
UNIT 26 DYNAMICS OF STATE AND CIVIL SOCIETY IN EAST AND SOUTHEAST ASIA

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26.1 OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson, you will be in a position to :

- grasp the role of the state and civil society in East and Southeast Asia;
- know how the state is protecting the law in the region and know how the state solves or promotes ethnic and other societal conflicts and
- understand the state's role in the material well-being of the people in East and South-east Asia.

26.2 INTRODUCTION

The states of East and Southeast Asia taken together constitute what is called 'Pacific Asia' by western scholars. Geographic, cultural and political diversity is the overriding reality of the area, but the accompanying reality is one of interaction and mutual influence making a regional construct increasingly relevant and useful. One common feature of this area is that all of them have been influenced by Chinese civilization and culture in some way or the other. Their histories have, of course, been very varied and diverse. Of these countries Japan and Thailand never became colonies of any western power whereas other countries had either become full-fledged colonies or semi-colonies like China, which were economically exploited so much by colonial powers that their political sovereignty became a mere facade. After World War II, as

the process of decolonization began each of these countries took to different paths of development and built political structures which their new leadership thought best suited them. Half a century later, we find some kind of a convergence in terms of the development strategies of these countries. The two emerging issues common to all of them and which have acquired great significance in the last few years are centred on democracy and free market economy.

According to some scholars, these two are related and one will almost always lead to the other. We shall not go into the validity of this point now, but it must be borne in mind that state-civil society relationship is by and large determined by these two factors—democracy and free market economy—in the countries of East and Southeast Asia. The relationship of the state and civil society encompasses a vast area as even the most liberal of states interacts with society in a variety of ways.

For our purposes we shall take up the aspects mentioned below for studying the state civil society dynamics and of course, with reference to East and Southeast Asia. The aspects relate to the role of the state as:

- 1) Protector of laws and human rights
- 2) Solver of societal conflicts
- 3) Benefactor of the people

26.3 PROTECTOR OF LAWS AND HUMAN RIGHTS

The first and foremost duty of the state is to protect the lives of its citizens. For this laws are passed and implemented by the state. Similarly, it is also for the state to protect and uphold human rights. However, it has often been seen that the state itself becomes a violator of human rights. To restrict the state from becoming so, the United Nations had made the Universal Declaration of Human Rights on December 10, 1948 and all the member-states of the UN are signatories to it. Nonetheless, human rights violation also takes place in many of the signatory countries.

26.3.1 Law and Order and Human Rights : The Case of China

Among the East and Southeast Asian countries, both law and order and human rights have been important issues. Let us take the case of China first. Soon after the Communist take-over of a lawless, chaotic and disturbed society in 1949, a semblance of order was visible. Gradually the internal policing system was extended and strengthened. The Bureau of Public Security as it came to be known, became a very important instrument of the state to maintain law and order and for disciplining dissidents. As far as preventing acts of crime like murder, theft, rape, arson and assault are concerned, China's record is fairly good. More so when one compares China with its pre-liberation days and with several other countries, both in the developed world as well as the less developed.

The Chinese state, one can say with certainty, has succeeded in giving to its citizens a sense of peace and security in their social lives. For political activists who do not subscribe to the government or party's policies, it is altogether a different story. They are kept under constant surveillance by the Bureau of Public Security and at the smallest pretext arrested and/or imprisoned without a fair trial. It is on account of acts like these that the Chinese state has often been accused of violating human rights.

Several international human rights organizations like Amnesty International and Asia Watch have found evidences of gross human rights violation in China, as suggested by their periodic reports. This certainly affects China's image at the international arena and hurts it economically also, in view of its massive modernization programme. It is believed that one of the chief reasons for the International Olympic Committee's decision in 1993 to deny Beijing the honour to host the 2000 Olympics, was China's human rights record.

26.3.2 Chinese View of Human Rights

The Chinese state, however, looks at the issue of human rights from a totally different angle. After the Tiananmen Square tragedy (1989) when condemnation of China's human rights violation had almost reached a peak, the Chinese government came out with a White Paper titled 'Human Rights in China'. This was in 1991. This document clearly shows that China has its own interpretation of human rights.

It has rejected the notion that there is a universal standard for human rights. The document mentions that human rights "circumscribed by the historical, social, economic and cultural conditions of various nations" and "a country's human rights situation cannot be assessed in disregard of its history nor should it be judged according to a preconceived model of another nation."

