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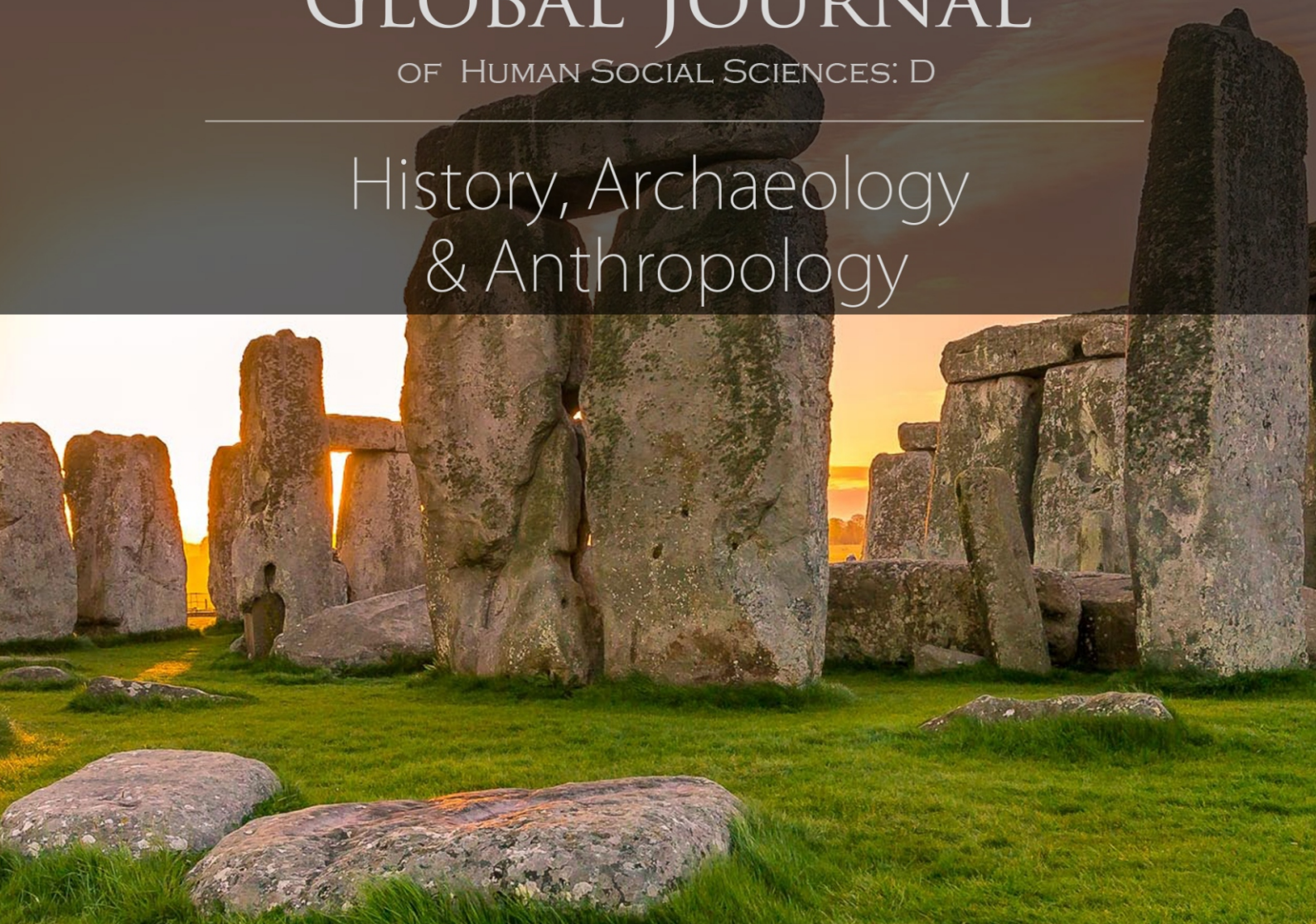

The Ancient Khen People

The Uses of Social Investment

Highlights

Soeharto Authoritarian Regime

Consolidating Democracy in Indonesia

Discovering Thoughts, Inventing Future

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La violencia en la Sierra y Costa de Michoacán, 1940-1980

By Enrique Guerra Manzo
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Abstract- The violence problem between 1940 and 1980 in Coast and Mountain Range, Michoacán, has been complex. The present paper argues that is easier to explain this kind of problem if we separate different waves and kinds of violence in this period: instrumental violence (agrarian violence, delinquency, drugs) and ritual violence (vendettas, pistolerismo). Every violence form has its own logic and temporality. But all of them are intertwined, sometimes with more intensity and other with less.

Keywords: violence; mexican state; coast and mountain range, Michoacán.

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La violencia en la Sierra y Costa de Michoacán, 1940-1980

Enrique Guerra Manzo

Abstract- The violence problem between 1940 and 1980 in Coast and Mountain Range, Michoacán, has been complex. The present paper argues that is easier to explain this kind of problem if we separate different waves and kinds of violence in this period: instrumental violence (agrarian violence, delinquency, drugs) and ritual violence (vendettas, pistolerismo). Every violence form has its own logic and temporality. But all of them are intertwined, sometimes with more intensity and other with less.

Keywords: violence; mexican state; coast and mountain range, Michoacán.

I. Introducción

El presente artículo pretende analizar algunas de las formas de violencia instrumentales (delincuencia, siembra y tráfico de enervantes) y expresivas o rituales (pistolerismo, *vendettas*) que marcaron a la Sierra y Costa de Michoacán entre 1940 y 1980, así como el modo en que se entrelazaron con el Estado mexicano. Nuestro argumento central es que esas diferentes formas de violencia afloraron durante el período por la incapacidad infraestructural del Estado para brindar seguridad en una región relativamente aislada con una orografía accidentada y malas comunicaciones, así como por el predominio de una cultura ligada al honor y al vigilan ismo que propiciaron la emergencia de un *habitus* violento.

Primero, se presenta una mirada panorámica y apretada sobre las fases y formas de la violencia en México entre 1910 y 1940. Luego se hace algo similar con Michoacán. Todo ello con la finalidad de ofrecer cierto contexto y antecedentes a nuestra problemática. Enseguida se pasa a un análisis más detenido sobre las formas de violencia instrumentales y expresivas en la Costa y Sierra michoacanas entre 1940 y 1980, así como a la manera en que las autoridades intentaron hacerles frente. Para ello también fue necesario hacer uso de fuentes de archivo federales y estatales. Se concluye con algunas reflexiones sobre los nexos entre las formas de violencia documentadas aquí y las que actualmente se viven en la región.

La vinculación de escenarios microregionales con las dimensiones macrosociales de la violencia, todavía es una fuerte laguna en el estudio de la violencia en México. Por lo cual, el presente artículo debe verse como una aproximación preliminar a una problemática compleja, en espera de mayores estudios.

II. La Violencia en México

La revolución mexicana ocasionó entre 1910 y 1920 de un millón a un millón y medio de muertos, ya sea de manera directa o indirecta, como bajas en la guerra, víctimas civiles o muertes ocasionadas por enfermedades y hambrunas.[1] La violencia de la revolución fue más de tipo instrumental-racional que expresiva-ritual,[2] obedeció a metas particulares: derrotar al rival y conquistar el poder.

La Constitución de 1917 confirmó al nuevo orden, que en muchos aspectos no difería fundamentalmente del antiguo. Los vencedores resultaron ser reformistas y siguieron fieles a la dirección establecida en el porfiriato (1876-1911). La revuelta quizá reordenó, pero no descartó, ni reemplazó los fundamentos de las estructuras ya establecidas (Vandewoord, 1986, 235; Womack, 1992). Y así el orden volvió a predominar sobre el desorden, pero ello llevó tres décadas de disputas, rebeldías, experimentación y fluctuaciones que siguieron a la revolución.

Mientras la violencia de la lucha armada respondió a estrategias militares, después de 1920 aparece una violencia política muy compleja. Knight (2014) propone que distingamos tres tipologías. 1) La

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[1] Según estimaciones recientes, en términos de pérdidas humanas, junto con la Guerra Civil Española, la revolución mexicana ocupa el noveno lugar mundial como la guerra más mortífera en los dos últimos siglos (McCaa, 2003, 267-400).

[2] Spierenburg (2008, 196-202), considera que las formas de violencia física pueden ser situadas analíticamente en un intervalo conformado por dos polos, el instrumental y el ritual (o expresivo). La violencia instrumental tiene un carácter más planeado y su objetivo es obtener una determinada ganancia; la violencia ritual concierne a los *habitus* del perpetrador y está más ligada a las emociones, a una determinada función social y sus respectivas pautas culturales. No obstante, ambas formas de violencia deben verse como puntos extremos de un intervalo en el que hay diferentes gradaciones y mezclas entre lo instrumental y lo ritual, pues por más que la mayoría de los diferentes tipos de violencia tengan un carácter ritual, también son llevados a cabo con miras a un interés particular (por ejemplo, un duelo puede perseguir una venganza que reestablezca el honor mancillado). A su vez, la violencia con una alta naturaleza instrumental es empleada para obtener no sólo una ganancia, sino también algo más (el robo es el clásico ejemplo aquí, pues históricamente los bandidos también tienen sus rituales). Por tanto, la conducta humana violenta siempre cae entre ambos extremos de los dos polos, pero no necesariamente en un punto medio. En principio cada incidente violento puede ser situado en un punto del intervalo.

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violencia política que ocurre en contextos de lucha por posiciones de poder (en sus niveles macro, el ámbito nacional, y micro, el plano regional y local). Se trata de una violencia racional-instrumental que sirve para alcanzar metas políticas (y avances de intereses étnicos, de clase o seccionales). 2) La violencia criminal o mercenaria, cuya finalidad es obtener beneficios materiales por la fuerza (es propia de bandas, cárteles). 3) La violencia interpersonal (e incluso familiar). Surge en zonas de sociabilidad y conforme se incrementa deviene en violencia expresiva, e involucra muchas veces cuestiones de honor, estatus y respeto. Knight, centra su atención en el primer tipo de violencia, ofrece algunas ideas sobre el segundo, pero señala que carece de mayores datos para referir la tercera. Aún así, indica que ésta última parece estar más aislada y obedecer a su propia dinámica (Knight, 2014, 4).

La tipología de Knight parece plausible y heurística. Pero considero que se equivoca al sólo ver nexos entre los dos primeros tipos de violencia y considerar a la tercera como aislada y casi autónoma. Pues, como la obra de Elias (1989) ha mostrado, hay una íntima conexión entre la formación del Estado y la formación del *habitus* (el plano de las relaciones interpersonales y del tercer tipo de violencia).[3]

La literatura especializada ha señalado que la violencia macro política tiende a desaparecer luego de 1929. La gran coalición política establecida por el general Álvaro Obregón en 1920, con la rebelión de Agua Prieta, y reafirmada por el general Plutarco Elías Calles Calles con la fundación del Partido Nacional Revolucionario (marzo de 1929), encauza las ambiciones por el poder dentro del sistema más que contra él. Las dos principales fuentes de violencia de los años veinte, generales revolucionarios y rebeliones católicas, habían sido neutralizadas en los treinta. Desde entonces, a escala nacional, la política se volvió más pacífica y menos violenta (Tobler, 1994; Knight, 1986; Garrido, 1982; Hamilton, 1983).

Empero, en las regiones (el nivel micro), el Estado estuvo lejos de mantener el monopolio legítimo de la violencia. De hecho, en ocasiones promovió o permitió cierto grado de violencia, tanto a través del ejército como de milicias locales (defensas sociales o civiles), guardias blancas y pistoleros sindicales (Knight, 2014, 26-27).[4] En mi opinión, sólo un análisis minucioso de las regiones puede permitirnos dilucidar la manera en que el Estado hundió sus raíces en cada una de ellas y se entreveró con las diferentes formas de violencia, mismas que condicionaron su funcionamiento: dónde tendió a imperar el lado hegemónico (infraestructural), el coercitivo (despótico) o el de una zona gris (hibrida).[5] Y ello debe hacerse no de modo dicotómico, sino en términos de un intervalo pendular que muestre las oscilaciones a lo largo del tiempo, ya que las regiones pueden transitar en diferentes momentos hacia un lado u otro.[6] Pero todo ello aún es una tarea pendiente para la historiografía.

