and development designers in Vietnam but none of them mentioned about "producing human" or "re-producing society" closely linking to education and training or to human resource development. It is not clear what kinds of human resources would be for the realization of those strategies of 14 economic prioritized sectors/fields?

Other experts emphasized the obvious tendency of restructure the composition of inputs that is resources for economic growth and sustainable development. This is to move from the input composition of mainly physical capital and low cost labor to non-physical resources like technologies, scientific advancements and high qualified human resources. Possibly a correct approach here is "fast development of human resources of high qualification linking to the development and adoption of scientific advancements and technologies is considered as the key for the process of restructuring the model of economic growth in Vietnam in the coming time" (Tran Tho Dat 2012, 131-132). Other authors also emphasize that the starting point of restructuring the economy, changing growth model is the restructure of the human resources and educating human resources (Vu Van Ha 2012, 294), specifically, training cadres, leaders, servants and policy makers, scientists, technicians, managers, businessmen, engineers, etc. In short and more precisely, this is to expand university and pos-graduate education to increase the rate of young people of 19 to 14 year old to tertiary education. While at the same time, "institutional capital". At the same time, "institutional capital" namely comprehensive, modern market economic institution is considered as an important precondition for economic restructure and changing the model of economic growth and development (The Communist Party of Vietnam. 2011, 107-109). Unlike Vietnamese authors international experts when discussing about economic renovation and growth always set aside an adequate part for the concern about humane resource and social development. For example, a book of 5 chapters about the transition of Vietnam spends one chapter to discuss income and poverty reduction (Van Arkadie 2003. Reports of Harvard university scholars about two growth models of Eastern Asia and South-eastern Asia for Vietnam choice for the future focuses on the analysis of six development pillars among them the first one is "education" and the sixth is 'social equality'".

## *17. Conclusion*

The collapse of the (former) Soviet Union at late 1991 was partly caused by the failure of economic reform. This paper emphasizes that economic collapse of the former Soviet Union was subject to a number of reasons but namely the deviation, conflict between, on the one hand, big-bang, top-down privatization policies and marketization and, on the other hand, the then commonly centrally, bureaucratic, subsidized economic behavior, that is non-market economic behavior. Vietnam drew at least one fundamental and important lesson not to use shock-therapy economic reform but a gradual, a sort of "learning by doing", from change in the way of thought to changes in policies, measures and the way of doing; at the same time it tried to draw experience and lessons from what had been done accepting initiative such as "fence breaking", "hurdling" or "saving oneself" of individual actors in both urban and rural areas that were characterized by traditional, village-commune market economic behavior. It can be said that Vietnam's Economic renovation has put in effect the behavior of village-commune economic market pattern in the renovating the state, collective, private and foreign economic sectors. This way of renovation has been helping Vietnam improve people lives, gradually overcome economic crisis and sustain the economic growth.



Vietnam's recent economic growth model is basically that of extensive economic growth using financial capital, physical resources and low-cost labor. Sustainable development in the context of international integration and globalization requires Vietnam to shift to an intensive development pattern using non-physical resources, high-quality human resources and advancements of science and technologies. Accordingly, Vietnam needs to continue the renovation of its traditional (village-based agriculture) market economic behavior for advanced (industrial) market economic one. For that Vietnam needs to make more investments in education-training sector, poverty reduction to ensure social equality and human development.

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## Final remarks

### Vier Bedingungen erfolgreicher Transformation (Prof. Dr. Michael Brie)

Hinter uns liegen zwei Tage einer intensiven und fruchtbaren Diskussion. Ich möchte mich für die Möglichkeit, an dieser Konferenz teilzunehmen, vor allem bei der University of Social Sciences and Humanities und dem Büro der Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in Hanoi bedanken. Nicht zuletzt gilt mein Dank Dr. Jörg Wischermann und Nadja Charaby.

Die übergreifende Frage dieser Konferenz war es, Bedingungen einer erfolgreichen Transformation zu diskutieren und die Frage der Zivilgesellschaft in diesen Transformationsprozessen. Ich möchte in meinen Schlussbemerkungen vor allem auf die erstere Frage eingehen: Warum gelang es Parteien und politischen Kräfte, in den hier analysierten Fällen Vietnam, Kuba, Algerien und Mozambique ihre Führungsrolle zu behaupten in einer Situation, in der in Europa die staatssozialistischen Gesellschaften zusammenbrachen und die kommunistischen Staatsparteien ihre Macht verloren?

