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Parliaments and Political Change in Asia

Jürgen Rüland
Clemens Jürgenmeyer
Michael H. Nelson
Patrick Ziegenhain
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Preface

In 2000, Heinrich Krumwiede and Detlef Nolte published a comprehensive study on the legislatures of 17 Latin American countries.* The study was commissioned and sponsored by the Konrad Adenauer Foundation (KAF) in Germany. One of the conclusions drawn by the foundation from the study was that parliaments in non-Western countries are even more under-researched than other areas of the political system. The study of Latin American parliaments also suggested that even years after redemocratization, legislatures — contrary to their frequent celebration as embodiments of people’s sovereignty — in reality play a subordinate role in the political process. If legislative institutions are to be strengthened by parliamentary reforms or even external assistance, more systematic research is needed that transcends the ubiquitous juridical studies with their emphasis on the legal and institutional aspects of legislatures. This calls for studies providing insights into the question of how, when, and to what extent parliaments are involved in policy-making.

We are thus grateful that considerations like these motivated the KAF to commission the Arnold Bergstraesser Institute (ABI) in Freiburg, Germany to carry out a study on the parliaments of India, Indonesia,
the Philippines, South Korea, and Thailand. In particular, we thank the initiators of the study, Dr Winfried Jung, then Director of International Cooperation II (Africa, Asia, Middle East, Latin America), and Dr Colin Dürkop, then head of the Asia department of the foundation, as well as Dr Peter R. Weilemann, then Director of International Cooperation I, and Dr Wolfgang H. Koll of the International Planning Staff for their generous support. Dr Koll was also responsible for coordinating the study on the part of the foundation and for administrative backstopping. He did so with great care. We thank him for his patience and trust in the research team, as studies requiring a period of two years are rather unusual in the world of development cooperation where emphasis is more often placed on operational efficiency than academic rigour. Dr Dürkop, even in his new position as the foundation’s regional representative in Singapore, displayed great interest in the project’s progress and always had a great understanding of the needs of the research team.

The study is the product of a distinct division of labour within the project team consisting of country specialists. The latter were responsible for collecting the data for their respective country, analysing them, and providing paragraphs to be integrated into the manuscript, organized not on a country basis but according to a comparative perspective. Clemens Jürgenmeyer wrote the sections on India and Patrick Ziegenhain those on Indonesia. Michael H. Nelson, who joined the team as a scholar based at the King Prajadhipok Institute (KPI) in Nonthaburi, Thailand, contributed the part on Thailand and Jürgen Rüland those on the Philippines and South Korea. The theoretical framework, the conclusions, and the outline of the study were designed by Jürgen Rüland, although in their present form these parts of the book are the result of intensive, at times controversial, yet always very fruitful and constructive discussions within the project team. Events and developments in the five parliaments have been systematically covered until early 2003. It was thus not possible to include in the study the changes resulting from the 2004 elections in India, Indonesia, the Philippines, and South Korea.

A study targeting a theme that in many respects must still be considered a black box is certainly dependent on the support of others. The research team would thus like to express its sincere gratitude to all who enabled the collection of data, who shared information, and who
generously contributed their own expertise to this endeavour. Foremost in this respect is the dedicated assistance provided by the KAF’s country representatives and their staff who quietly and efficiently provided the members of the project team access to legislators, senior officials in the parliamentary secretariats, scholars, journalists, and civic leaders. Without the help of Dr Willibold Frehner (Manila), Thomas Awe (Seoul), Prof. Dr Gert Kück (New Delhi), Dr Klaus Pähler (Jakarta), and Dr Norbert Eschborn (Bangkok and Jakarta), it would hardly have been possible to conduct nearly 100 interviews in the capitals of the five countries under study within such a short period of time.

We are also very grateful to all our interview partners who dedicated their valuable time to us, many of whom responded with great enthusiasm to our questions and who often were even prepared for lengthy and intensive discussions on the topic. Many of these interviews and conversations confirmed our belief that the topic of parliaments matters and that the limited attention devoted to this field of research by political scientists does not adequately reflect its relevance.