III. Las fases de la Violencia en Michoacán

La evolución de la violencia en Michoacán se relaciona estrechamente con las fases por las que atravesó la edificación del Estado pos revolucionario, con la naturaleza de los juegos de poder regionales y el tipo brókeres emergidos en cada uno de los municipios de la entidad. De igual modo, los protagonistas de la violencia varían de un campo social a otro y a lo largo del tiempo. Conviene distinguir dos períodos. El primero, de 1910 a 1940, en el que no se abundará aquí. Sus principales protagonistas son bandidos, agraristas y hacendados, católicos y anticlericales, facciones rivales que se disputan cargos ejidales y políticos. Como la literatura especializada ha mostrado, el Estado, al tomar partido por alguna de las partes, puede acelerar la violencia o bien encapsularla, imponiendo cierta gobernabilidad, dependiendo mucho del tipo de bróker con el que pacta: en las regiones donde aparecen caciques se suelen suscitar procesos

[3] Recientes estudios sobre algunas regiones sugieren que hay íntimas conexiones entre esas diferentes clases de violencia (Núñez, 2015, 28-44;Picatto, 2010;Speckman, 2002).

[4] Al respecto es ilustrativo el caso de la violencia política en Zacapu, documentada por Friedrich (1991); o las luchas por la tierra en San José de Gracia analizadas por González (1984).

[5] Para el estudio del Estado mexicano, Pansters (2012, 415-470) propone emplear un cuadro de cuatro cuadrantes construido con base en la dicotomía hegemonía (lado luminoso del Estado)-coerción (lado oscuro). Uno de esos cuadrantes es una zona gris, poco estudiada hasta ahora, pero que parece ser muy heurística, en donde se ubican redes entre empresarios de la violencia privados, actores políticos y oficiales de la ley en unos límites con fronteras borrosas. Es en esa zona donde está la violencia para institucional en la que se articulan actores estatales y no estatales. La expansión del caciquismo en el siglo XX es parte de esa zona gris: es una de las formas para institucionales de control político, social, de uso de la violencia y de la impunidad.

[6] Recientemente, una corriente de la antropología ha enfatizado la noción de "márgenes del Estado" para aludir a espacios donde el Estado sólo está parcialmente presente y se muestra incapaz de instaurar el orden. Lugares donde no ofrece servicios eficientes: plena seguridad, buena infraestructura de comunicaciones, un adecuado flujo del comercio, calidad educativa, entre otras cosas. Lo que propicia que en algunas regiones o esferas, parte de la población viva en los "márgenes del Estado", en procesos de exclusión y de acusada desigualdad social que suelen generar violencia (Maldonado, 2010, 23-24; Das y Poole, 2008, 19-52). Empero, en mi opinión, tales aspectos también pueden explicarse con las ideas de Mann (2004, 179-198) sobre la formación del Estado moderno: en ciertos ámbitos éste aparece con una presencia más despótica (coercitiva) que infraestructural (hegemónica). En algunas regiones, los Estados tampoco han logrado ser la expresión de un sentimiento de ciudadanía compartido, puesto que tradicionalmente han sido más posesión de las élites, donde las masas no suelen sentirse bien representadas. Además, los servicios del Estado se desvían hacia intereses de las redes patrón-cliente de las élites políticas.

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de fisión faccionales que agudizan la violencia; donde emergen líderes de masas con mayor arraigo es más viable que se susciten procesos de fusión y centralización del poder que tienden a embridar la violencia.[7] La región de la Sierra y Costa michoacana estuvo más cercana al primer caso que al segundo (Meyer, 1993; Guerra, 2015; Gledhill, 2004; Alarcón, 1998).

El segundo período va de 1940 a 1980. El clivaje cultural-religioso pierde importancia, al igual que la violencia política, persiste la conflictividad agraria, aunque con menor intensidad, pero empieza a ganar mayor protagonismo el mercado de lo ilícito: bandas de delincuentes y, en especial, las dedicadas al cultivo y trasiego de enervantes. De igual modo, se hace más visible una zona gris en la que transitan empresarios de lo ilícito: redes clandestinas entre agentes estatales y privados. Para frenar la violencia el Estado acude a partidas militares, defensas rurales y pactos de civilidad entre las facciones en pugna, pero no logra frenar la criminalidad (Oikión 2004; Maldonado, 2010; Malkin, 2001; Ortiz, 1983; Gledhill, 2004).

A las oleadas de violencia instrumentales debe sumarse una violencia ritual (*vendettas*, pistolerismo) que atraviesa a ambos períodos y que se articula con las demás. De tal suerte que podemos hablar de oleadas de violencia que se suceden y entrelazan en distintos campos con diferente intensidad.

IV. La Sierra y Costa Michoacanas

La región michoacana donde más intensa se ha manifestado la violencia ligada a la delincuencia y al tráfico de enervantes es la del suroeste, especialmente en el distrito de Apatzingán[8] y el de Coalcomán. Aquí me ocuparé de éste último.[9]

La violencia en el distrito de Coalcomán tiene raíces profundas, algunas de las cuales se remontan al siglo XIX (o incluso más allá):una debilidad infraestructural del Estado para penetrar en términos hegemónicos en la región y garantizar el derecho a la seguridad pública;[10] rivalidades entre pueblos indígenas por linderos de tierras (Monroy, 2006; Gledhill, 2004; Figueroa, 2004; Marín, 2007); invasiones de propiedades comunales por rancheros mestizos que arribaron a la región en diferentes oleadas migratorias;[11] un elevado grado de aislamiento de la zona[12] que, aunado a la debilidad de las instituciones, propició la emergencia de un *habitus* violento para resolver cualquier clase de disputas. El estallido de la revolución de 1910 trajo otros trastornos. Primero, auge del bandolerismo, pistolerismo y mayor inseguridad (Ochoa, 1990). Luego, el estallido de la Cristiada (1926-1929)[13] provocó enfrentamientos entre grupos de rebeldes y Defensas Rurales; en la década de 1930, la reforma agraria suscitó más conflictos, algunos de los cuales desbordaron a las instituciones (Guerra, 2002; Boyer, 2004). Sin embargo, sólo en el período de 1940-1980 se puede apreciar el entrelazamiento de esas viejas formas de violencia con otras nuevas, como las provocadas por el cultivo y trasiego de enervantes.

Además, en la medida en que el reparto agrario en el distrito de Coalcomán fue muy débil,[14] no emergieron fuertes líderes de masas afines con la ideología estatal y capaces de promover la centralización del poder político de acuerdo a un modelo clientelar corporativo, como ocurrió en Taretan o el Bajío zamorano, sino caciques de fuerte raigambre católica, muchos de los cuales habían sido líderes de la Cristiada, como la familia Guillén o Ezequiel Mendoza Barragán, celosos por mantener el orden social cristiano por el que se habían sumado a la rebelión (Guerra, 2015; Meyer, 1993; Purnell, 1999; Cochet, 1991).[15] El Estado pactó con ellos en 1929, para poder pacificar la zona donde más virulencia había cobrado la Cristiada. A muchos de ellos se les permitió conservar el liderazgo de las Defensas Rurales y el control de los ayuntamientos (Gledhill, 2004; Guerra, 2015, Purnell, 1999; Meyer, 1993; Cochet, 1991).

a) Inseguridad y Delincuencia

Si bien las antiguas formas de violencia agraria tuvieron por protagonistas principales a comunidades indígenas y poblados mestizos, la delincuencial es llevada a cabo por bandas organizadas o delincuentes

[7] Para mayores datos sobre este período véase Boyer (2003); Purnell (1999); Mijangos (1997); Sánchez (1994); Meyer (1993); Guerra (2015); Butler (2004).

[8] Para el caso de este distrito véase Guerra (2017); Maldonado (2010); Malkin (2001).

[9] En el período analizado aquí, además de Coalcomán, que fungía como cabecera del distrito, los otros municipios que lo conformaban eran Aquila, Chinicuila, Coahuayana y Aguililla. El distrito abarca la mayor parte de la Sierra y Costa michoacanas.

[10] Intentando resumir la evolución de la sociedad en la zona desde el siglo XVIII hasta la primera mitad del XX, Cochet (1991, 145) señala: "El surgimiento y el desarrollo de esta nueva sociedad agraria se dieron al margen de cualquier estado de derecho y gracias al recurso sistemático a la violencia. Tras las matanzas perpetradas contra la comunidad indígena de Coalcomán [en el siglo XIX] vino una violencia más difusa y esporádica, pero no menos constante".

[11] La primera de ellas en el siglo XVIII, la segunda a fines del XIX y la tercera entre 1900 y 1920 (Cochet, 1991, 37-67; Meyer, 1993, III).

[12] El aislamiento y los caminos difíciles de transitar hasta la primera mitad del siglo XX, propiciaron que en diferentes momentos haya sido lugar de refugio para diversos tipos de gente: tras la Independencia en 1821, para personas que abandonaban los campos de batalla en las regiones más pobladas del norte y este; para una gama de criminales y bandas republicanas que hacían frente a los franceses e imperialistas que ocuparon la entidad (Anda de, 1977, 173-174; Meyer, 1993; Sánchez y Carreño, 1979; Brand, 2013; Arreola, 1980).

[13] De hecho, el distrito de Coalcomán se convirtió en el principal foco cristero del país (Meyer, 1993, III, 155-157; Guerra, 2015,139-155).

[14] Cochet (1991) dice que sólo se repartió el 1% del territorio.

[15] Quizá el caso más representativo del cacicazgo en esta región sea el de la familia Guillén. Un análisis más detallado del cacicazgo de esta familia aparece en Gledhill (2004) y Alarcón (1998).

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individuales que no dejaban de azolar a la región. Las modalidades de esta violencia incluyen robos a hogares y comercios, secuestros, abigeo y asesinatos.

Por ejemplo, el 26 de mayo de 1945 el presidente municipal de Aquila hizo saber al gobernador de la entidad que "ayer por la mañana un grupo de individuos armados" encabezados por los hermanos Andrés, Salvador y Fidel Gutiérrez Mendoza, vecinos de Maquilí, "asaltaron a unas familias y miembros de la Sociedad Cooperativa de Pequeños Productores de Sal […] asesinando al Obrero Salinero Francisco Díaz Cisneros". Aunque se logró dar muerte a uno de los asesinos, afirmaba, como se carecía de buena seguridad pública, se temían"nuevos asaltos". Pedía con urgencia la presencia de fuerzas federales, "toda vez que la partida que encabezan los Gutiérrez si no se les bate con energía hasta exterminarlos seguirán desolando la región". El 5 de julio de ese mismo año, el presidente municipal de Aquila volvió a denunciar que los Gutiérrez habían cometido otro atraco. Reiteraba que los elementos que prestaban auxilio como policía municipal no tenían armas y que el comandante de la zona militar no había nombrado aun una partida de soldados, "estando esta región completamente avandonada [sic] a merced de los malhechores".[16]

La Asociación de Pequeños Propietarios y Ganaderos de Coalcomán, el 4 de julio de 1953 dirigió una encendida carta al gobernador denunciando la presencia de otra gavilla, que disfrazados de militares asolaba a la sierra.El jefe de dicha gavilla era "el conocido bandolero Salvador Mendoza Madrigal", misma que llevaba tiempo siendo un azote en la sierra, pues además de abigeo, "saquean, roban, asesinan y plagean [sic] a personas honorables exigiéndoles préstamos hasta convertirse en un serio peligro" para la población.[17]

En el municipio de Coahuayana una partida militar fue recibida a tiros al tratar de aprehender a una banda de delincuentes por los "frecuentes robos y asesinatos" que cometían.[18]

El 13 de noviembre de 1967 el presidente municipal de Aquila envío un extenso informe al Agente del Ministerio Publico, Raymundo Plascencia Téllez, detallando los delitos de diversas bandas ocurridos en ese municipio costeño: asaltos a mano armada, robo a casas y transeúntes. Todas esas bandas, concluía el escrito, recaían "en indefensos campesinos que viven en partes alejadas de toda comunicación, garantía y protección de la justicia". Por lo cual, urgía el envío de una partida militar.[19] Situaciones similares se repiten en toda la década de 1970.[20]

Lo anterior denota una deficiencia infraestructural del Estado (aislamiento de ciertas comunidades, falta de adecuadas comunicaciones y de "garantías y protección de la justicia") que propiciaba olas delincuenciales. Ante la inseguridad y el relativo aislamiento, en la región floreció una tradición de vigilantismo (formación de defensas civiles o rurales) que colaboraban con las instituciones estatales en el mantenimiento de la seguridad, pero tampoco eran suficientes para frenar la criminalidad.