Ich sehe dafür vier entscheidende Gründe, die ich kurz ausführen möchte. Zusammen bilden sie ein Quadrat des Erfolges. Zugleich sind alle vier Gründe nicht für immer gegeben. Jeder Erfolg, das wissen wir, bildet die Grundlage neuer Herausforderungen.

Der erste Grund einer erfolgreichen Sicherung der politischen Führung war die Tatsache, dass die politischen Parteien, die Vietnam, Kuba, Algerien und Mozambique führen, über eine historische nationale Legitimation verfügen. Sie haben ihre Länder erfolgreich in die Unabhängigkeit geführt und diese Unabhängigkeit über Jahrzehnte verteidigt. Dagegen wurden die Kommunistischen Parteien Ostmitteleuropas teilweise eher als Statthalter der Sowjetunion angesehen denn als Sachwalter der Interessen ihrer Völker. In den Vielvölkerstaaten der Sowjetunion und Jugoslawiens spalteten sich die nationalen Parteien ab und trugen zur Auflösung dieser Staaten aktiv bei und führten die Teilrepubliken in die nationale Unabhängigkeit.

Eine zweite Bedingung des Erfolgs der Parteien in Vietnam, Kuba, Algerien und Mozambique war die Fähigkeit zur Anpassung der Wirtschaftspolitik. Alle Länder mussten eine sehr schwierige Phase der ökonomischen Veränderung durchlaufen, die gerade heute eine neue Phase erreicht hat. In manchen Ländern war diese Veränderung mit umfassenden marktorientierten Reformen verbunden wie in Vietnam, während in Kuba zunächst eine Doppelstruktur von legaler Staatswirtschaft und privatem Schwarzmarkt entstand. Klar aber ist: ohne die Erschließung neuer wirtschaftlicher Ressourcen und der Freisetzung ökonomischer Dynamik können sich politische Systeme auf die Dauer nur schwer oder nicht behaupten. Und jeder erzielte Stand erweckt neue Erwartungen, vor allem auch die Hoffnung, dass an dem ökonomischen Aufstieg möglichst alle teilhaben können. Gerade für linke Parteien ist es eine Herausforderung, wirtschaftliche Entwicklung und soziale Gerechtigkeit überzeugend zu verbinden.

Es gibt eine dritte, wichtiger werdende Bedingung politischer Stabilität – demokratische und soziale Verantwortlichkeit und die Entwicklung einer lebendigen Zivilgesellschaft. Einerseits fordert eine solche Zivilgesellschaft in allen Ländern Parteien heraus und stellt deren Alleinherrschaft auch in Frage. Andererseits werden auch Kräfte freigesetzt, die für die Erfüllung wichtiger sozialer, ökologischer, humanitärer und auch politischer Aufgaben gebraucht werden. Besonders weit ist die Entwicklung der Zivilgesellschaft in Mozambique fortgeschritten, aber sie ist dort vor allem von ausländischen Geldern abhängig.

Wichtiger als die Zivilgesellschaft kann aber zum jetzigen Zeitpunkt eine andere Bedingung von Stabilität sein: der Rechtsstaat. Alle Transformationen stellen früher oder später die Frage, ob Macht vor allem durch führende Akteure gesichert wird oder ob vertrauenswürdige Institutionen eine zunehmende Rolle spielen sollen. Im internati-

onalen Vergleich, so viele Transformationsstudien, waren jene Länder auch unter schwierigsten Bedingungen relativ stabil, wo mögliche politische Krisen nicht zur Krise der wichtigsten Institutionen führen. Dazu aber bedarf es eines Vertrauens in diese Institutionen. Dieses Vertrauen ist vor allem durch Willkür, Korruption und Nepotismus bedroht. Um so mehr die Transformation voranschreitet, um so mehr droht die Gefahr, dass mit dem neuen Reichtum Korruption die Institutionen untergräbt und um so wichtiger wird die Stärkung der Institutionen. Die Durchsetzung von Gesetzen und Regeln auf der Basis des Rechtsstaats, die Möglichkeit, unabhängige Gerichte anzurufen und unparteiische Entscheidungen zu erzielen und durchzusetzen, wird zu der vielleicht entscheidenden Bedingung weiterer Erfolge. Parteien werden zunehmend bereit sein müssen, ihre Aufgaben nicht direkt, sondern mittels solcher Institutionen zu realisieren. Ihre führende Rolle wird sich ändern. Zugleich werden sie damit selbst viel weniger angreifbar.