The Chinese, however, admit that while safeguarding and developing human rights, China has suffered setbacks and there is still room for much improvement. We can, therefore, say with a great degree of certainty that the Chinese state in its relationship with civil society has succeeded in maintaining order but has not been able to guarantee human rights to the extent desired.

26.3.3 Law and Order and Human Rights in Japan

Next, let us take the case of Japan. The Japanese state is called a liberal democratic state and unlike such states in North America and Western Europe, has an alarmingly low crime rate. Japanese society is one of the most orderly societies of the world. Post World War II Japan has emerged as a disciplined, stable and orderly society and that has gone a long way in making Japan prosper economically. The policing system in Japan is of a high quality. This is evident from the fact that police-public relations are characterised by harmony and co-operation. The policeman, as a representative of the state in maintaining law and order, has a high esteem in the minds of the public. People go to police stations fearlessly to complain and in an overwhelming number of cases are satisfied with the action taken by the police. This is in contrast to many Asian countries particularly the one's that were colonized. The police in post-colonial societies are yet to shed their colonial hangovers of being partisan, corrupt and harassing the innocent.

26.3.4 National Police Agency

The National Police Agency sets standards for all policemen concerning appropriate behaviour, salary range, force size, and organizational structure. It also supervises the training of the police. The Japanese have a separate cadre of policemen to handle large demonstrations and other mass activities. This is the riot police which has developed elaborate tactical plans with shields, helmets, masks as well as electronic equipment. The riot police receives more specialized training and more than half of its strength is based in Tokyo, which is the centre of government and the venue for most of the demonstrations and protests. Despite its special powers, the riot police too maintains a good reputation.

Japan's human rights record in the post-war period remains satisfactory. The Japanese Ministry of Justice has a Human Rights Bureau where people can complain about police excesses without fear of retaliation.

26.3.5 Human Rights Scenario in other Countries of East and Southeast Asia

In the other nations of East and Southeast Asia where human rights have been an issue, one does feel the stirrings of democratic transformation. In fact, democracy was not the highest priority for many of these developing Asia-Pacific nations in the early postwar period. The main concern was with economic and political stability backed by a sufficient base of power and authority. Leaders were more important than legislative bodies which did not necessarily reflect truly representative government. They ruled by promoting social stability and steady economic growth, even if their government was not called democratic or sensitive to human rights. By 1980s a resurgence of

democratic impulses and widespread demands for the protection of human rights revealed that authoritarian control could no longer be rationalized merely on the basis of economic growth and stability.

26.3.6 Philippines and Human Rights

Philippines under Marcos is a good example of a state where democracy and human rights became very significant issues within a short period of time. Marcos came to power in a climate of pressure and gave the appearance of being a "saviour of the people." However, he believed in constitutional authoritarianism. He declared martial law in September 1972 on the pretext that he was protecting the Republic and democracy. He moved rapidly to curb all forms of dissent and opposition. Thousands of persons were arrested, habeas corpus was suspended, the media was drastically curtailed, the courts weakened substantially and the army strengthened. In other words, whereas law and order was not disrupted, human rights were curbed. It took several years to remove Marcos from power and a more democratic government to take over which restored human rights.

26.3.7 Human Rights in Indonesia and Thailand

Similarly in Indonesia as well as Thailand, the state has suspended human rights whenever the regime's authority has been challenged. In Indonesia the former paramount leader Sukarno practised 'Guided Democracy' where he disenfranchised most ethnic minorities as well as the intellectual community. He considered himself to be a great unifier and a democrat, though he stressed that he rejected the western style and liberal democracy. For some time political power in Indonesia rested in a competitive alliance between the Army, President Sukarno and the loyal support of the Indonesian Communists (PKI). This oddly constructed political tripod continued till 1965 when the PKI and the army clashed after six senior generals were assassinated by middle-rank officers who claimed Sukarno's support. The army set out to destroy the PKI forever.

In late October 1965 massacres began in central Java, East Java, and then Bali. Killings also took place in North Sumatra. Ethnic Chinese were massacred in West Borneo. Amid these horrors carried out mainly by youth bands supported by the army, on March 11, 1966 Sukarno transferred authority to General Suharto who remains in power to date. No effort has been made to punish the guilty in the mass-killings.

26.3.8 President Suharto's Rule

Under President Suharto freedom of expression and association have often been violated. For example, in 1991, in anticipation of parliamentary elections the following year, new groups began to organize themselves in support of democratic processes. One of the most prominent which called itself the Democracy Forum, troubled the Suharto government. It refused permission to the members of the Forum to leave the country, closed their newspaper and arrested and jailed its editor for publishing the results of a popular survey. Such actions show that the present Indonesian government is no great upholder of human rights; nonetheless time and again new and independent voices are being heard in the Indonesian parliament.