A principios de la década de 1980, seguía habiendo indicios de que las actividades delincuenciales estaban lejos de disminuir. Un agente confidencial del gobernador Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas recorrió cinco municipios de la zona y rindió un informe poco alentador: además de detallar las actividades delincuenciales, manifestaba que en todos ellos se carecía "de organización en las filas de la policía", razón por la cual "no existía Seguridad Pública".[21] Era un contundente reconocimiento de que el Estado no brindaba una eficiente protección a la ciudadanía.

b) Violencia y drogas

En la década de 1940 hay indicios de que empieza a generalizarse el cultivo de enervantes en el distrito de Coalcomán. Comienza en Aguililla, en el poblado Dos Aguas. La familia Valencia fue la pionera en la introducción del cultivo de amapola y marihuana en ese municipio. Sus herederos, décadas más tarde, formarían el cartel del Milenio.[22] De Aguililla, la siembra de enervantes se extiende a otros municipiosy a otras familias. En los años cincuenta el creciente cultivo de enervantes en la región atrajo la atención del gobierno federal.

En 1959 arribó a Apatzingán el batallón 49, comandado por el general Salvador Rangel Medina. Venía con órdenes del presidente Adolfo López Mateos de combatir a las numerosas gavillas de maleantes que operaban en el suroeste michoacano, así como para

[16] Archivo General e Histórico del Poder Ejecutivo de Michoacán (en adelante AGHPEM), Fondo Secretaría de Gobierno, Sección Gobernación, Serie Aquila, Caja 1, Exp. s/n.

[17] AGHPEM, Fondo Secretaría de Gobierno, Sección Gobernación, Serie Coalcomán, Caja 1, Exp. 7.

[18] General Salvador Rangel Medina a comandante de la XXI zona militar, 31 de diciembre de 1962. *Ibíd.*, serie Apatzingán, Caja 2, Exp. s/n.

[19] *Ibíd.*, Caja 3, Exp. s/n.

[20] Véase, por ejemplo, *Ibid*., Coalcomán, 1946, Legajo, 1, Exp. 9, y 1948, Legajo 1, Exp. 11.

[21] José M. Meza Robles a Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, 14 de noviembre de 1981. *Ibíd.*, Serie Aquila. Caja 5, Exp. s/n.

[22] De ese modo, como observa Gil (2015, pp. 77-87), la familia Valencia que en el pasado había mantenido un bajo perfil y mucha discreción en sus negocios y en su vida pública: pasaban por rancheros y aguacateros. Pero tras esa fachada en realidad se trataba del grupo michoacano que más droga introducía a Estados Unidos. Fueron los que colocaron a los narcotraficantes tradicionales de la entidad en las grandes ligas del crimen organizado mexicano y colombiano. En la década de 1990 "mantuvieron un control casi absoluto de su territorio en Michoacán", que se concentraba en la Costa, Sierra, Tierra Caliente y Uruapan. También véase Maldonado (2010).

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realizar una campaña contra el cultivo y tráfico de enervantes en la región. El biógrafo del general Rangel, quien tuvo acceso a sus memorias y archivo personal, señala que la experiencia de Rangel y sus tropas en el combate al narcotráfico era prácticamente "nula". "No existían antecedentes sobre ese tipo de campañas para analizar y tomar lecciones, por lo que había que diseñar una estrategia propia". La etapa que estaba por comenzar con el tiempo sería considerada como "la primera campaña del ejército contra el narcotráfico" (Veledíaz, 2012, 2269 y 2128).

Al principio, Rangel sufrió algunos descalabros. Sus tropas fueron emboscadas en sus recorridos por la sierra y sufrieron algunas bajas. Pronto descubrió que quienes se dedicaban al narcotráfico tenían amistades con caciques y algunas autoridades locales (Veledíaz, 2012, 2067).

En su estancia en el suroeste michoacano, Rangel escribió un boletín mensual destinado a estimular la moral de sus tropas y a narrar las actividades de las mismas, al que tituló *Tres Palabras*. A fines de 1962, afirmaba, que ese año "bien podemos llamarlo el de las operaciones exitosas en todo lo que nos propusimos realizar en todos sus aspectos". En materia de enervantes se hicieron en la sierra las operaciones Estopila, Marcelino, Chupamirto, Changunga, Comanche, Amistad y Cardoso, que dieron como resultado la destrucción de 157 hectáreas sembradas de amapola y de 21 de mariguana, aparte "de los plantíos destruidos por sus propios sembradores antes de nuestra llegada". Y fueron más de 40 los traficantes consignados.[23]

Sin embargo, en el boletín número 11 de ese mismo año, Rangel se lamentaba de que en Aguililla una patrulla militar iba camino a destruir un plantío de mariguana de poco más de mil metros, pero el encargado del orden dio el pitazo a tiempo y cuando llegaron los soldados "sólo encontraron los troncos de las matas, pues ya les habían quitado todas las ramas".[24] No sería la única muestra de colusión entre autoridades locales y traficantes que hallaría Rangel. A pesar de todo, el general consideraba que en su estadía en el suroeste michoacano (1959-1965) se logró erradicar la siembra de enervantes.

Pero ese objetivo estaba lejos de ser alcanzado. En 1973, por ejemplo, fue descubierta una pista clandestina en el rancho El Aguacate, Aguililla, que se utilizaba para transportar estupefacientes. A tal descubrimiento se llegó luego de que una avioneta argada con marihuana sufriera un accidente, pereciendo el piloto norteamericano que la conducía.[25]

Todavía en 1981 un agente confidencial del gobernador de la entidad enviado a la región informaba que en la zona había "contrabando de marihuana, madera, productos del mar […y] abigeato". Para su combate proponía mayores partidas militares.[26]

c) Violencia en las relaciones interpersonales

Una presencia infraestructural muy débil del Estado en el suroeste michoacano, aunado al grado de aislamiento de la región, su tradición de vigilantismo[27] y su poco grado desarrollo económico, propiciaron una cultura del honor y de *vendettas* muy arraigada.[28] No es casual que el general Rangel señalara que la lucha contra los enervantes no fue el principal desafío que encontró el batallón 49, sino el combate al pistolerismo, los esfuerzos por desarmar a la población civil.[29] En mi opinión, ello era así porque los tipos de violencia que hemos referido en los anteriores acápites son expresiones de una violencia instrumental, el pistolerismo, en cambio, es un caso más cercano a la violencia ritual: ligado al *habitus*,[30] a los juegos de virilidad, honor y *vendettas*. Por ello, Rangel tenía la impresión de que estaba ante un escenario parecido al del viejo oeste norteamericano, en el que imperaba la ley del revolver.[31] Esta violencia expresiva se articuló

[23] *Tres Palabras*, número 12, 1962. AGHPEM, Fondo Secretaría de Gobierno, Sección Gobernación, Serie Apatzingán, Caja 7, Exp. s/n.

[24] *Ibíd.*

[25] General Jorge Castellanos Domínguez, jefe de 21ª la zona militar, a secretario de la Defensa Nacional, 23 de diciembre de 1973. Archivo General de la Nación (en adelante AGN), Fondo Secretaría de la Defensa Nacional (en adelante SEDENA), Estado Mayor, Quejas. Caja 85/77457/6, Exp. 608-1974.

[26] Gregorio López al gobernador Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, 11 de mayo de 1981, AGHPEM, Fondo Secretaría de Gobierno, Sección Gobernación, Serie Aquila, Caja 5, Exp. s/n.

[27] A diferencia de otras regiones de la entidad, el suroeste se ha caracterizado históricamente por ser una región de frontera con baja densidad de población, malos caminos y escasa presencia del Estado para hacer cumplir la ley. Ello propició que sus habitantes crearán su propio sistema de orden marcado por una tradición de vigilantismo y autodefensa que se ha proyectado hasta el presente (Maldonado, 2010; Guerra, 2015; Meyer, 1993; Purnell, 1999; Butler, 2004).

[28] Spierenburg (2008, 259-272) afirma que en la Europa occidental del medievo al presente, las bases del honor, en particular del masculino, cambiaron de una fuerte asociación con el cuerpo a una mayor conexión con la virtud ("espiritualización del honor"). Consecuentemente, la necesidad de emplear la violencia en orden a salvar la cara cuando se es insultado o desafiado tendió a disminuir. El concepto de honor ligado al cuerpo aparece más en sociedades que carecen de un sistema estatal estable y de una economía poco diferenciada, mientras que el movimiento hacia la espiritualización del honor aparece durante lapsos temporales en que la pacificación trae un Estado estable y arraigado institucionalmente.

[29] Boletín *Tres Palabras*, número 11, 1962. AGHPEM, Serie Apatzingán. Caja 2, Exp. s/n.

[30] Se trata de un concepto de Bourdieu, por el cual debe entenderse un conjunto de relaciones históricas "depositadas" dentro de los cuerpos de los individuos (agentes), bajo la forma de esquemas mentales y corporales de percepción, apreciación y acción (Bourdieu y Wacquant, 2008, 41-42).

[31] Rangel recordaba que en el suroeste michoacano había un clima conflictivo por "falta de garantías" hacia la ciudadanía, pues "como en tiempos del lejano oeste prevalecía la ley del más fuerte". Existía "un pistolerismo desbordado, los homicidios eran frecuentes y se multiplicaban asaltos, robos de ganado y siembra de droga" (Veledíaz, 2012, 1823).

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con rivalidades agrarias e ideológicas que venían desde décadas anteriores a los años cuarenta.

Por ejemplo, Juana Vidales, vecina de Coalcomán, el 25 de marzo de 1935 escribió al presidente Lázaro Cárdenas una misiva. Pedía su autorización y armas para "formar una defensa" y perseguir a los asesinos de su padre, Eusebio Vidales. Hecho que ocasionó gran sufrimiento a la familia. Dado que las autoridades no habían aprendido aún a los asesinos, ella como "adolorida" quería encontrarlos y hacerse justicia. Su coraje aumentaba porque el encargado el orden no había querido aprehender a uno de los asesinos que retornó al pueblo porque era su compadre.[32]

En Coahuayana, el 28 de agosto de 1946, Francisco Bueno Larios, agricultor, declaró ante el juez que él y sus hermanos fueron emboscados el 27 de mayo en San Miguel por los hermanos Castrejón. Las dificultades con ellos eran de carácter "completamente personal". Ese día los Bueno y los Castrejón sostuvieron una balacera de más de media hora hasta que fueron obligados a desistir por la Defensa Rural. Dos de los Bueno quedaron heridos, así como uno de los Castrejón. éstos últimos eran "afamados robadores de mujeres" en la región. Una vez se robaron a una cuñada de los Bueno por lo cual se originó la enemistad. Pues Francisco Bueno la recuperó por medio de la fuerza. Tras ese "triunfo", los Castrejón se fueron a emborrachar y a disparar al aire. Francisco Bueno declaró "que esos señores siempre me han ofendido en mi honor, en mis bienes y en mi familia". Dice que tiene muchos amigos en San Miguel, pero los ejidatarios de ahí tienen rivalidades con Las Conchas, poblado de Colima, por cuestiones agrarias. Ya que el ejido dotado a las Conchas comprendía a vecinos del rancho de San Miguel, Coahuayana, ubicado en Michoacán. Éstos últimos buscaron el apoyo de los Castrejón y de cualquier clase de gente que los hiciera fuertes. Él y sus hermanos estaban dispuestos a ceder sus tierras, "siempre y cuando se expulse a los Castrejón".[33]

En Aguililla la familia Gil y la familia Mendoza habían mantenido una larga historia de *vendettas*. El 17 de agosto de 1955, la primera de ellas escribió al gobernador Dámaso Cárdenas para manifestarle su intención de frenar esa espiral de violencia entre las partes: “Queremos que los derramamientos de sangre que ha habido entre nuestra familia y la familia Mendoza, definitivamente lleguen a su fin”. Por su parte se comprometían “a no agredir, pero queremos también no ser agredidos” en bien de nuestros hijos. Pedían la mediación del gobernador “para que nos ayude a que estas viejas rencillas sean liquidadas”.[34]

Los funcionarios de la ley creían que el Estado era el único autorizado para administrar la justicia, pero consideraban “atenuantes” que eran reminiscencias de viejas costumbres, como el derecho a la *vendetta*.[35]

En la Huacana, el comité ejidal del poblado El Esfuerzo Campesino, el 19 de junio de 1972, solicitó a la Secretaría de la Defensa, el establecimiento de una partida militar. Pues hacía un mes que se había suscitado hechos de sangre: "llegaron algunas personas con armas que a vengar agravios”: hubo una balacera y se registraron dos muertos y cuatro heridos “que no debían nada, tres eran niños y uno adulto". Se quejaba de que el poblado se encontraba muy aislado y sin protección. El poblado más cercano se hallaba a “más de 50 kilómetros, encajado en el sistema montañoso del cerro del Condembaro".[36]

Las *vendettas* casi nunca aparecían en forma “pura”, solían mezclarse con cuestiones agrarias, diferencias ideológicas u ofensas al honor. Pero todas ellas eran expresiones de un *habitus* violento latente, que a la menor provocación estallaba.