Es gibt eine vierte Bedingung des Erfolgs: die Sicherung einer günstigen internationalen Umwelt; die Neutralisierung von Feinden, die Gewinnung von Verbündeten, die Sicherung der Nichteinmischung in die inneren Angelegenheiten. Internationale Isolation, Bedrohung durch einen von außen geförderten Bürgerkrieg, die Verhinderung des Zugangs zu wichtigen Ressourcen von Handel, ökonomischer Integration und Finanzen können außerordentlich gefährlich sein. Während Mozambique und Algerien den Bürgerkrieg zu beenden vermochten, Vietnam erfolgreich die Vereinigung von Nord und Süd gestaltet hat, ist Kuba immer noch vom Embargo der USA und einer direkten Bedrohung seiner wirtschaftlichen wie politischen Ordnung bedroht.

Lassen sie mich zusammenfassen: Transformation verlangt, den Tiger ständiger Erneuerung und Umgestaltung zu reiten, will man nicht von diesem gefressen werden. Es gibt keine dauerhafte Sicherheit. Nur der, der sich verändert, kann Erfolg haben. Aber jede Veränderung ist zugleich eine erst noch zu meisternde Herausforderung.

Ich wünsche vor allem den Vietnamesischen, aber auch den Gästen aus den anderen Ländern persönlich alles Gute und eine glückliche Zukunft ihrer Völker und Staaten. Dies ist ein ganz wichtiger Beitrag zum Weltfrieden und zur Stabilität der Völkergemeinschaft. Die Überwindung von Unterentwicklung und Armut ist eine der wichtigsten Aufgaben des 21. Jahrhunderts.

Lassen Sie mich mit einer eher philosophischen Überlegung abschließen: Langfristig ist die Entwicklung von Gesellschaften von zwei Bedingungen abhängig: erstens von einem wachsenden Maß individueller und gesellschaftlicher Freiheit und zweitens von wirkungsvollen Institutionen, die diese Freiheit der einzelnen, von wirtschaftlichen, sozialen, politischen und kulturellen Kräften in die solidarische Entwicklung aller verwandelt. Gleichheit ohne Freiheit ist Unterdrückung. Freiheit ohne Gleichheit ist Ausbeutung. Es kommt auf Verhältnisse und Institutionen an, die Freiheit und Gleichheit solidarisch vermitteln.