In Thailand too the dominant role of the military is an obstruction to democracy movements, and human rights are not always protected. However, in Southeast Asia the two states which have a really appalling record of human rights violation are Cambodia and Burma (Myanmar).

26.3.9 Human Rights in Cambodia

In Cambodia, the Khmer Rouge came to power in 1975 and Pol Pot became the Prime Minister. The period during which the Khmer Rouge were in power, from April 1975 to January 1979, was marked by one of the most savage experiments in social engineering the modern world has ever witnessed. From the very beginning the Khmer Rouge used terror against their perceived enemies. Personnel of the former

Lon Nol regime, members of the old bourgeoisie, and western-educated intellectuals were slaughtered by the thousands. Wives and children too were executed to prevent them from being future opponents. Intellectuals were systematically killed. All religious activity was ruthlessly suppressed and ethnic minorities such as the Chinese, the Vietnamese and the Cham, a muslim people, suffered numerous mass executions. Ordinary Cambodians too were not spared for minor offences. Conservative estimates put the number of these killed by the Khmer government to one million out of a population of six million. It was only after the invasion by Vietnam that the Khmer Rouge was toppled and a new government under Heng Samrin took power on January 7, 1979.

26.3.10 Human Rights in Burma

In Burma, an outbreak of popular protest in 1988 got General Ne Win to retire officially but he remained in charge behind the scenes. During the 1988 demonstrations many unarmed, anti-government protestors were slaughtered. A year of confrontation followed between civilians and the army in which many more were killed. In retaliation, the authorities used a technique similar to that of the Cambodian Khmer Rouge: they depopulated and razed to the ground one entire neighbourhood of Rangoon, known to have supported democracy. In 1990 the government ordered elections; as a showpiece though. To their shock, a broad coalition of opposition got elected to lay the ground work of a popular government, but the rulers did not permit even the assembly to meet. Mostly, all leaders of the opposition were jailed, the most prominent among them being Aung San suu Kyi. Today, the state of Burma stands out in Asia as the greatest violator of human rights.

26.3.11 Human Rights in South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, Vietnam and Malaysia

South Korea, Taiwan and Singapore too do not have a very sound record of human rights, but because of their economic strength and social order they have had no major upheavals. Vietnam, on the other hand, has been encouraging openness in all respect even though it has a one-party Communist rule. Reform in the economy was accompanied by greater tolerance and pluralism in the arts, media and religion. Malaysia's record in human rights is also not too bad. Despite being a multi-ethnic society with built-in tensions, Malaysia has not witnessed any gross human rights violations by the government, although riots have occurred there, and in 1987, the government did close three local daily newspapers on grounds of maintenance of public order.

In all these states, we note that in the name of law and order and the maintenance of peace and stability, human rights have been suspended and sometimes violated by the state.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your answer with that given at the end of the unit.

1) Briefly discuss China's human rights record.

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- 2) What has been the situation with regard to human rights in Japan?

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26.4 SOLVER OF SOCIETAL CONFLICTS

Many of the countries of Southeast Asia are multi-ethnic and multi-racial and all of them have, at some time or the other been through ethnic conflicts of a very violent kind. The state has also frequently not played a neutral role and has supported one ethnic group against another. A strong and democratic state is however expected to play the role of arbiter, trouble-shooter and judge to resolve inter-ethnic conflicts so that there is a healthy state-civil society relationship.

26.4.1 The Situation in China and Japan

In East Asia, China and Japan have different dimensions of the problems. Whereas Japan has a very small ethnic minority group called the Inos, China's minorities number more than 72 million (6% of the population) and live along the borders and occupy more than sixty per cent of their territory. The Inos in Japan have attempted to politicize their ethnic problem and demanded protection of rights but so far no flare-ups between the two communities have occurred.

26.4.2 Minority and Ethnic Question in China

In China, Tibet has been the biggest problem for the government. Other ethnic groups like Turks in Sinkiang. Muslims in Ninghsia and other provinces are reported to have protested whenever they have felt repressed. The Mongolians who live in Inner Mongolia are the most content, and compared to others, well assimilated into Chinese society. The Chinese state proclaims that it opposes Great Han Chauvinism (94% of China's population are called Hans) and protects the interests of the national minorities, as they are officially called.