Rangel reconoció que durante la campaña del batallón 49 en el suroeste michoacano hubo 56 miembros de sus tropas que fueron asesinados. Muchos de ellos a causa de la cruzada de despistolización emprendida por el ejército (Veledíaz, 2012, 1943).[37] Rangel aducía que el desarme “de los escandalosos dentro y fuera de poblados continuaremos haciéndolo nosotros con excepción de bailes, cantinas y centros de vicio”, lugares que correspondían a la policía municipal, a menos que ésta resultara incompetente y solicitara auxilio al ejército.[38]

Si bien dentro de los poblados no se debería portar pistola y sólo se autorizaba en los caminos “y en el campo” (en las fincas o lugares de trabajo), lo cierto es que como ilustran los testimonios arriba referidos, la población masculina adulta se las ingeniaba para llevar armas consigo. Sentían que era el modo de defender sus propiedades, su vida y su honor. Actitudes que por largo tiempo habían estado arraigadas en sus *habitus* y en una tradición de autodefensa y vigilantismo.

[32] AGN, Presidentes, Lázaro Cárdenas, c. 0943 (551.3/57-551.3/170/60)/101816/43/Exp. 551.3/99.

[33] Archivo Histórico del Poder Judicial del Estado de Michoacán (en adelante, AHPJEM), Primero, Penal, Coalcomán, 1946, Legajo 1, Exp. 20.

[34] Apolinar Gil a Dámaso Cárdenas, 17 de agosto de 1955, AGHPEM, Fondo Secretaría de Gobierno, Sección Gobernación, Serie Aguililla, Caja 1, Exp. 12.

[35] Al respecto véase Picatto (2010) y Speckman (2010).

[36] AGN/SEDENA, Estado Mayor/Quejas, Caja 82/77454/Exp. 612-1964.

[37] AHPJEM, Fondo Secretaría de Gobierno, Sección Gobernación, Serie Apatzingán, Caja 2, Exp. s/n. AGHPEM. Morelia.

[38] Boletín *Tres Palabras*, número 8, 1963,*Ibíd.*, Serie Apatzingán. Caja 3, Exp. s/n.

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V. Conclusiones

Desde la década de 1940 es posible detectar varias olas de violencia que, con sus diferentes ritmos y temporalidades, se entrelazan entre sí. Una motivada por cuestiones agrarias, que envuelve en una espiral de violencia a pueblos mestizos y comunidades indígenas, pero que también se hace presente en conflictos intracomunitarios, misma que si bien fue más intensa entre 1920 y 1940, no deja de aparecer entre 1940 y 1980. La ocasionada por numerosas gavillas de bandoleros que asolan a diferentes poblados, saqueando casas, negocios, ranchos o robo de ganado; pero que también acuden al secuestro y la extorsión. La relacionada a la siembra de enervantes, en la que en no pocas ocasiones se puede apreciar la complicidad de autoridades locales, agentes del ministerio público, judiciales y militares. A estas tres formas de violencia, que aquí he denominado instrumentales (dado que hay un cálculo racional en el que se aspira a lograr un bien tangible: tierra, botín, una ganancia monetaria), debe sumársele una violencia ritual, muy cercana al *habitus*, a la cultura del pistolerismo, a las *vendettas* y al honor. Todas ellas asolaban a la Costa y Sierra michoacanas del distrito de Coalcomán en el período que aquí se ha explorado.

Las anteriores formas de violencia estuvieron profundamente interrelacionadas y afectaron la vida cotidiana de la población michoacana: misma que no dejó de sentirse atemorizada e insegura, pues cada una de ellas atentaba contra sus bienes y su propia vida. Por ello, junto con unas autoridades municipales claramente rebasadas por el flagelo de la violencia, con frecuencia dirigían cartas a las autoridades estatales y federales solicitando partidas militares. No obstante, sabían que las partidas militares no bastaban y que su presencia en los poblados solía ser efímera, pues no alcanzaban a cubrir al mismo tiempo un territorio tan vasto y difícil de transitar. De ahí, que la población se aferrara a portar armas y a una cultura de autodefensa.

Sobre ese escenario cargado de tensiones estalló la crisis económica de la década de 1980 y parte de la población halló en la siembra de enervantes una manera de compensar sus pérdidas económicas (Maldonado, 2010; Malkin, 2001). De igual manera, a partir de esa década las organizaciones vinculadas al trasiego de enervantes evolucionaron hasta alcanzar dimensiones trasnacionales (como el caso del cartel del Milenio, La Familia Michoacana o Los Caballeros Templarios). Al alba del siglo XXI se transformaron en un flagelo para la población, al sobreexplotarla y agraviar su dignidad.[39]De ahí que no sea fortuita la emergencia de nuevos grupos de autodefensa en febrero de 2013 para enfrentar al crimen organizado, ante la incapacidad de las autoridades para brindar seguridad. Estas nuevas autodefensas se montaron sobre la persistente cultura del honor y tradición de vigilantismo en la región (Gil, 2015; Grillo, 2016).

Aunque el Estado se valió de diferentes instrumentos para tratar de eliminar las olas de violencia que se suscitaron entre 1940 y 1980 (dotaciones agrarias, envío de partidas militares o agentes judiciales), todos sus esfuerzos parecían haber sido insuficientes, denotando serias fallas infraestructurales para brindar seguridad a la población

[39] Para una descripción de las fases por las que transitaron los carteles michoacanos véase Gil (2015) y Grillo (2016).

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Abdurrahman Wahid's Efforts at Consolidating Democracy in Indonesia at Soeharto Authoritarian Regime Era (1990-1998)

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Abstract- Abdurrahman Wahid, former President of Republic Indonesia, was the first president at the Reformation Era which toppled down the authoritarian Soeharto regime. His success on becoming president because of his idea of democracy as well as his tract records of his efforts to consolidate democracy was able to convince both the secular nationalists and Islamist Muslims. His thought of democracy had justification from the fiqh paradigm employed by the traditionalist Muslims, mean while his efforts at consolidating democracy was not partisan, involving different social political groups. He was also able to convince the supporters of Soeharto as he was not reluctantly to accommodate them as long as having commitments to establish democracy. It was due to his non-revolutionary approach to progress at the Soeharto regime era, but his zigzag strategies often confused both his supporters and his opponents. He had made a counter discourse both to Soeharto regime and the Islamist Muslims, besides his commitment to develop religious organization groups to play a role of civil society.

Keywords: *abdurrahman wahid, fiqh paradigm, democracy, counter discourse, civil society.*

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I. Introduction

Democracy was a main political issue in the 1990s when Wahid, together with other civil society elements, established *Forum Demokrasi* (Fordem, the Democracy Forum). This was due to the banning of *Monitor* magazine by President Suharto which was perceived by Wahid as contrary to democracy which requires the case to be tested in the courts.[1] Wahid made use of Fordem to develop a counter discourse to the monolithic interpretation of Pancasila by the Suharto regime. This establishment was also related to the issue of sectarianism with the establishment of ICMI as well as President Suharto's accommodation and co-optation of the rising middle class modernist Muslims. In this regard, Wahid also challenged the ideas of Islamisation and of democracy introduced by the modernist Muslims.[2]

Democracy became a national political issue in the 1990s following the fall of the Berlin wall in 1989, signifying the breakdown of communism as well as the rise of liberalism which advocated capitalism in the form of globalisation. In line with the issue of globalisation, Suharto introduced the era of openness which would imply more political participation. In line with this Suharto's regime created a semi-formal body of the National Committee of Human Rights (*Komite Nasional Hak-Hak Asasi Manusia*, *Komnas HAM*) as a response to the international trend of globalisation and liberalisation for the purpose of securing the national interest.

In this regard, Wahid argued that the fall of the world ideology of communism did not automatically bring about a new era of democratisation in developing countries such as Indonesia. The fall of communism caused the Soeharto regime to strengthen the political system with the argument of avoiding the rising demand for separatism as had happened with the breakup of the Soviet Union and later Yugoslavia. In line with this, the regime argued that Indonesia should preserve the nature of Indonesian society. In this regard, Suharto followed the Sukarno regime's adoption of the integralistic nature of Indonesia, firstly introduced by Supomo,[3] similar to the idea of cultural relativism.[4]

The nature of the Soeharto regime was a militaristic regime which runs the government oligarchy with the help of bureaucrats and technocrats. In regard with bureaucracy and technocracy Soeharto accommodate the modernist Muslims. Suharto developed cooperation with the modernist Muslims since its establishment at the end of 1960s, as he was obsessed by modernisation, besides his plan was to marginalise the political role of the traditionalist Muslims. Indeed, Soeharto wanted to maintain power for himself

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[1] Thoha, Z. A. (1993). Gus Dur, NU dan Demokrasi [Gus Dur, NU, and Democracy]. Membangun Budaya Kerakyatan: Kepemimpinan Gus Dur dan Gerakan Sosial NU [Establishing Populis Culture: Gus Dur's Leadership and NU's Social Movement]. Z. A. Thoha and M. A. Mustofa. Yogyakarta, Titian Ilahi Press.

[2] Wahid, A. (1999). Mengurai Hubungan Agama dan Negara [Elaborating the Interface Islam and State]. Jakarta, Grasindo.

[3] Pranarka, A. M. W. (1985). Sejarah Pemikiran tentang Pancasila [The Intellectual History of Pancasila] Jakarta, CSIS.

[4] Wahid, A. (1994). Individu, Negara, dan Ideologi [Individual, the State, and Ideology]. Menjawab Perubahan Zaman: Warisan Pemikiran K.H. Abdurrahman Wahid [Responding to the Changes of the Time: The Thought of Abdurrahman Wahid]. J. Oetomo. Jakarta, Kompas.

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by centralizing the power and did not tolerate a strong political party, namely *Partai Persatuan Pembangunan*, PPP (the United Development Party, UDP) whose members came from the traditionalist Muslims.

The traditionalist Muslims never had a close relationship with the regime because the former was mostly associated with the United Development Party, main political force after the ban of Indonesian Communist Party (*Partai Komunis Indonesia*, PKI). The regime considered improperly that traditionalist Muslims developed an Islamic ideological, aspiring to establish an Islamic state or to interpret the national ideology of Pancasila by the Shari'ah. Actually, they developed fiqh paradigm which advocated the Pancasila state, but the regime did not tolerated any political opposition as an instrument for developing democracy. Accordingly the regime tried to intervene to political parties, namely UDP and *Partai Demokrasi Indonesia*, PDI (Indonesian Democracy Party, IDP).