### Cooptation

„Cooptation is the process of absorbing new elements into the leadership or policy-determining structure of an organization as a means of averting threats to its stability or existence. (...) Cooptation may be formal or informal, depending on the specific problem to be solved. (...) When there is a need for the organization to publicly absorb new elements, we shall speak of formal cooptation. This involves the establishment of openly avowed and formally ordered relationships.“ (Selznick 1949, 13). Formal cooptation takes place when the legitimacy of the authorities is in danger: „Every group or organization which attempts to exercise control must also attempt to win the consent of the governed. Coercion may be used utilized at strategic points, but it is not effective as an enduring instrument. One means of winning consent is to coopt into leadership or organisation elements which in some way reflect the sentiment or possess the confidence of the relevant public or mass and which will lend respectability or legitimacy to the organs of control and thus re-establish the stability of formal authority.“ (Selznick 1949, 13) Formal cooptation does not imply any „transfer of actual power. The forms of participation are emphasized but action is channelled so as to fulfil the administrative functions while preserving the locus of significant decision in the hands of the initiating group.“ (Selznick 1949, 149) Informal cooptation „(...) is not primarily a matter of the sense of legitimacy or of a general and diffuse lack of confidence. Legitimacy and confidence may be well established with relation to the general public, yet organized forces which are able to threaten the formal authority may effectively shape its structure and policy. The organization faced with its institutional environment, or the leadership faced with its ranks, must take into account these outside elements. They might be brought into the leadership or policy-determining structure, may be given a place as recognition of and concession to the resources they can independently command. The representation of interests through administrative constituencies is a typical example of this process. Or, within an organization, individuals upon whom the group is dependent for funds or other resources may insist upon and receive a share in the determination of policy. This type of cooptation is typically expressed in informal terms, for the problem is not one of responding to a state of imbalance with respect to the 'people as a whole', but rather one of meeting the pressure of specific individuals or interest groups which are in a position to enforce demands. The latter are interested in the substance of power and not necessarily in its forms. Moreover, an open acknowledgement or capitulation to specific interests may itself undermine the sense of legitimacy of the formal authority within the community. Consequently, there is a positive pressure to refrain from explicit recognition of the relationship established.“ (Selznick 1949, 15) “The real point is the sharing of the public symbols or administrative burdens of authority, and consequently public responsibility, without the transfer of substantive power; it therefore becomes necessary to insure that the coopted elements do not get out of hand, do not take advantage of their formal position to encroach upon the actual arena of decision-making. Consequently, formal cooptation requires informal control over the coopted elements lest the unity of command and decision be imperiled. This paradox is one of the sources of persistent tension between theory and practice in organizational behaviour.“ (Selznick 1949, 261) “Cooptation reflects a state of tension between formal authority and social power. This authority is always embodied in a particular structure and leadership, but social power itself has to do with subjective and objective factors which control the loyalties and potential manipulability of the community.“ (Selznick 1949, 15)

In rather similar way Merkel et al (2011) have defined cooptation. They refer to for example Bertochi/Spagat (2001) and define cooptation as „Prozess, durch den die politische Führung ein regimestützendes Bündnis bildet und dessen dauerhafte Loyalität, Kooperation und Unterstützung sicherstellt. Dadurch erschließen sich Ressourcen, mit denen Bedrohungen gegenüber Führungen neutralisiert und transformiert werden können.“ (Merkel et al 2011, 14) An important mechanism for the working of cooptation is utilitarianism: „Sowohl formale als auch informale Kooperationsstrategien zielen durch Anreizsysteme auf die Anbindung strategischer Eliten ab. Strategische

Eliten rekrutieren sich dabei zumeist aus der Wirtschaft, dem Sicherheitsapparat oder dem Militär. Dabei soll das Kosten-Nutzen-Kalkül dieser Akteure in einer Weise verändert werden, dass sie aufgrund von Rationalitätsüberlegungen das Regime weiter stützen. Der Nutzen, der für die strategischen Eliten aus dem Gewähren von politischen Ämtern oder wirtschaftlichen Privilegien gestiftet wird, übersteigt mögliche Kosten. Es entsteht ein rationales Motiv, innerhalb der autokratischen Ordnung zu agieren. Die Interaktion zwischen politischen und strategischen Eliten wird so institutionalisiert.“ (Merkel et al 2011, 15)

### **Framing approaches**

Approaching question like *“How did the political leadership, leading personal from various Civic Organizations and scholars ‘frame’ the collapse of the Soviet Union”* from a “framing perspective” implies first of all that those issues are contested and that various actors add specific meanings to the respective issue at stake. The verb framing is used to conceptualize processes of signification. The latter means that various actors “assign meaning to and interpret relevant events and conditions in ways that are intended to mobilize potential adherents and constituents, to garner support, and to demobilize antagonists.” (Snow 2008, 284) The framing perspective focuses attention on the signifying work or meaning construction engaged in various sets of actors. “The framing perspective is rooted in the symbolic interactionist and constructionist principle that meanings do not automatically or naturally attach themselves to objects, events or experiences we encounter, but often arise, instead, through interactively based interpretative processes.” (Snow 2008, 384) The resultant products of this framing activity are frames that “focus attention by punctuating or specifying what in our sensual field is relevant, and is irrelevant, what is ‘in frame’ and ‘out of the frame’, in relation to the object of orientation. But frames also function (...) as articulation mechanisms in the sense of tying together the various punctuated elements of the scene so that one set of meanings rather than another is conveyed (...). Additionally, frames may also perform a transformative function in the sense of altering the meaning of the objects of attention and their relationship to the actor(s) (...).” (Snow 2008, 384) From such discussions of and debates about contested issues and events emerge or evolve discursive fields. Such “discursive fields are conceptualized broadly as the ‘discursive terrain (s) in which meaning contests occur’” (Snow 2008, 402). Those encompass not only cultural materials (e.g. beliefs, values, ideologies, myths and narratives (...)) of potential relevance, but also various sets of actors whose interests are aligned, albeit differentially, with the contested issues or events and who thus have a stake in what is one or not done about those issues and events. Those various sets of actors include (for example, JW) in addition to social movements one or more counter movements, the targets of actions or change, the media and the larger public (...).” (Snow 2008, 402)