In practice the Chinese state follows a policy which threatens the identity of the ethnic minorities. Assimilation rather than integration has been hall-mark of Chinese government's policies towards the minorities. Politically, minority nationalities live in autonomous regions and countries and minority elites are encouraged to be in administration, but they are generally the co-opted elite and dissentors are persecuted. Certain concessions have been made for minorities no doubt and these are condoned by all.

For instance, at the primary school level children can opt to study in their native language, although at higher levels everyone must learn Mandarin Chinese. The one-child family norm, compulsory for the urban Chinese is relaxed for the minorities and so forth. These concessions have not eased the tension, as riots between them and non-Hans do flare up fairly frequently, and most repressive means are taken to quell them. The People's Liberation Army (PLA) is deployed not only to curb violence but to be a deterrent against any open protest. In the name of maintaining peace and upholding law and order, the Chinese authorities have curbed the freedom of ethnic groups and so instead of resolving the conflicts, have only aggravated them. The state

has acted as the state of the Han Chinese and not a neutral state above ethnic divisions. The minorities, therefore, see the Chinese state as a state of the Hans. Communist ideology notwithstanding, the Chinese ethnic divisions do not appear to be close to being resolved. On the contrary, the state has not succeeded in being a resolver of ethnic problems and rising above ethnic considerations.

26.4.3 Malaysia and the Problem of Ethnicity

Among Southeast Asian countries, Malaysia has had the most serious ethnic problem, so much so that the term "communal politics" has a special meaning in that country. The Malays constitute slightly less than half the population, while the second largest group, the ethnic Chinese comprise 35 per cent and dominate the nations commercial and professional spheres. The Malays are Sunni Muslims whereas the Chinese and the Indians follow their own religious traditions. Occupation, race and religion are thus all closely related in Malaysia.

As a group, the Chinese are much better-off than the Malays. This diversity and the pressures it places on the Malay population lie at the centre of Malaysian politics. Since independence in 1957, the Malaysians had a government which was a delicately balanced, multi-ethnic coalition, led by Tunku Abdul Rahman, a man who was not only a great national leader in the struggle against colonialism, but also appeared to be above chauvinism.

Until 1969 this coalition worked well but at the elections held that year, the Alliance, as it came to be known, failed to win an absolute majority. The Malay elite which had a dominant role in the coalition felt threatened. While the opposition groups held victory celebrations, the erstwhile ruling party demonstrated, violent riots broke out and went on for four days which left 200 people dead. This event shocked the nation and in a state of emergency a National Operational Council assumed power temporarily. By 1971 the situation eased and a broad coalition of Malays and non-Malays reached an agreement that destabilizing issues would not be debated in public. The new, multi-ethnic "grand coalition" of political parties that followed the 1968 riots placed the Malay leaders on a much firmer footing.

Compromise and accommodation among the various ethnic groups of Malaysia has been a stabilizing factor. Known as 'Consociational Democracy' to political scientists, it helped the Malaysian state achieve years of peace which in turn helped the nation to achieve healthy economic growth. While one has to admit that consociational democracy does not fully uphold western liberal democracy, yet taking Malaysia's case specifically, one must say it has provided the nation strength and prosperity. The Malaysian state and civil society appear to co-exist in harmony. Societal conflicts have been, by and large, kept under control.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for our answer.

ii) Check your answer with that given at the end of the unit.

1) Discuss the issue of minorities in China.

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- 2) Discuss the issue of ethnicity with reference to Malaysia.

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26.5 BENEFACITOR OF THE PEOPLE

In the modern world, the role of the state to provide material well-being of its subjects, has been accepted all over. The significance of the state in providing welfare to its citizens and also supporting economic development either by actively promoting it or allowing the private sector to take over cannot be undermined.

26.5.1 The Broad Situation in East Asia

In East Asia we have contrasts while Japan and South Korea pursued a capitalist path of development China and North Korea followed a socialist road. In all the cases, the official ideology of the state was the determinant. The state in all these countries has been a benefactor of its people but in varying degrees. In the following passages, we would first take Japan. It is the biggest success story in so far as the promotion, economic development and improvement in the quality of life of citizens is concerned.