Wahid considered correctly that the association of the traditionalist Muslims to UDP was not conducive to the development of Nahdlatul Ulama, NU (the Revival of the Clergy), a religious mass organization. It was very easy for the regime to intervene the internal affairs of the UDP as a fusion of some Islamic parties of different political orientations. In this regard UDP failed to formulate a coherent party platform which enabled them to do checks and balances to the regime. Accordingly Wahid did not want to consolidate Indonesian democratization by political party. In line with this he tried to empower NU to play a role of civil society: providing checks and balances to the government. For that purposes, Wahid, the chief executive leader of NU, released its affiliation to the United Development Party (PPP). At the same time, he tried to convince Suharto to adopt the idea of civil society for the purpose of development of democracy in Indonesia. His efforts were relatively successful to influence the regime to support the development of NU, however the regime was not concerned with the development of democracy. On the contrary, Suharto tried to maintain power by means of co-optation, but it was not easy for him to co-opted NU in which the leadership of *pesantren* (traditional Islamic system of education) under the clerics was not regulated hierarchal.

Soeharto was very successful to co-opt the modernist Muslims after his success to approach to its chief leaderships. Indeed, the modernist Muslims had tendency to develop the bureaucratization of Islam as well as the agenda of Islamization. In line with this, Soeharto believed that he was able to control them and accordingly he gave his approval for establishing ICMI. The establishment of ICMI on 6 December 1990 was one of the more successful Muslim efforts made to approach the secular Suharto regime.[5] It was concomitant with Suharto's efforts to expand his political basis to balance the rising power of the military.[6] Wahid did not agree with the cooperation, developed by the regime, with the modernist Muslims, which was considered as a kind of 'marriage of convenience', not strong enough to resolve the ideological conflicts between the followers of secular and Islamic aspirations.[7]

II. Soeharto and the Modernist Muslims on the Modernization

The neo-modernist Muslims had employed democracy as a tool for intellectual analysis in the 1970s[8] as they were educated in both religious and secular institutions so that they were proficient in both Islamic and secular knowledge. In this regard, Nurcholish Madjid was a pioneer who argued 'yes for Islam and no for Islamic parties'. This was as a response to Suharto's regime which was hostile towards Islam.[9] By so doing, Madjid informed the regime that Islam was different from Islamic parties so that he supported the idea of a secular state which differentiated the management of state and that of religion. In other words, he supported the idea of a democratic state. Wahid agreed with Madjid's proposition of 'yes for Islam and no for Islamic parties', but he, actually, had a slightly different understanding from Madjid on the concept of democracy. In this regard, Madjid was likely to insist on promoting Islam as the dominant culture for Indonesia akin to that of Christianity for people of the USA.[10] Accordingly, he, then, joined with ICMI in order to fulfil his idea of the bureaucratisation of Islamic affairs, with the help of the government.

As we know, the political power of the New Order regime was run by three elite groups that are the military, bureaucracy and technocracy. These three elite groups ran an oligarchic government as the dominant

[5] Rahardjo, M. D. (1995). Visi dan Misi Kehadiran ICMI: Sebuah Pengantar [Vision and Mission of ICMI]. ICMI Antara Status Quo dan Demorkatisasi [ICMI: Between Status Quo and Democratization]. N. Ali-Fauzi. Bandung, Mizan.

[6] Jones, N. (2010). "Rediscovering Pancasila: Religion in Indonesia's Public Square." The Brandywine Review of Faith and International Affairs **3**(1).

[7] Rahardjo, M. D. (1995). ICMI, Masyarakat Madani dan Masa Depan Politik di Indonesia: Sebuah Catatan Akhir [ICMI, Civil Society and the Future of Indonesian Politics]. ICMI atara Status Quo dan Demokratisasi [ICMI: Between the Status Quo and Democratization]. N. Ali-Fauzi. Bandung, Mizan.

[8] Assyaukani, L. (2004). "Democracy and the Islamic state: Muslim Arguments for Political Change in Indonesia." The Copenhagen Journal of Asian Studies **20**. These intellectuals were known variably as 'revivalist Muslims' (Hassan, 1980), 'neo-modernist Muslims' (Barton, 1995), and 'liberal Muslims' (Qodir, 2003).

[9] Ibid.

[10] Madjid, N. (2004). Indonesia Kita [Our Indonesia]. Jakarta, Gramedia.

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political power, namely the military elites, was not able to run the government without the supports of the bureaucrat and technocrat elites. It was not surprising that the new order regime pursued technocratic and bureaucratic approaches.[11] Indeed, the military had great political power since the establishment of the new order regime as military officers occupied the most governmental offices at various levels as well as strategic positions in the fields of economy and technology.[12] For that purpose, they tried to find justification from the doctrine of the dual function of the military (*dwi-fungsi ABRI*).[13] Howeve, mostly the technocrats and bureaucrats came from either the secular nationalists or the modernist Muslims. The modernist Muslims were relatively successful than their counterpart of the traditionalist Muslims to fill the offices of bureaucracy and of technocracy as the result of agenda of Islamic modernization. Wahid's critic to them is their adoption of ideological approach of the modern civilization which made them difficult to negotiate with their counterpart of the traditionalist Muslims. This ideological approach was not very detrimental in the West because of its ability to develop the mechanism of checks and balances within its societal systems, including its political system, as well as its tolerance to other social groups. Examples of this ideological approach were their ideas of bureaucratisation of Islam, of Islamisation, of Islamic culture, and of interpreting Pancasila through Shari'ah.

The modernist Muslims had not had a clear worldview on the relationship between Islam and the Pancsila state because of the different nature of modern nation state and Islam. They tended to make uses of modern state to implement Shari'ah (Islamic Law). This tendency contravened the nature of modern state which functions to protect individual as a citizenship, implying a neutral to any religious affiliations. This contradiction can be resolved only by following a true concept of modern state as well as to employ Islamic cosmology, namely the *fiqh* paradigm,[14] which considers phenomena in term of secular and religious knowledge at once. Another modernist Muslim who was still confused on the Pancasila state was Amien Rais. His association with ICMI was confirming his support of bureaucratisation, a part of his disagreement with an Islamic state, at least in 1982, in his interview with the Islamic magazine, *Panji Masyarkat*, with the bombastic title 'The Islamic State Does Not Exist' (*Panji Masyarakat*, 1 November 1982). His interview created agreement and disagreement for some weeks and one of the most important responses was the article written by Mohammad Roem, a leader of *Masyumi*, in February 1983. He supported Rais's statement. Rais's breakthrough has paved the way for other Muslim intellectuals and leaders to go in the same direction. Apart from this article, Syafi'i Ma' arif, his colleague in Muhammadiyah, gave an evident that in 1987 Amien Rais still believed in the unity of Islam and the state.[15] Encompassing by the idea of bureaucratisation of Islam, Amien Rais joined with the ICMI from the beginning of its establishment.

By the end of the 1980s Suharto was becoming worried about this military power under the leadership of General Benny Murdani, which was perceived as being out of control and, accordingly, he tried to reduce the power of the military. In doing so, Suharto made use of a professional argument that it was more appropriate for the the Ministry of Research and Technology, under B.J. Habbie, a modernist Muslim, to handle the military industries.[16] The modernist Muslims also noticed the rising tensions between Suharto and Murdani, a Catholic, and accordingly, they tried to approach the regime with their idea of Islamisation. They tried to establish a kind of institution for the purpose of strengthening their bargaining power. At the same time, Suharto also had an idea of co-opting Muslims. For that purpose, President Suharto endorsed the establishment of ICMI and his protégé, the Minister of Research and Technology, B.J. Habibie headed the organisation.[17]

The establishment of ICMI was a further development of the success of modernist Muslims who had been absorbed by the regime in the bureaucracy and technocracy. This did not mean that its member just came from Islamic modernist organisations, as some Muslims of the traditionalist background also joined to ICMI.[18] What I'd like to emphasise is that the idea of bureaucratisation of Islam was the thought of the modernist Muslims.[19] Indeed, Suharto tried to co-opt all Muslim groups for the purpose of balancing the political influence of the military.

The establishment of ICMI was just possible following the acceptance of Pancasila as the only basis for a political party and mass organisation in the 1980s.

[11] Kaisiepo, M. (1997). "Dari Kepolitikan Birokratik ke Korporatisme Negara: Birokrasi dan Politik di Indonesia [From a bureaucratic politics to a corporate state: bureaucracy and politics in Indonesia]." Jurnal Ilmu Politik(No. 2).

[12] Ibid.

[13] Adam Schwarz, A. (1994). A Nation in Waiting: Indonesia in the 1990s. Sydney, Westview.

[14] Saefur Rochmat, "The Fiqh Paradigm for Pancasila State: Abdurrahman Wahid on Islam, Democracy, and the Republic of Indonesia", *Al-Jami'ah*, Vol. 52, No. 2 (2014): p. 309.

[15] Ma'arif, S. (1988). Islam dan Politik di Indonesia: Pada Masa Demokrasi Terpimpin (1959-1965) [Islam and Politics in Indonesia at the Guided Democracy Era]. Yogyakarta, IAIN Sunan Kalijaga Press.

[16] Mahfud, M. (2010). Gus Dur: Islam, Politik, dan Kebangsaan [Gus Dur: Islam, Politic, and Nationalism]. Yogyakarta, LkiS.

[17] Kikue Hamayotsu, K. (2011). "Beyond faith and identity: mobilizing Islamic youth in a democratic Indonesia." The Pacific Review **24**(2): 225-247.

[18] Wahid, A. (1999). Prisma Pemikiran Abdurrahman Wahid [Abdurrahman Wahid's Prismatic Thoughts]. Yogyakarta, LKiS.

[19] Adam Schwarz, A. (1994). A Nation in Waiting: Indonesia in the 1990s. Sydney, Westview.

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Suharto did not see ICMI as dangerous as the latter did not challenge his policies, besides his belief was in his ability to control it. Indeed, ICMI gave more power to the Suharto regime with their idea of the bureaucratisation of Islam. In 1995 this was confirmed by ICMI's understanding of civil society in terms of *masyarakat madani* (the ideal society) which would give more power to the executive. In this regard, I agree with Wahid's conclusion that:

> I'd like to congratulate to [Emha Ainun Najib] on his resignation from ICMI. In my view, that organisation is the government's sub-ordinate, although I never say that.[20]

The majority of ICMI members were the modernist Muslims who aspired to the agenda of the Islamisation of Indonesia and pursued their goal not by political parties but by 'the cultural approach'. This was due to their position of being bureaucratic and technocratic elites. It is difficult to accuse these modernist Muslims of ignoring the democratic procedure as they pursued the democratic mechanism to achieve their goal, especially the Islamisation of Indonesia. In this regard, they did not want to establish an Islamic state, but rather to interpret Pancasila by Islamic law,[21] but in the long run it was possible to direct the creation of an Islamic state as some Islamists joined with ICMI. This political Islam was clearly stated by Bintang Pamungkas as follows:

> Nurcholish's concept of 'Islam, yes Islamic party, no,' is denigrating to the Islamic way of life. You can't do anything without political power.... Throughout the New Order Muslims have been in a very low position. For me, ICMI is a means to political power. [22]

III. Wahid's Counter Discourse to ICMI

a) Wahid's Critic on ICMI's Understanding of Democracy

Wahid did not agree with the dominant role of Islam in political life in Indonesia because this was contrary to the concept of the nation state which does not differentiate amongst people based on their religious background. Accordingly, Wahid refused to join with ICMI because of its use of Islam as a flag:

> Although I do not join ICMI, I hope that ICMI would produce something precious for our country. However, I have a strong conviction that I should not join with ICMI. The reason is because of its use of the Islamic flag.[23]

Wahid did not oppose the establishment of ICMI as long as it was for the purpose of political participation which would make the regime more democratic. Wahid was critical of the sectarian understanding of democracy by the modernist Muslims.[24] He evaluated that they were just concerned with power and not concerned with the democracy as the common interest of all Indonesians. Wahid considered correctly that the modernist Muslims' thoughts on democracy were contrary to the *raison d etre* of the theory of democracy which would justify the concept of the nation state. In this regard, Masykuri Abdillah evaluated precisely that these modernist Muslims just adopted the practical, not philosophical, concept of democracy for the purpose of a practical arrangement of public affairs, in regard to the fact that they did not live in an Islamic state. Philosophically, they argued that the nature of democracy, of negotiation, inherently meant compromising the truth so that it was contrary to Islam which, they believed, had dictated to them the absolute truth. Accordingly, they persisted in the efforts of interpreting Pancasila with Syari'ah by means of the mechanism of democracy, namely procedural democracy, which justified the rule of majority.