### **Harders’ analytic framework**

Harders’ basic assumption is that any potential crisis and any process of thorough economic, political, social and socio-cultural change is the result of economic and other structural problems which endanger the regime’s legitimacy. The state’s failure in terms of for example delivering adequate social welfare services and/or letting people have their say in formulation, decision and implementation of policies that directly affect their lives may lead to public anger, demonstrations and the like. As a result of such a dynamic the question might be raised whether the whole economic and political system might have to be changed – as it happened during the “Arab Spring”. However, mobilization can only develop if and when actors perceive and understand such causes, their potential effects and if and when they understand the relationship between those factors. Decisive is the combination of the objective situation and the subjective perception of being treated in an unjust manner, being excluded, thus being deprived, etc. At the same time an alternative (in terms of ideas concerning for example a political system that provides people more say as regards decision-making and guarantees them a just, fair and equal treatment) must be available (Harders 2011, 16).

As structures she defines mainly the economic situation, which includes the appropriation and distribution of spoils and rents, but also the international context. Furthermore, the regime type, level of repression, political

exclusion, etc. might be understood as “political opportunity structures” which impact mobilization, strategies, structure and effect of social movements and other actors.<sup>109</sup>

As regards the level of actors’ we can differentiate between “looking up”, i.e. focussing on the elite’s level (regime’s elites and their internal opponents), and “looking down”, i.e. watching closely the events at “street level”. A combination of both would be highly desirable.

However, since we have already received some insight into the elite’s action as regards preserving their position, defusing internal rivalries and the like by means of engaging in party politics of various sorts and kinds; by making use of various institutions (like parliaments, elections, etc.) (by means of answers given to Question 2), at that point of the conference and in this section of their analyses it might be advisable for the scholars to focus more strongly on “looking down” and focussing on events taking place at “street level”. Doing this it might be advisable to make use of a continuum based on Harder’s (2011) “continuum of participation”, which is basically a continuum of protest.

She argues that as regards participation in an authoritarian regime open protest is not the only, and, from a historic perspective, not even the form of political action most frequently used. Participation in such regimes very often includes forms of voluntary or involuntary complicity with repressive or corrupt practices, she states (18). To include the whole spectre of potential forms of participation she situates participation on a continuum of an increasing public, collective action and articulation of demands. Thus, she tends to focus on the development of protest and resistance and tends to underestimate if not neglect form of participation which “follow the rules” (and do want to change them, at least not radically). Nevertheless Harder’s continuum seem not be useful, since it offers the opportunity to portray in great detail the spectrum of potential changes pursued by a whole variety of actors. Or the absence of such action, which might explain a whole variety of outcomes.

Harder’s (2011) “continuum of participation” encompasses a spectrum of activities and starts with Scott’s ‘infra-politics’ ; ‘weapons of the weak’ (Scott)<sup>110</sup> which includes ‘politics as if’ (Wedeen), informal networks, ‘quiet encroachment’(Bayat) , ‘politique par le bas’(Bayart)<sup>111</sup> and the effects of what Bayat calls Nonmovements<sup>112</sup> . It is