26.5.2 The Case of Japan

The Japanese government did not neglect health, education and housing for its people, even though the private businesses placed a very important role in expanding the economy. In the sphere of literacy, Japan is one of the topmost countries. Widespread literacy has helped Japan in achieving successes elsewhere, despite the fact that the Japanese society is as much a tradition-bound society as India or China. Japan's economic super-power status in the international realm is reflected in the standard of living of its people. Since World War II, with the passing of every decade, the lives of the average Japanese have improved for the better. That is why the Japanese have voted to power the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) almost at every election inspite of so many scandals the party has been involved in. The average Japanese enjoys a superior quality of life compared to any other Asian. The Japanese state, therefore, must be given due credit for this, although other factors have also played a part.

26.5.3 The Situation in South Korea

South Korea has emerged as a major economic power in Asia in the past decade. Substantial improvement in the lives of its people has resulted from this. In 1963 its per capita GNP was US \$100 and in 1990 it jumped to US \$5000. International factors like massive foreign (mainly American) aid have indeed helped Korea reap important economic benefits. The South Korean government's bold decision to eliminate the landlords as a class, opened the door to full scale industrialization of the South Korean economy.

It was this industrialization which gave an impetus to other sectors of Korean life and bright and better quality of life to the common South Korean. The military government of Park Chung Hee was comparatively free of entangling personal and

economic connections with civil society and thus, under far fewer constraints than their immediate predecessors with regard to making economic changes. Such freedom allowed Park and his officials to devise a series of five-year economic development plans beginning in 1962 that were based largely on perceived economic efficiency, with initially little input and no serious interference from the civil society.

The state has acted "as the general manager of the economy". Much of South Korea's economic development has been brought about, however, in an authoritarian manner. For example, workers were ruthlessly suppressed when they demanded better work conditions and more freedom. At the same time the state has been able to make businessmen adhere to its official development programmes through the manipulation of a number of key economic controls: state's allocation of business licences, government's domination of the financial system including bans and a tax department that makes sure all business profits flow into approved areas.

26.5.4 The Situation in North Korea

North Korean leader Kim Il Sung embarked on a policy of economic reorganization using the Stalinist model of farm collectivization and centralized economic management. The North Koreans have not seen the same economic prosperity as in the South, but the state's policy has not allowed great economic disparities which exist in South Korea. This policy, however, is in line with Marxism-Leninism, the state's official ideology. This brings us to China which claims to be a Marxist-Leninist state too.

26.5.5 The Situation in China

So far the Chinese state has experimented with two kinds of economies vis-a-vis its civil society. This has been dealt with in an earlier unit in detail so we will only study how the state has benefited its people through its economic policies. During the Mao period, the Chinese state implemented a command economy wherein growth and development at a rapid pace were disallowed. Welfare activities were, however, paid a great deal of attention. The basics—food, clothing, housing, health and education—have been provided to an overwhelming majority of Chinese people. Compared to their lives before liberation, the average Chinese found the quality of his life much better in the post-liberation period.

A massive famine in 1961 was of course an exceptional period of economic hardships but by and large, the Chinese state played and fulfilled its role to a great extent as a benefactor of its common people. Merely welfare measures and investments on the citizens, however, did not satisfy the Chinese leaders who did not support Mao's policies. Rapid economic development even at the cost of egalitarianism was their aim. It was felt that in the long run, this would not only help the Chinese people to live but also to live well like the Japanese and the South Koreans. Prosperity and not simply living above subsistence is what the Chinese state must provide for its civil society. With this view the regime of Deng Xiaoping brought forth massive economic reforms since 1978.

The results of these reforms are already visible. Many of China's cities are booming, there is noticeable prosperity in the rural areas. A lot of wealth has been generated in a short span of time on account of active government policies. Deng has been immensely popular among a vast number of Chinese. Many feel that it is only in the post-Mao period that the Chinese state has been a real benefactor of its people. This is not to say that China is experiencing all-round development and that every citizen of China is moving towards prosperity. There are still many who remain economically, educationally and culturally backward. There are remote regions where the benefits of economic development have not reached. Prosperity has created gaps in the living standards of people. How the state will handle the situation if the economic frustrations of the unbenefited people begin to be expressed politically, remains to be seen. One conclusion we may draw from China's case and that is: the state has effectively, through conscious policy, made a great difference to the lives of its average citizens.

26.5.6 Economic Development and other Southeast Asian Countries

Southeast Asian countries have in different degrees witnessed economic changes due to the conscious policies of their governments. Singapore as we have already seen elsewhere in this block has experienced rapid and striking development. Its small size and authoritarian rule have supported quick economic transformation. The standard of living of Singaporeans is higher than other Southeast Asians. The Philippines, Thailand, Indonesia and to some extent, Malaysia, have not seen that kind of prosperity as yet. In the cities of Manila, Kuala Lumpur, Bangkok and Jakarta, more than one-third of the people live in slums. They have little or no access to clean water, sewage systems, health care or education.