Wahid was also concerned with the Islamists' idea of proportionate democracy, that Muslims should have proportionate representatives in the governmental system such as in the parliament and ministry. It was one of political issues employed by the Islamists who considered that Christians were over represented in the government. In this regard, Wahid reminded the Islamists that those who worked for the governmental were not priests, but scholars. It was correct that Muslims per se, not the modernist Muslims, were proportionately represented in the governmental system.[25] Wahid was also concerned with the fact that these modernist Muslims of ICMI ignored the essential element of democracy which respects the rights of the minority. For example, these modernist Muslims insisted that different levels of governmental systems should facilitate the creation of the bureaucratisation of religious affairs.[26]

[20] *Jawa Pos*, 19 September 1991.
[21] Michael Feener, R. M. (2007). Muslim Legal Thought in Modern Indonesia. Leiden, Cambridge University Press.
[22] Adam Schwarz, A. (1994). A Nation in Waiting: Indonesia in the 1990s. Sydney, Westview.
[23] *Jawa Pos*, 6 December 1990.
[24] M. Dawam Rahardjo, M. D. (1995). ICMI, Masyarakat Madani dan Masa Depan Politik di Indonesia: Sebuah Catatan Akhir [ICMI, Civil Society and the Future of Indonesian Politics]. ICMI atara Status Quo dan Demokratisasi [ICMI: Between the Status Quo and Democratization]. N. Ali-Fauzi. Bandung, Mizan.
[25] Abdurrahman Wahid, A. (1999). Islam, Negara, dan Demokrasi: Himpunan Percekikan Perenungan Gus Dur. A. Wahid. Jakarta, Erlangga.
[26] Hakiem, L., T. Linrung and M. F. Rakasima (1995). Mereka Bicara tentang I.C.M.I.: Sorotan Lima Tahun Perjalanan I.C.M.I. [They discuss about I.C.M.I.: Evaluation on I.C.M.I.'s Its Five Year Establishment]. Jakarta, Amanah Putra Nusantara.

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I do not agree with Abdillah's assessment that Wahid just followed the liberal tradition.[27] In fact, Wahid developed a theology of Islamic democracy as his response to the modern concept of democracy from the Islamic point of view, namely the *fiqh*-plus paradigm. By so doing, he related religious aspirations to non-religious aspirations such as the concept of democracy, revitalising the *fiqh* paradigm to suit modern development.[28] More accurate was Mujiburrahman's argument that Wahid was a true Islamic thinker whose thought was based on the Islamic tradition rooted in the Qur'an.

Mujiburrahman argues that Wahid understood the concept of democracy as a kind of implementation of Islamic universal values such as mutual deliberations (*al-syura*), justice (*al-'adal*), equality (*al-musawah*), and freedom (*al-huriyah*) in the modern context.[29] In other words, the adaptation of Islam to the form of the concept of democracy was a kind of classical phenomenon of *ushul al-fiqh* which tried to accommodate culture (*al-'adah*) into the norm, namely Syari'ah.[30] In line with this, Muslims should support the Republic of Indonesia which is a commitment to the idea of liberal democracy. In this regard, he only committed to Islamic values, namely democracy, not the form of an Islamic state. Wahid argued that Islamic law functioned only to complement the existing culture, or in other words, Islam was a part of culture, not the other way around, with Islam as an alternative to 'non-Islamic culture', such as believed by the Islamists.[31] Accordingly, his thought on the theology of Islamic democracy was to resolve the conflicting ideas between secular aspirations and Islamic ones.

Wahid did not agree with a legal-formal approach developed by Islamists who still idealised the establishment of an Islamic state or at least the interpretation of the national ideology of Pancasila in the view of Islamic law (Syari'ah). Furthermore, radical Islamists such as *Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia* (HTI) and *Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia* (MMI) had opposed the idea of democracy because they considered that it was from the Western tradition.[32] He also did not agree with the secular nationalists who advocated the secular paradigm which tried to differentiate the public affairs of the state and those of the culture, including religion. In this regard, Wahid advocated the *fiqh* paradigm as a moderate form of aspiration which tried to relate the secular and theocratic aspirations. The *fiqh* paradigm believed in the concept of mutual legitimacy between Islam and the state. In this regard, in 1982 Wahid wrote an article entitled 'Jangan Paksakan Paradigma Luar terhadap Agama' [Do not Apply the Foreign Paradigms to Islam],[33] as his criticism toward the Islamists who made use of modern ideologies for understanding Islam. Wahid believed that theology should form the basis for Muslim responses to foreign concepts.[34]

Wahid did not agree with the idea of interpreting Pancasila through Syari'ah, namely the idea of Islamisation, as it was in contradiction to the slogan of Indonesian society that was 'unity in diversity' (*Bhineka Tunggal Ika*). Accordingly, he did not want any religion to dominate Indonesian political life. He did not agree with the dominant role of Islam in Indonesian political life in spite of the Muslim majority. This was due to the fact that the same status of the people's majority religion was also true for Hindu-Buddhism before the coming of Islam. Accordingly, the status of Islam as the majority religion was not enough to justify the dominant political role for its adherents. Indeed, Wahid was aware of the historical development of this country so that he was able to envisage the proper role of religion, namely Islam, in socio-political life in Indonesia. He had developed an open mind in accepting the plurality of the Indonesian people and he accepted the Pancasila state. In line with this, he argued that the Muslims should play the role of protector of the Republic of Indonesia and religious organisations to take a role in civil society which provides checks and balances to the state.

Wahid persuaded Muslims not follow the way of non-Muslims in their efforts of preserving their minority identities. If the Muslims tried to emphasise their identities, non-Muslims would increase their minority complex. By so doing, Wahid required the Muslims to develop a mature attitude of not imitating the way of non-Muslims, instead, approaching them to develop cooperation for the purpose of the unity of Indonesia. In line with this Wahid did not agree with ICMI's conception of *masyarakat madani* which clearly signified an Islamic identity and argued for a dominant role of Islam. Moreover, he did not agree with ICMI's understanding of civil society with *masyarakat madani* which would justify a strong executive institution in the hands of President Suharto.

[27] Mujiburrahman (1999). "Islam and politics in Indonesia: The political thought of Abdurrahman Wahid." Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations **10**(3): 339-352.
[28] Abdurrahman Wahid, A. (1999). Prisma Pemikiran Abdurrahman Wahid [Abdurrahman Wahid's Prismatic Thoughts]. Yogyakarta, LKiS.
[29] Achmad Mufid, A. (2010). Nyleneh Itu Indah [Idiosyncrasy is Beautiful]. Yogyakarta, Kutuh.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Wahid, A. (2007). Komplementer ataukah Alternatif [Complementary or Alternative?]. Gus Dur, Islam, dan Kebangkitan Indonesia [Gus Dur, Islam, and Indonesian Awakening]. A. M. Iskandar. Yogyakarta, Klik R.
[32] Abdillah, M. (1999). Demokrasi Dipersimpangan Makna: Respon Intelektual Muslim Indonesia terhadap Konsep Demokrasi (1966-1993) [The Competing Meanings of Democracy: Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals' Response to the Democracy] Yogyakarta, Tiara Wacana.
[33] Abdurrahman Wahid, A. (1999). Prisma Pemikiran Abdurrahman Wahid [Abdurrahman Wahid's Prismatic Thoughts]. Yogyakarta, LKiS.
[34] Wahid, A. (1989). Pengantar [Introduction]. Nahdlatul Ulama dan Pancasila [Nahdlatul Ulama and Pancasila]. E. M. Sitompul. Jakarta, Sinar Harapan.

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b) Wahid's Critic of ICMI's Understanding of Civil Society

Wahid did not agree with the idea of bureaucratisation of Islam because he believed that Islamic practices should be under the control of Islamic leaders. Moreover, Wahid tried to empower the existing Islamic organisations to play the role of civil society which would create checks and balances to the state and he provided the theological foundation for that purpose which enabled Muslims to develop cooperation with non-Muslims.[35]

In 1990s Wahid's implementation of Gramsci's idea of counter hegemony instigated a discourse of civil society in the national political life. This term of civil society was introduced by the young generation of NU in 1990s, namely the followers of Wahid, who tried to support Wahid's critical stance towards the regime.[36] There appeared intellectual debates about civil society amongst different socio-political forces and they proposed different terminologies.[37] In this regard, ICMI, which was accommodated by the regime, tried to understand civil society with *masyarakat madani* a comparable terminology explored through their understanding of the history of Islam.[38] By so doing, ICMI did not want to use the notion of civil society to confront the state as they did not want to confront the Suharto regime. In other words, they supported the position of the strong executive such as run by Suharto. This ICMI understanding of civil society was different from the modern concept of civil society which emphasised its relative independence from the state. However, as a discourse, this understanding can be justified by the original term civil society which came from the Latin *civilis society* introduced by Cicero.[39] Dr. Didin Damanhuri of ICMI also admitted that this different understanding was due to both having different historical backgrounds in their conceptualisation. He did not want to follow the European understanding of civil society.[40] Indeed, he, together with other members of ICMI, tended towards the bureaucratisation of Islam and he advocated the Islamisation of knowledge. Ahmad Baso, the young generation of NU, criticised ICMI, especially Nurcholish Madjid, who proposed *masyarakat madani* as an alternative of civil society.[41]

It was possible to Islamise the modern concept of civil society, but Wahid did not want to do so because this may divert the real meaning of the concept of civil society itself. Moreover, this may blurred his main concern of developing democracy in Indonesia. Accordingly, he preferred to use the prevailing institutions in order to eliminate the primordial social barricades amongst different social groups such as those based on religion, ethnicity, race, and religious denomination. He believed that the neutral institutions, namely an open system, was more conducive to the development of democracy in a plural society such as Indonesia. Indeed, Wahid wanted to play the role of the teacher of the whole of Indonesia so that he emphasised his identity as an Indonesian rather than as a Muslim. In this regard, he made use of Islam as the complementary factor, not a supplementary one, so that he was not concerned with the issue of the Islamisation of the knowledge. This was due to being more concerned with the substance of the ideas than with their terminologies. As a result, he did not want to give civil society an exclusive Islamic term. This did not imply that he opposed Muslims who wanted to develop Islamic concepts and institutions, as long as they did not intend to offer them as an alternative to the national state.

IV. Wahid's Counter Discourse on Soeharto's Monolithic Interpretation of Pancasila

Wahid did not agree with the sectarian character of ICMI and accordingly, he, together with intellectuals and activists from different religious backgrounds, established *Forum Demokrasi* (*Fordem*, the Democracy Forum) in the cause of the consolidation of democracy in Indonesia. Wahid established Fordem

[35] Mark Woodward, M. (2007). Translator's Introduction. Islam, pluralism, and democracy. Arizona, Consortium for Strategic Communication, Arizona State University.

[36] Thang D Nguyen and Frank Jurgen Richter, p. 76

[37] Rahardjo, M. D. (1999). Masyarakat Madani: Agama, Kelas Menengah dan Perubahan Sosial [Civil Society: Religion, Middle Class, and Social Changes]. Jakarta, LP3ES dan LSAF.

[38] This term of *masyarakat madani* was introduced by Anwar Ibrahim at the Festival Istiqlal seminar on 26th September 1995. This terminology was a translation from the Arabic word "*mujtama' madani*", introduced by Prof. Naquib Attas, a historian of Islamic civilisation from Malaysia. The word of "*madani*" means civil or civilised which reflects civilisation, similar to other Arabic words such as *hadlari, tsaqafi* and *tamaddun*. See Hamim, T. (2000). Islam dan Civil society (Masyarakat madani): Tinjauan tentang Prinsip Human Rights, Pluralism dan Religious Tolerance [Islam and Civil Society (Masyarakat Madani): In the View of the Principles of Human Rights, Pluralism, and Religious Tolerance]. Pendidikan Islam, Demokratisasi dan Masyarakat Madani [Islamic Education, Democratisation, and an Ideal Society]. I. SM and A. Mukti. Yogyakarta, Pustaka Pelajar.