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<sup>109</sup> “Political Opportunity Structures” approach has as its basic premise “that exogenous factors enhance or inhibit prospects for mobilization, for particular sorts of claims to be advanced rather than others, for particular strategies of influence to be exercised, and for movements to affect mainstream institutional politics and policy” (Meyer/ Minkhoff 2004, 1457f.). For an overview on early conceptualizations of this approach, see for example McAdam (1996). For a more present reading of this approach, see for example Kriesi (2008). Kriesi rightly points out that the “political process approach” (a different name for the “Political Opportunity Structures” approach, generally speaking) is of particular interest for the integration of fields that have been leading separate academic lives. This is illustrated by “the recent joint effort by McAdam et al (2001) who elaborated the general framework of this approach to apply it to such diverse phenomena as revolution, democratization, nationalisms, or social movements. I believe that the approach is especially well suited for the integration of the study of social movements and public policy analysis.” (Kriesi 2008, 85) In the just mentioned book McAdam/Tarrow/Tilly reformulate various concepts of social movement theories and suggest a “Dynamic Mobilization Model”. This “puts each of the constituent parts of the classical agenda – opportunity, mobilizing structures, framing, and repertoires – into motion.” (McAdam/Tarrow/Tilly 2001, 43)

<sup>110</sup> James Scott defines ‘infra-politics’ as any individual practices that resist elite’s domination on a material or symbolic level, by adopting low profile and using its weaknesses strategically. Scott (1990) notes: “For a social science attuned to the relatively open politics of liberal democracies, and to loud, headline-grabbing protests, demonstrations, and rebellions, the circumspect struggle waged daily by subordinate groups is, like infrared rays, beyond the visible end of the spectrum. That it should be invisible, as we have seen, is in large part by design – a tactical choice born of a prudent awareness of the balance of power” (Scott 1990, 183). The most difficult aspect of this broad definition of the political, is that it requires interpretation to make it visible because it is often an un-written, hidden, anonymous and popular mode of participation.

<sup>111</sup> For an excellent and highly instructive summary of what Bayat means not only by “quiet encroachment”, but also by “social nonmovements”, here I cite the “International Civil Society Consortium for Public Deliberation’s” view: “When authoritarian regimes restrict access to ordinary forms of political participation, citizens in those regimes are often forced to improvise new forms of participation and occupy alternative spaces in order to do so. Iranian scholar Asef Bayat (2010) refers to such



followed by 'exit options', which are followed by individual participation including protests and the refusal to vote as far as classical institutional forms of participation in political parties, trade unions, women's and human rights' groups. At the end of the spectre Harder's locates protest in social movements and mass mobilizations. Protest she defines (following Rucht's seminal definition) protest as „any form of collective public action which articulates critique or resistance and is related to the formulation of a societal or political request“.

Here analysts should ask whether one or more of such forms of participation (protest) are discernible and which the respective effects of which kind of action might be.<sup>113</sup>

Finally Harders suggests analyzing what she calls the "situational dynamics". She differentiates between temporal and spatial dimensions of such dynamics. In terms of the temporal dynamics the kind of and extent of repression, how and when and against whom repression is applied, is decisive. Situational dynamics develop in short, middle and long term. Here we have to differentiate between the relatively short period of mass mobilization and the long periods of preparation and the long periods of transformation. Examples of such periods can easily be found in the past and present of the upheavals and transformations in Egypt and Tunisia. Effects can be differentiated in the same way – short term, middle and long term. Last but not least Harders suggests making use of the knowledge available as regards the development of social movements and their systematic internal and external dilemmas.

### **Inclusive citizenship**

„Inclusive citizenship is usually discussed in terms of the main components of citizenship: membership and belonging; the rights and obligations that flow from that membership; and equality of status (...). These are important benchmarks for assessing whether policy is inclusionary or exclusionary in its impact.“ (Lister 2007, 4) Lister (2008, 5) nicely summarizes Kabeer's (2005) understanding of inclusive citizenship when she writes that "(j)ustice was articulated in terms of 'when it is fair for people to be treated the same and when it is fair that they