In the past, some leaders have been more interested in hiding such problems than solving them. In their heyday, the Marcos couple ordered high walls to be built around Manila's worst slums so that important visitors would not see them, but the pollution and degradation can no longer be ignored. Like elsewhere in Asia, in these countries too, massive movements of people from the country side to the cities is changing the demographic landscape. Governments are struggling to provide the expensive infrastructure required by urban areas. In doing so, they drain much-needed services and assistance away from rural areas where most of the population lives. All these states of Southeast Asia have supported a capitalist form of government and thus one sees disparity in wealth: pockets of poverty, on the one hand, and excessive wealth for some, on the other. Vietnam tried with the socialist measures, but of late, it too like China has reformed its economy where private capital and initiative are encouraged. It is too early to say how far the average Vietnamese has benefited from this change.

With the exception of Singapore, all Southeastern states have to go a long way in uplifting the economic life of their peoples. The state has indeed played a crucial role in making a difference to the lives of people for better or worse. Regardless of the state's ideology, it has been accepted and proved that if the state so desires, it can be a benefactor of the people.

Check Your Progress 3

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

i) Check your answer with that given at the end of the unit.

1) Discuss the role played by the state in the economic success of South Korea.

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2) Briefly discuss the role played by the Chinese government in reforming its economy.

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26.6 LET US SUM UP

In East and Southeast Asia, we see states which are politically very diverse. The official ideology of no two states is identical. (Even the so-called Marxist-Leninist states like China, North Korea and Vietnam no longer share a common official ideology.) Hence, the dynamics of state-civil society relations also vary. Historical and economic factors are also equally significant. One can safely say that mostly all of these states have been more or less successful in maintaining order for most of the period since the end of World War II. In terms of human rights, with the possible exception of Japan, no one's record is totally unblemished. States have solved ethnic conflicts in a variety of ways with extremes like China where assimilation rather than integration is the policy and Malaysia where a consociational democracy functions. As far as the state's role in improving the livelihood of people is concerned, Japan, South Korea and Singapore have been more successful than others.

26.7 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

Mark Borthwick, 1992 *Pacific Century* (Boulder: Westview-Press).

Ezra F. Vogel, 1979 *Japan as Number One* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press).

Ranbir Vohra, 1991 *China's Struggle for Democracy and Socialism* (Penguin).

26.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) China's human rights record has not been particularly good. Dissidents are arrested and imprisoned often without trial. This is the view of several human rights organizations. The massacre of unarmed students during their pro-democracy movement at Tiananmen Square in June 1989 earned China a lot of criticism and led to its government bringing out a white paper on Human Rights.
- 2) Japan has a highly satisfactory human rights record in the post-war period. The policing system in Japan is by and large efficient and not corrupt. People enter police stations fearlessly and record their complaint. Police-public relations are characterized by harmony and co-operation. Also the Japanese Ministry of Justice has a Human Rights Bureau where people can complain about police excesses without fear of retaliation.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) In China the minority nationalities are more than 6 per cent of the total population. The majority (94%) are called the Hans. The minorities inhabit most of the border areas. The Chinese state claims to protect the interests of the Minorities although in practice it follows a practice which threatens their identity. Certain concessions have been made to them and attempts to co-opt the elite are also there. Dissenters are, however, punished severely.
- 2) In Malaysia, the Malays are slightly less than half of the population, while the second largest group are the Chinese who are 35 per cent. As a group the Chinese are economically better-off than the Malays. The Malaysia government has often been a delicately balanced, multi-ethnic coalition. Violent riots have occurred in Malaysia when this balance got disturbed. Overall, there has been compromise and

accommodation among various ethnic groups to work out a stable system. It is called a consociational democracy.

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) The South Korean government gave a boost to its economy by eliminating the landlord class and opened the door to full scale industrialization. Even the military government kept itself free from entangling personal and economic connections. Along with a free market economy, the state also devised and implemented five year plans. However, much of South Korea's development has been brought about in an authoritarian manner.
- 2) The present Chinese government has dismantled the earlier system which proximated a command economy where rapid growth was disallowed. The reforms in the economy were initiated in December 1978 and implemented in the urban as well as rural areas. These reforms have generated a lot of wealth in a short span of time and also created disparities.