The volume also benefited from four in-house seminars at the ABI in Freiburg. We thank our colleagues inside and outside the institute for their willingness to discuss, for the sake of clarification, the same issues time and again. Dr Ingrid Wehr (ABI) and Dr Ulrich Eith (Department of Political Science, University of Freiburg) read parts of the manuscript. Their comments and suggestions benefited us tremendously. Aaron Stern (University of Michigan) read a synopsis. His advice was likewise of great help. We also received invaluable feedback from a seminar organized by the KAF in St. Augustin, Germany, in March 2002, attended by visiting Southeast Asian parliamentarians and senior officials of parliamentary secretariats.

Furthermore, on 11 and 12 March 2003, the KAF organized a workshop in Bangkok, which gave the team a chance to present their research findings to a group of eminent, mostly Asian, political scientists and constitutional scholars. Prof. Dr Gunter Schubert (University of Tübingen), Prof. Dr José V. Abueva (Kalayaan Institute and former President of the University of the Philippines, Manila), Attorney Camilo L. Sabio (former President of the Philippine Constitutional Association and former Secretary General of the Philippine House of Representatives,
Manila), Prof. Dr Amara Raksasataya (Judge at the Constitutional Court of Thailand, Bangkok), Prof. Dr Somsak Xuto (The Public Affairs Foundation, Bangkok), Prof. Dr Chan Wook Park (Seoul National University, Seoul), Prof. Jang Hie Lee (Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, Seoul), Dr Kusnanto Anggoro and Dr Tommy Legowo (both from the Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Jakarta), Prof. Dr Balveer Arora, and Dr Kailash K.K. (both from Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi) all read the manuscript with great care, pointed out some inaccuracies, and made a plethora of useful suggestions, many of which were incorporated in the revised version of the manuscript. Prof. Dr Schubert thoroughly scrutinized the theoretical premises of the book and Prof. Dr Chan Wook Park provided unpublished manuscripts and empirical research findings of his own to the research team. We greatly appreciate the sympathy, the sincerity and the professional support we received from these distinguished colleagues. For the organization and the funding of the Bangkok workshop, Dr Béatrice Gorawantschy (Bangkok) and Dr Colin Dürkop (Singapore) deserve our gratitude. Finally, we appreciate the constructive comments of five anonymous peer reviewers of the Manuscript Review Committee of the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS) which enabled us to further improve on the work. The manifold support we received notwithstanding, any errors that remain are the exclusive responsibility of the authors.

Freiburg and Bangkok

February 2005

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List of Abbreviations

ABRI  Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia
AIM   Asian Institute of Management
AIPO  ASEAN Inter-Parliamentary Organization
APEC  Association of Philippine Electric Cooperatives
API   Almanak Parpol Indonesia
ARMM  Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao
ASEAN Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ASEAN-ISIS ASEAN Institutes for Security and International Studies
ASEM  Asia-Europe Meeting
BAI   Board of Audit and Inspection
BJP   Bharatiya Janata Party
BMZ   Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung
CAGE  Citizens Coalition for General Elections
CCA   Concerned Citizens Aggrupation
CDA   Constitution Drafting Assembly
CDF   Countrywide Development Fund
CDG   Carl-Duisberg-Gesellschaft
CEO   Chief Executive Officer
CIA   Central Intelligence Agency
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<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tr>
<td>CIBAC</td>
<td>Citizens Battle Against Corruption</td>
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<td>CIM</td>
<td>Center for International Migration</td>
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<td>COMELEC</td>
<td>Commission on Elections</td>
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<tr>
<td>CPI</td>
<td>Communist Party of India</td>
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<tr>
<td>CPP</td>
<td>Communist Party of the Philippines</td>
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<td>CPT</td>
<td>Communist Party of Thailand</td>
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<tr>
<td>CREBA</td>
<td>Chamber of Real Estate Brokers Association</td>
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<tr>
<td>DA</td>
<td>Democratic Alliance</td>
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<tr>
<td>DDC</td>
<td>Democracy Development Committee</td>
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<tr>
<td>DJP</td>
<td>Democratic Justice Party</td>
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<td>DKP</td>
<td>Democratic Korea Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>DMK</td>
<td>Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam</td>
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<tr>
<td>DP</td>
<td>Democratic Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>DPD</td>
<td>Dewan Perwakilan Daerah</td>
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<tr>
<td>DPR</td>
<td>Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat (House of People’s Representatives)</td>
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<td>DSE</td>
<td>Deutsche Stiftung für Internationale Entwicklung</td>
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<tr>
<td>ECT</td>
<td>Election Commission of Thailand</td>
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<tr>
<td>FATF</td>
<td>Financial Action Task Force</td>
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<td>FDI</td>
<td>Foreign Direct Investment</td>
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<td>FES</td>
<td>Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung</td>
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<td>GDP</td>
<td>Gross Domestic Product</td>
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<td>GNP</td>
<td>Grand National Party</td>
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<td>Golkar</td>
<td>Golongan Karya</td>
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<td>GTZ</td>
<td>Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit</td>
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<td>IAS</td>
<td>Indian Administrative Service</td>
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<td>IBP</td>
<td>Interim Batasan Pambansa</td>
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<td>IBRA</td>
<td>Indonesian Bank Restructuring Agency</td>
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<td>ICMI</td>
<td>Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim Indonesia</td>
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<td>IDEA</td>
<td>International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance</td>
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List of Abbreviations