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actions as 'quiet encroachment', and argues that they typify the experiences of ordinary citizens across the Middle East. Quiet encroachment takes advantage of spaces that autocratic regimes cannot control or have not fully controlled. Within these spaces, citizens—often the poor and marginalized—establish a different public order that exists largely outside the state-dominated sphere of formal politics. The activities of quiet encroachment include the development of alternative transportation systems (92), spontaneous housing settlements (91), and citizen-organized credit associations (91). Because the activities of quiet encroachment are neither centrally organized nor state- or NGO-supported, Bayat refers to them as 'social nonmovements' (59). Nonmovements establish loose networks of familiarity and solidarity but they do not lead directly to an organized politics of protest or struggle. Instead they are the result of unorganized individual direct actions that aim at the 'redistribution of social goods' and the attainment of 'autonomy, both cultural and political, from the regulations, institutions, and discipline imposed by the state and modern institutions' (59). For Bayat, nonmovements result not only from state policies (or the lack thereof) but also from the failures of existing forms of social activism. Accepted civic organizations, such as NGOs, labor unions, and Islamist groups, address the concerns of underprivileged groups, but they 'fall short of activating and directing a great number of people in sustained mobilization for social development' (90). NGOs and other formal civic organizations, when they are acceptable to authoritarian states, are seen as unaccountable and inward-focused (89). They do not activate the "crucial element for democratic reform"—an 'active citizenry, a sustained presence of individuals, groups, and movements in every available social space' (249). As a result of the authoritarian and closed nature of most states in the Middle East (even after the Arab Spring of 2011), along with the inward-focused nature of existing civic organizations in the area, the best hope for democratic reform in Middle Eastern countries is not civic organizations or NGOs but the quiet encroachment of social nonmovements. Nonmovements by themselves are unlikely to become an effective force for change, however, unless 'they become mobilized on a collective basis, their struggles linked to broader social movements and civil society organizations' (65). Yet by creating a space for individual agency and initiative, and for loose networks of visibility and solidarity, social nonmovements can both promote active citizenship in the immediate domains of everyday life (249) and, under the right circumstances, support broad-scale efforts to reform the state." (International Civil Society Consortium for Public Deliberation's" 2011)

<sup>112</sup> For Bayat's understanding of Nonmovements, see footnote 3

<sup>113</sup> Protest is „jede kollektive, öffentliche Aktion, die Kritik oder Widerspruch zum Ausdruck bringt und mit der Formulierung eines gesellschaftlichen oder politischen Anliegens verbunden ist“ (Rucht 2001, 19).

should be treated differently' (Kabeer 2005, 3). Demands for recognition were framed in terms of 'the intrinsic worth of all human beings, but also recognition of and respect for their differences' (Kabeer 2005, 4). The value of self-determination described 'people's ability to exercise some degree of control over their lives' (Kabeer 2005, 5). Elsewhere, this value also emerges particularly strongly in disability theorists' accounts of citizenship, which detail the very specific barriers to self-determination and also participation faced by disabled people (...). Finally, the notion of solidarity vocalized a belief in 'the capacity to identify with others and to act in unity with them in their claims for justice and recognition' (Kabeer 2005, 7). This last value reflects a 'horizontal' view of citizenship, which accords as much significance to the relations between citizens as to the 'vertical' relationship between the state and the individual. (...) The values resonate with the principle of 'participatory parity' expounded by Nancy Fraser: the ability of "all (adult) members of society to interact with one another as peers" (Fraser 2003, 36). Fraser maintains that this requires a distribution of material resources 'such as to ensure...independence and 'voice'' and "institutionalized patterns of cultural value [which] express equal respect for all participants and ensure equal opportunity for achieving social esteem' (Fraser 2003, 36)."

### **Institutionalist understanding of Gender**

"Like any social institution gender exhibits both universal features and chronological and cross-cultural features that affect individual lives and social interactions in many ways. (...) I see gender as an institution that establishes patterns of expectations for individuals, orders the social processes of everyday life, is built into the major social organizations of society, and is also an entity in and of itself." (Lorber 1994, 1) In a social-constructionist way she defines gender as "a process of social construction, a system of social stratification, and an institution that structures every aspect of our lives because of its embeddedness in the family, the workplace, and the state, as well as in sexuality, language, and culture" (Lorber 1994, 5). More specifically, gender is "a process of creating distinguishable social statuses for the assignment of rights and responsibilities. As part of a stratification system that ranks these statuses unequally, gender is a major building block in the social structures built on these unequal statuses. As a process, gender creates the social differences that define 'woman' and 'men'. (...) In almost every encounter, human beings produce gender (...). As part of a stratification system, gender ranks men above women of the same race and class. Women and men could be different but equal. In practice, the process of creating difference depends to a great extent on differential evaluation. (...) In Western societies 'man' is A, 'woman' is not-A. (...) The further dichotomization by race and class constructs the gradations of a heterogeneous society's stratification scheme. (...) The dominant categories are the hegemonic ideals (...). The characteristics of these categories define the Other as that which lacks the valuable qualities the dominants exhibit. In a gender-stratified society, what men do is usually valued more highly than what women do because men do it, even when their activities are very similar or the same. (...) Societies vary in the extent of the inequality in social status of their women and men members, but where there is inequality, the status 'woman' (...) is held in lesser esteem than the status 'man'. Since gender is also inter-twined with society's other constructed statuses of differential evaluation (...) men and women members of the favored groups command more power, more prestige, and more property than the members of the disfavoured groups." (Lorber 1994, 32-34)

