

Capitalist Development and Democracy

*Dietrich Rueschemeyer, Evelyne Huber Stephens,
and John D. Stephens*

The publication of *Rueschemeyer, Stephens, and Stephens's Capitalist Development and Democracy* in 1992 was an intellectual milestone, for this book represents some of the finest thinking ever conducted concerning the reasons for the development of democracy in the Western world. In this excerpt from their book, the authors outline their basic argument about the origins of democracy and state the conclusions that they reached after a detailed survey of the recent political histories of societies in Western Europe, North America, Latin America, and the Caribbean.

As *Rueschemeyer, Stephens, and Stephens* note, *democracy has developed most fully in the highly advanced industrial capitalist societies of the West, all of which today have strongly entrenched democratic governments. Throughout the less-developed world, democracy is more the exception than the rule, and even where formal democratic institutions prevail, genuine democratic practice is often very difficult to find. Rueschemeyer, Stephens, and Stephens argue that democracy has advanced farthest in the capitalist West because its societies have undergone massive industrialization and capitalist development. These nations have brought into existence large and powerful working classes, and, the authors claim, it is through these groups' direct political action that democracy has been created. Marxists have tended to argue that democracy arose because it was the political form most useful to capitalists in pursuing their economic interests, but the authors show instead that capitalists have generally been strong opponents of democracy because they fear the power it would give to the working class. However, the authors show that the class that has been most hostile to democracy has not been the capitalists, but rather agrarian landlords engaged in so-called labor-repressive agriculture. Where this class still retains great economic and political power, such as in modern Latin America, democracy (at least genuine democracy) has made little headway.*

This book examines the relation between capitalism and democracy or, more precisely, between the transformations of society that came with capitalist economic development and the long-term advances of democratic forms of rule. We will review past research, offer a new theoretical framework that can account for the apparent contradictions of earlier findings, and put the framework to the test in three sets of broad historical comparisons—of

the advanced capitalist countries, of Latin America, and of Central America and the Caribbean islands.

That capitalism and democracy go hand in hand is a widely held belief. Indeed it is a commonplace of western political discourse. Editorials and political pronouncements insist regularly that capitalist development—economic development driven by capital interests in competition with each other—will also bring about political freedom and democratic participation in government. In fact, democracy and capitalism are often seen as virtually identical.

The East-West confrontation gave this proposition a special quality of proud assertiveness. And the downfall of the state socialist regimes of eastern Europe is celebrated by many as the final proof. Ironically, a quite similar proposition was central to the views of Lenin, though he gave it a very different slant. "Bourgeois democracy" was for him the constitutional form that perfectly fits the capitalist economic order. But in this view capitalism and democracy go hand in hand because democracy, while proclaiming the rule of the many, in fact protects the interests of capital owners. Whatever their differences in the conception and valuation of democracy, both these views share an important claim: the unrestrained operation of the market for capital and labor constitutes the material base of democracy. Democracy is the characteristic political form of capitalism.

The classics of nineteenth-century political theory also tended toward the view that the transformations wrought by capitalist development would bring democracy. But their reactions to this prospect were very different from what one might expect knowing the thought of their twentieth-century heirs. Alexis de Tocqueville and John Stuart Mill were apprehensive about full-fledged democracy, and they were not alone in this. Their fear of "false democracy" (Mill) and of the "tyranny of the majority" (de Tocqueville) expressed the anticipations of many Liberals and bourgeois conservatives of the time. By contrast, at the left of the political spectrum Marx opted for full democracy and saw in universal suffrage a major step in the transition from capitalism to socialism. His "dictatorship of the proletariat" was not so very different from de Tocqueville's "tyranny of the majority," except that for Marx this was a vision of hope while for de Tocqueville it was one of disaster.

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