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Parliaments and Political Change in Asia

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Parliaments and Political Change in Asia

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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,

* Heinrich Krumwiede and Detlef Nolte, *Die Rolle der Parlamente in den Präsidentschafts-demokratien Lateinamerikas* (Hamburg: Institut für Iberoamerika-Kunde, 2000).

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 Rüländ those on the Philippines and South Korea. The theoretical framework, the conclusions, and the outline of the study were designed by Jürgen Rüländ, 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

CIBAC	Citizens Battle Against Corruption
CIM	Center for International Migration
COMELEC	Commission on Elections
CPI	Communist Party of India
CPP	Communist Party of the Philippines
CPT	Communist Party of Thailand
CREBA	Chamber of Real Estate Brokers Association
DA	Democratic Alliance
DDC	Democracy Development Committee
DJP	Democratic Justice Party
DKP	Democratic Korea Party
DMK	Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam
DP	Democratic Party
DPD	Dewan Perwakilan Daerah
DPR	Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat (House of People's Representatives)
DSE	Deutsche Stiftung für Internationale Entwicklung
ECT	Election Commission of Thailand
FATF	Financial Action Task Force
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FES	Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Grand National Party
Golkar	Golongan Karya
GTZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit
IAS	Indian Administrative Service
IBP	Interim Batasan Pambansa
IBRA	Indonesian Bank Restructuring Agency
ICMI	Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim Indonesia
IDEA	International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance

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
JAMPPPI	Jaringan Masyarakat Pemantau Pemilu Independen
KAF	Konrad Adenauer Foundation
KBL	Kilusang Bagong Lipunan
KIPP	Komisi Independen Pemantauan Pemilu
KPKPN	Komisi Pemeriksa Kekayaan Penyelenggara Negara
KPU	Komisi Pemilihan Umum
Laban	Lakas ng Bayan
Lakas-NUCD	Lakas-National Union for Christian Democracy
LAMMP	Laban ng Makabayang 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

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