### **Intersectionality approach**

The intersectionality approach, founded by Kimberle Crenshaw in the late 80s, starts from the position that women are no homogeneous group. It intends to explore the interaction and interdependence of what she calls axes of discrimination. In her view such axes of discrimination do not simply just add up. In other words: In this approach collinearity is explored and the use of regression analysis is suggested for analyzing phenomena of women's and others discrimination. The concept is multi-dimensional, it mirrors pluralities (of women's and men experiences in lifeworld and elsewhere) and helps to delineate a multifaceted picture of women and discrimination: "I argue that Black women are sometimes excluded from feminist theory and anti-racist policy discourse because both are

predicated on a discrete set of experiences that often does not accurately reflect the interaction of race and gender (...) Yet often black women experience double-discrimination (...) And sometimes, they experience discrimination as Black women – not the sum of race and sex discrimination” (Crenshaw 1998, 315, 322).

### **Role of institutions in authoritarian regimes**

There is a lot of research which analyzed as to how elections, parliaments, and parties help to mediate and defuse social cleavages in authoritarian regimes. In a seminal study Gandhi/Przeworski (2007) analyze various strategies to neutralize intra –elite tensions and opposition that comes from regime-outsiders. Basically authoritarian regimes can make use of two instruments: “policy concessions and distribution of spoils” (Gandhi/Przeworski 2007, 1282). Both can be distributed either directly or via institutions like parliaments and parties: “We believe that although spoils can be distributed directly out of the autocrats’ pocket, working out policy concessions requires an institutional setting: some forum to which access can be controlled, where demands can be revealed without appearing as acts of resistance, where compromises can be hammered out without undue public scrutiny, and where the resulting agreements can be dressed in a legalistic form and publicized as such. Legislatures are ideally suited for these purposes.” (Gandhi/Przeworski 2007, 1282) In their view regimes that are “institutionalized optimally” are capable of diffusing tensions best. Brownlee (2007) argues that parties are good instruments to defuse intra-elite conflicts. This happens since “social cleavages are mediated by the institutional context of ruling parties, through which differently positioned self-interested elites debate and compete. Parties do not merely transmit societal concerns: They create an arena in which those perspectives are renegotiated and reconciled” (Brownlee 2007, 203). Thus, “some institutions matter more than others. By managing elite conflict, ruling parties shape the interface of other institutions, such as elections, with society. Elections alone do not capsize regimes; rather discord among regime elites capsizes elections.” (Brownlee 2007, 203)

Most analyses concur in the point that parties are extremely important to the survival of authoritarian regime – “notwithstanding how much power they really have” (Etzrow/Frantz 2011, 1) In a similar way Schedler argues that elections are important to help to secure authoritarian regimes’ survival, because elections might be used to co-opt people, to deliver information to rulers as to how and to which extent local rulers are loyal and competent, etc. (Schedler 2006). It is in this context that Schedler coined the term “electoral authoritarianism”. Levitzky/Way (2006) introduced the term “competitive authoritarianism”. According to them “competitive authoritarianism regimes are civilian regimes in which formal democratic institutions exist and are widely viewed as the primary means of gaining power, but in which incumbents’ abuse of the state places them at a significant advantage vis-à-vis their opponents. Such regimes are competitive, in that opposition parties use democratic institutions to contest seriously for power, but they are not democratic, as the playing field is highly skewed in favor of incumbents. Competition is thus real but unfair.” (2). Finally it might be useful to mention that the term and theory of persistence (Pettit 2000; 2007) can be used to explain stability of authoritarian rule (see for example Ganghof 2010).

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