[39] It is likely that when a concept becomes an area of contestation as a concept it is very often related to contestation of power. This concept of *masyarakat madani* is similar to the terms of *societas civilis* (civil society) introduced by Cicero (106-1043 B.C.) whose meaning reflects to the political society which has civic code as an instrument for managing societal life. The members of ICMI understand *masyarakat madani* in the same way as Cicero, as Muhammad the Prophet successfully built Madinah into an city state. Of course, they made uses of Cicero's terminology to suit the autocratic Suharto regime. Rowley, C. K. (1998). "On the Nature of Civil Society." The Independent Review **2**(3).

[40] M. Dawam Rahardjo, M. D. (1999). Masyarakat Madani: Agama, Kelas Menengah dan Perubahan Sosial [Civil Society: Religion, Middle Class, and Social Changes]. Jakarta, LP3ES dan LSAF.

[41] Saleh, F. (2004). Teologi Pembaruan: Pergeseran Wacana Islam Sunni di Indonesia Abad XX [Theology of Reformation: The Shift of Discourses amongst the Sunni Muslims in Indonesia in the 20th Century]. Jakarta, PT Serambi Ilmu Semesta.

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because he did not want to jeopardise Muslims' relationship with the military.

I would like to emphasise that Fordem was not a mass organisation or an advocacy organisation, but just a forum for those concerned with the development of democracy in Indonesia.

The Democracy Forum is not a mass organisation, but an education group, to improve the practices of democracy. This forum is also to deal with the problems of democracy for the future, for example, the problems of culture and of conducive political related factors for national integration. Recently, there appear some phenomena of groupings related to both regionalism and sectarianism....In the view of democracy, what is required is the condition of freedom of thought and of association, besides respecting different opinions amongst each other.[42]

It was interesting that Wahid did not make use of NU as the backbone of his political manoeuvre because he did not want to put people against the regime, indeed, it was in line with his commitment to NU as a religious organisation which should not deal with practical politics. Wahid realised that it was not easy for him to criticise the regime without negative impact for NU so he established Fordem for that purpose. Regarding the action plans of Fordem, Wahid mentioned four points:

> First is to expand the participation of people's voices in order to mature the country in the process of democratisation; second is to improve communication amongst the different groups of the supporters of democratisation; third is to develop a link amongst the supporters of democratisation which are still dispersed and small; fourth is to preserve the tradition of the democracy movements by all means, including publication.[43]

Wahid made use of the Forum Democracy to publicise some statements, namely a counter discourse, challenging the formal interpretation of Pancasila by a regime set on the integralistic nature of Indonesian society. On the other hand, he developed a counter-discourse which supported liberal democracy as well as his interpretation of the Islamic tradition following the *fiqh* paradigm. Accordingly, Fordem had put Wahid into a state of the highest tension with the regime.[44] Wahid's success as the leader of Fordem was recognised by Indonesian people of different religious background and this resulted in him being nominated by *Editor*[45] and *Tempo* magazines respectively as the man of the year.

Wahid's leadership reputation outside NU, as well as among Muslims generally, had caused the Suharto regime to be unable to accuse him of being a conservative or a radical eligible for silencing by the regime.

Prominent in Wahid's establishment of Fordem was his understanding of Antonio Gramsci's counter-discourse. Wahid was brave enough to create a counter-hegemony to the regime because he was able to form an alliance with some military officers under the leadership of General Benny Murdani, who felt disappointed with the increasing role of the modernist Muslims under the leadership of B.J. Habibie. Wahid knew how to make political moves and he saved his position by playing on the political balances amongst the different of the political forces. Moreover, he received support from other Indonesian people beyond his traditional NU circle as well as the Muslim circle generally in his efforts at consolidating democracy in Indonesia. Last but not least, Wahid obtained political influence from his position as a chairman of NU as the biggest mass organisation in Indonesia.

The military was traumatised and worried about the modernist Muslims' idealism about an Islamic state such as had manifested in the history of Indonesia. Accordingly, Wahid tried to keep the relations between the military and the modernist Muslims from breaking into conflict. He was worried about the military's response to the modernist Muslims whose interest was in interpreting Pancasila according to Islamic law. This was due to his belief that conflict would endanger the development of democracy in Indonesia.

Wahid kept a close eye on the political rivalry between the military and ICMI such as manifested clearly in their competition to install their people in the candidacy for the vice-president in 1992. In this regard, the military presented *a fait a accompli* to Suharto with the announcement of its faction in parliament which promoted General Tri Soetrisno to become the candidate for vice-president. It was clearly aimed at blocking any chance of B.J. Habibie becoming candidate for vice-president.

Wahid's political influence was greater than the leaders of political parties as he had real support from the people. Accordingly, he was able to assume the role that normally would belong to a political party to control the course of the government.[46] Gus Dur considered that the Suharto regime had ruled autocratically by assuming the role of true interpreter of the national ideology of Pancasila such as we see in his statement below:

The government's claim for being more knowledgeable about anything in society is a common feature everywhere in our country. This kind of attitude is not conducive to improving the quality of human resources and, moreover, causes the excessive

[42] *Jawa Pos*, 4 April 1991.
[43] *Jawa Pos*, 4 April 1991.
[44] Abdurrahman Wahid, A. (1999). Prisma Pemikiran Abdurrahman Wahid [Abdurrahman Wahid's Prismatic Thoughts]. Yogyakarta, LKiS.
[45] *Jawa Pos*, 17 December 1990.
[46] Wahid, A. (2007). "Islam, Pluralism and Democracy." Consortium for Strategic Communication: 10.

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bureaucratisation of the existing governmental institutions. This means that legislative institutions do not function as a tool for supporting democracy in long term.[47]

Wahid was also critical of the Suharto regime's policy of bureaucratisation of culture:

> Culture should not be interpreted monolithically by focusing on ...anything which is considered aesthetic just for a pure aesthetical goal. ...The prevailing authoritarianism is not a legacy of culture or a product of the national personality, but a side effect of a system which has been working out of control for more than 20 years.[48]

The character of an autocratic state manifested in all aspects of societal life and this also emerged for NU in the issue of national lottery (SDSB, *Sumbangan Dermawan Sosial Berhadiah*, a lottery with the name of Philanthropist's Social Contribution with a Prize). Wahid commented to the issue of SDSB as follows:

> ...the conflict within the national leaders of NU on the issue of SDSB is an internal NU problem which has been intervened in by the government, namely the Ministers of Religious Affairs and of Home Affairs. This is a dangerous precedent, namely reducing the independence of NU.[49]

V. Wahid's Non-Revolutionary Method and Zigzag Strategy

Indeed, it was not an easy job to be critical of the regime as he came under strong pressure from the government as well as other elements of society. At that time, all political parties and mass organisations had supported Suharto for the next presidential election. He did not want to support Suharto's autocratic regime and he argued that it would not be appropriate for NU to give support for presidential candidacy as NU was not a political party, but a mass religious organisation.

To avoid the pressure from the government and the some elements of society, in 1992 Wahid carried out a mass meeting (*Rapat Akbar*) of NU in Jakarta which confirmed NU's loyalty to the national ideology of Pancasila and the Constitution rather than surrendering to Suharto's pressure to support his leadership for the next election. This mass meeting was also to remind certain groups to not force decisions on the basis of group interest, such as stated by Mustofa Bisri:

> A mass meeting or rally is, indeed, to be an arena for a show of power or to challenge certain groups who want to pursue their interests by ignoring the constitution and neglecting unity and integrity. 'To break the constitution, NU would need to be defeated first' is likely what Wahid wants to say.[50]

The regime was not happy with the *Rapat Akbar* of NU just three months away from parliamentary elections and Wahid was warned by Lieutenant Colonel Prabowo Subianto, Suharto's son-in-law, that "he had strayed beyond the boundaries of acceptable political conduct ...[he] was to stick with religious issues and stay out of politics." As a result of Wahid's commitment to democracy, he opted to leave the Nahdlatul Ulama and headed up Democracy Forum.[51] In response to Wahid's manoeuvre, the government through its ministers accused him of being the follower of liberalism, with Abdul Gafur, former Minister of Youth and Sport, saying that:

> It is likely that the establishment of the Democracy Forum is to adopt foreign ideas which had been practised unsuccessfully during the old order regime. These foreign ideas belong to liberalism which is not suitable to Indonesian culture.[52]

Pressure on Wahid to decline the candidacy of the NU leadership also came from K.H. Ali Yafie', vice-*Rais 'Am* of NU, and K.H. Yusuf Hasyim, who were close with the government. The reason was Wahid's approval for proposing funding to YDBKS (*Yayasan Dana Bakti Kesejahteraan Sosial*, Monetary Foundation for Serving Social Welfare), management of the national lottery of SDSB, and his participation in Fordem. This issue of funding from YDBKS caused conflict between K.H. Ali Yafie and Wahid. It was not usual that Wahid was able to win support over the institution of *Rais 'Am*, as the ultimate body of NU. In this regard, K.H. Ali Yafie tried to bring NU closer to the Suharto regime in line with other Islamic organisations, while Wahid argued for the neutrality of NU toward the regime. In this regard, Wahid pulled something of a skilled political manoeuvre through his relationship to Fordem.

Responding to the pressure, Wahid asserted, in fact, he preferred to be a leader of Fordem than a leader of NU:

> If I am pressured to choose only one, I would like to be a chief of the Democracy Forum. ...There is no prohibition for me outside NU. The Democracy Forum is not an illegal organisation.[53]

In fact he would not leave NU if there was no guarantee for the role of NU as a critical force in civil society. In 1994 he postponed his intention of leaving NU and persisted in his willingness to head NU for the

[47] Jawa Pos, 10 August 1991.
[48] Wahid, A. (1991). Negara dan Kebudayaan [The State and the Culture]. Jawa Pos. East Java, Jawa Pos.
[49] Jawa Pos, 24 December 1991.
[50] Bisri, M. (1992). Gus Dur dan Rapat Akbar N.U.-nya [Gus Dur and His N.U.'s Great Gathering]. Jawa Pos. East Java, Jawa Pos.
[51] Adam Schwarz, A. (1994). A Nation in Waiting: Indonesia in the 1990s. Sydney, Westview.
[52] Jawa Pos, 24 August 1992.
[53] Jawa Pos, 28 July 1992.

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next term as he envisaged the danger of co-optation of NU under a new executive leader:

> I am prepared to be re-elected as the executive general leader [of NU] in the national congress, for nothing other than to block politicians who want to seize the position of the elite leaders of NU. This is due to no existing leadership candidates who are able to challenge these politicians. Their political moves should be blocked before they are able to bring disorder and the programs of *Khittah* 1926 fail, which has been achieved. If they come to power, *Khittah* 1926 will be dragged into political affiliations.[54]

Indeed, in 1994 Wahid was very vocal about the regime, although he was aware of the possibility of the Suharto regime blocking his desire to be re-elected as the general executive leader of NU. He already mentioned publicly that the new order regime was a kind of semi-authoritarian regime:

The nature of push and pull between political freedom on one side and political stability on the other side in the process of the development of our democracy will result in the semi-authoritarian nature of the new order regime....our democracy is not a complete democracy, but also not completely authoritarian. This nature of an in-between governmental system has caused some supporters of the pro-democracy movement as well as government officials to worry continuously. The supporters of the pro-democracy movement are worried about the narrowing individual sphere of political freedom, while the government officials are worried about the possibility of an out of control situation which may have a negative impact on economic development.[55]

The competition for the position of the general chief of the executive section of NU in Cipasung in 1994, indeed, was tense. There were three competing candidates, but Fahmi Saefudin cancelled his candidacy on seeing the government's intervention in internal NU affairs. At last, Wahid received more voices from the NU delegates than K.H. Abu Hasan who had backing from the government.[56]

Indeed, 1994, pro-democracy supporters became more frequent in expressing their political concerns than before and the Suharto regime became unable to handle them so that it was beginning to pursue repressive methods such as banning some books by the Supreme Court. In this regard, General Attorney Singgih S.H. accused pro-democracy supporters of spreading liberal democracy by saying that:

> ...if previously we were shaken by the forces of the left and the right extremists, the threat in 1994 right now is the presence of certain individuals who are seeking to spread and implement liberal democracy of the Western style in Indonesia. ... The government will face threats which would be dangerous to the state.[57]

Although the government accused Wahid of being the follower of liberalism, the Suharto regime was not able to get rid of him as he was a leader of an Islamic organisation, namely NU, which, of course, was critical of secularism. Furthermore, to such an extent Wahid was able to convince the majority of NU's followers that he was implementing Islamic values such as formulated in his conception of the theology of Islamic democracy.