INC  Indian National Congress
IPCOS Institute for Policy and Community Development
IPPS Institute of Public Policy Studies
IPU International Parliamentary Union
ISDS Institute for Strategic and Development Studies
ISEAS Institute of Southeast Asian Studies

JAMPPI Jaringan Masyarakat Pemantau Pemilu Independen

KAF Konrad Adenauer Foundation
KBL Kilusang Bagong Lipunan
KIPP Komisi Independen Pemantauan Pemilu
KPKN Komisi Pemeriksa Kekayaan Penyelenggara Negara
KPU Komisi Pemilihan Umum

Laban Lakas ng Bayan
Lakas-NUCD Lakas-National Union for Christian Democracy
LAMMP Laban ng Makabayanng Masang Pilipino
LDP Laban Demokratikong Pilipinas
LEDAC Legislative-Executive Development Advisory Committee

LP Liberal Party

MAD Mamayan Ayaw sa Droga
MDP Millenium Democratic Party
MILF Moro Islamic Liberation Front
MNLF Moro National Liberation Front

MP Member of Parliament

MPR Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat

NAMFREL National Citizens’ Movement for Free Elections
NAP New Aspiration Party
NCCC National Counter Corruption Commission
NCNP National Congress for New Politics
NEC National Election Commission
NGO Non-governmental Organization
NHRC National Human Rights Commission
NKDP New Korea Democratic Party
NKP New Korea Party
NMP New Millennium Party
NMUN National Model United Nations
NP Nacionalista Party
NPKC National Peace Keeping Council

OECD Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

P3I Pusat Pengkajian dan Pelayanan Informasi
PAN Partai Amanat Nasional
PBB Partai Bulan Bintang
PDI Partai Demokrasi Indonesia
PDI-P Partai Demokrasi Indonesia–Perjuangan
PDP Phalang Dharma Party
PDP Pilipino Democratic Party
PK Partai Keadilan
PKB Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa
PKI Partai Komunis Indonesia
PKP Partido Komunista Pilipino
PKS Partai Keadilan dan Sejahtera
PnB Partido ng Bayan
PNI Partai Nasional Indonesia
POTA Prevention of Terrorists Act
POTO Prevention of Terrorists Ordinance
PPDI Partai Penegak Demokrasi Indonesia
PPP Partai Persatuan Pembangunan
PR Proportional Representation
PRP Philippine Reform Party
PSPD People’s Solidarity for Participatory Democracy

RA Republic Act
RDP Reunification Democratic Party
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<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tr>
<td>SAARC</td>
<td>South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation</td>
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<td>SAP</td>
<td>Social Action Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>SMD</td>
<td>Single-member District</td>
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<td>TAMC</td>
<td>Thai Asset Management Corporation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Trapo</td>
<td>Traditional Politician</td>
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<tr>
<td>TRT</td>
<td>Thai Rak Thai Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>TUCP</td>
<td>Trade Union Congress of the Philippines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ULD</td>
<td>United Liberal Democrats</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Program</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNFREL</td>
<td>University Network for Free Elections</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNIDO</td>
<td>United Nationalist Democratic Opposition</td>
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<tr>
<td>UU</td>
<td>undang-undang</td>
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