Suharto did not want to give approval to Wahid's leadership of NU. It was also easy for Suharto to refuse to receive his visit together with other NU leaders as Wahid was careless, saying Suharto was stupid when he had an interview with Adam Schwarz. Accordingly, some NU clerics were getting worried about this situation as NU has a tradition of having a good relationship with the government. Accordingly, Wahid tried to approach the Suharto regime to make sure that there was no conspiracy to overthrow him from his position of general executive leader of NU.

Wahid's approach to the regime was confusing some pro-democracy groups. In this regards Franz Magnis Suseno argued that given Wahid was not an ideologist it was easy for Wahid to comply with the Suharto regime's requirement of supporting Golkar. However, Wahid did not pursue his purpose by all means, but he would not be stopped by abstract principles from doing something useful. Convinced in his role as democrat, he did not feel discomfort in approaching the regime if it was useful in avoiding violence.[58]

My research has shown that the relationship between Wahid and the Suharto regime was not always in confrontation, as claimed by Arif Rohman, although he mentioned the existence of another faction within NU which was close to the Suharto regime.[59] In line with humanism, Wahid did not always oppose the Suharto regime. At certain time, he approached this Suharto regime in order to ensure the latter did not repress

[54] *Jawa Pos*, 24 November 1994.
[55] Wahid, A. (1994). Tantangan Demokrasi Kita dalam Era Globalisasi [The Challenge of Democracy in the Global Era]. Jawa Pos. East Java, Jawa Pos.
[56] Wahid, S. (2012). Satu-satunya Lawan Politik Pak Harto [Wahid: the Only Opponent of Soeharto]. Demokrasi Aja Kok Repot: Retorika Politik Gus Dur dalam Proses Demokrasi di Indonesia [Democracy is not to be Confused]. N. Kholisoh. Yogyakarta, Pohon Cahaya., p. xii.
[57] *Jawa Pos*, 5 January 1994.
[58] Suseno, F. M. (1999). Gus Dur: Bangsa Mana di Dunia Mempunyai Presiden seperti Kita! [Gus Dur: A Distinguished President]. Gila Gus Dur: Wacana Pembacaan Abdurrahman Wahid [A Crazy Gus Dur: A Discourse of Understanding Abdurrahman Wahid]. A. Suaedy and U. A. Abdalla. Yogyakarta, LKiS.
[59] Arif Rohman, A. (2001). Hubungan N.U. dan Negara: Perlawanan Faksi Kritis N.U. terhadap Negara Orde Baru melalui Wacana Politik (1988-1997) [The Relationship between N.U. and the State: the N.U.'s critical faction's opposition to the new order through the political discourses (1988-1997).

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people for his political manoeuvre. Indeed, Suharto did not want any challenge to his power. This was clearly manifested in his using a repressive method[60] to suppress the supporters of Megawati who was persisting in being the candidate for president. In this regard, Gus Dur had suggested that Megawati withdraw her presidential candidature.[61] In a similar way, Amien Rais, previously associated with ICMI, also challenged the candidacy of Suharto as president and argued the need for the presidential succession in Indonesia.

Responding to the regime's repression of popular dissent, especially the October 1996 anti-Chinese and anti-Christian riots in East Java, the stronghold of Wahid's followers, Wahid moderated his stand towards the regime because he did not want people suffering out of his political stand. Accordingly, in November 1996, Wahid met with Suharto for the first time in a *pesantren* in Probolinggo. Moreover, Wahid accompanied Suharto's eldest daughter, Tutut, campaigning for Golkar NU's *pesantren*, thus he was disappointing his pro-democracy friends.[62] In this regard, Al-Zastrouw, once Wahid's secretary, argued:

> There was a tendency for Gus Dur to employ a devious communication. In the *fiqh*, it is called by *mukhollafah* (opposite understanding), not *mafhum muwaffaqah* (not understanding the text). For example, when Gus Dur was hand-in-hand with Tutut, it was likely that people viewed that Gus Dur supported Tutut. In fact, Gus Dur approached Tutut in order to instigate people's jealousy and accordingly, he did not need to criticise her as people already criticised her. To conclude, Gus Dur's objective was to instigate other political groups' jealousy. In this way, Tutut's burden increased with the result that her political career was effectively blocked.[63]

The explanation for Wahid's pro-Golkar movement in 1996, at the time of high level of public criticism of the regime, still remained unclear and incomplete. In this regard, I agree with Mohamad Sobary who tried to give an explanation based on Wahid's short article which employs the idea of *khariqul 'adah* (*nyleneh*, miraculous, but in positive meaning).[64] In line with this, Mohamad Sobary challenged Romo Mangun's argument that Wahid did not want to see the political breakout between the government, symbolised by Golkar, and Islam, symbolised by PPP. Sobary argued that it was difficult for PPP to manipulate Muslims' support against the government.[65] I would like also to add to Sobary's argument that Wahid's attitude can be referred to his status of being a cleric who has the task of providing religious teachings, neither opposing the government nor accumulating power for the purpose of imposing his political standpoint.[66]

VI. Conclusion

Wahid developed his thought on democracy in three phases; modernisation of *pesantren*, *pesantren* as civil society, and the establishment of Fordem. This suited his position at three periods, in which the previous stages was the foundation for sustaining the role of *pesantren* in the next stage, namely in the national political system with its advocacy of democracy. These stages also indicate that Wahid did not want to wage a revolution as he tried to transform his political influence from his traditional background of *pesantren* into nationwide support of the people for his advocacy of liberal democracy. He was conscious of not using Islam, but rather democracy, to challenge Suharto's autocratic regime, because he did not want to be accused of being a radical/militant Muslim, which would only justify the latter in repressing the former. In line with a non-revolutionary method, he did not oppose the regime frontally: at one time he approached the regime and at another time he remained at a distance from the regime. This was due to his realistic attitude to politics which forced him to pursue a means for establishing democracy tolerable to the Suharto regime. This realistic attitude was also based on his belief in the power of an idea, namely democracy, which could delegitimise authoritarian regimes. This non-revolutionary method was consistent with Wahid's role as a cleric, but he did not make use of Islam as his counter discourse against the Suharto regime, but rather democracy.

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[60] It resulted in the tragedy of 27 July 1996 involving the military's endorsement to the supporters of Soerjadi to attack and occupy PDI's headquarter controlled by the supporters of Megawati.

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[63] Nur Kholisoh, N. (2012). Demokrasi Aja Kok Repot: Retorika Politik Gus Dur dalam Proses Demokrasi di Indonesia [Democracy is not to be Confused] Yogyakarta Pohon Cahaya.

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[65] Ibid.

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The Ancient 'Khen' People of India and Bangladesh: An Anthropological Study

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I. Origin of the Khen

The Word ÔKhen' itself have many complexive and opposite meaning. In Assamees language ÔKhun' or ÔKhen' are paralal term, it means ÔKing' `Great' `Excellent' etc. We found ÔKhen Kamta' or Khen `Kamteshwar. word in greatbook `Ahomburunjee'. It is most possible that the clarification of this Khen people derived from ÔKhun' or ÔKhen'[1] words. Another source informed that, it originated from ÔKhen'[2]. Acoording to ÔKamrupburunigee'- The first king of Khen dynesty Nildhoj were derived from coch People. His father had Khastriya origin but his mother was a fallen woman. For that reason he called as ÔKhen'[3]. According to ananother source, the Khen or Kanteshwar Nildhoj was a mixed racial identity. ÔKh' for `Khastriya' and Ôn' for Ônati' (fallen woman)[4]. The British Historian Montogomeri Martin has said in his book that, the Khen were feel comfort to introduce themselves as ÔKhastriya' and ÔRajbansi'- although the Rajbansis agreed to absorved the Kings of khen with their community and to use title `Khastriya',but they did not agree to taken common Khen People among their caste. The Rajbansis thinks that,common Khen people were a group of slaves to khen king[5].

The first Khen King Nildhoj stablished the ÔGoddes kamda' or ÔGosany' as a family Goddes and named her ÔKamateshwary'. He upgraded Khen dynesty as a real Hindu-dynesty from lower caste Ôsudra'.[6] The Khen people had bear Ôsudra' identity before Nildhoj becoming as a king. In Assam, they were familier as `kolita'. According to Dr.Hamilton Bucanan`s opinion, the Khens only the people of Kamrup caste. Sociologist and Historiam J A Vas described in his book ÔEastern Bengal and Assam District Gazetteer, Rangpur' that the Khen`s occupation was cultivation and household works[7].

At Present time, some Khen people of Rangpur claims that they are originated from king Ballal Sen of Sen dynesty and they received ÔKhen' title from ÔSen'[8]. Almost all Khen people in Bangladesh identifies themselves as ÔRajbansi-Khastriya' instead of ÔKhen' although they do not regrates their Khen identity. They are follows all the rituals, religious activities and beliefs like Rajbansi people.

About the origin of Khen, another opinion was that, once upon a time they were the ÔPre-Ahom'indigenous sub-group.They came to the plain land of Cochbihar-Rangpur territory through Garo hills. Khens also claims that they were the ÔHero' or ÔKhastriya' in ancient time. In 15th Century, Khens were established Kamta state under the leadership of Nildhoj[9]. Dr. B. Chettergee described his book ÔA Cultural History of Bhutan' that, Khen People were inhabited in Khen Province of Bhutan. They have relation with Tibetan cityzens. B. Chetterjee chaimed that, Khens were migrated to Tibet from Bhutan[10]. On the otherside, the British Administrator and Anthropologist Martin said, the Khens were the inhabitant of Tripura hilly-forest area of eastern India[11].They spreated out to this north-west land (Cochbihar-Rangpur) from Tripura region.

Aceording to another Anthropologis Dr. W.W. Hunter, the ÔKhen' and Rajbansis were the same category of People. He classified Khens next to Rajbansis in his book `Statistical Account of Bengal'.Aceording to his ethnic study (in 1872) the number of Khens were in Rangpur 20,013 Dinajpur 2714, Jalpaiguri 2380 and in Cochbihar 1901[12].

We did not found present official statistics on Khens of Bangladesh. But educated people of Kurigram district in Bangladesh claimed to us that, at present (2013) there almost 20 thousand of Khen lives in greater Rangpur and Dinajpur district[13]. Dr. Bucanon Hamilton came to Rangpur region in early part of 19th century. He said, he had seen many many Khen family in this territory but the later part of 19th century, Dr. W.W. Hunter did not seen so many Khens. It means, the

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Khens became a small community after 50 years.It causes for taking re-name of their title or caste[14]. Ratan Biswas, an indigenous Researcher of Indian north-bangal claimed in 2001 that, 7 thousand Khens are residing in Cochbihar district of India[15].

II. Racial Identity of the Khen

The Khen people claims, they are same racial clarity like Rajbonsis but truth is that they were a mixed-ethrie tribe. Physically they looks like Rajbansis but Rajbonsis derived from monogoloid race. On the otherhand, Khen's physical colour are not same to Rajbansis or Mongoloid People : their hair is straight and blackish, eye is slightly brown and round, nose is flattened, eye-leaf is bent down, body without hair, height about 5 fit, mouth is almost round.

In our Investigation, we have not found same racial charaeteristics of Khen with Rajbansis. They are more different from mongoloid race by colour and other physical clarity. Ruther, we refer them to Proto-Australoid identity. The Proto-Australoid people are short to passable by height, skulp is long to middle in size, nose is wide, slightly hairy body, colour is black, wavy hair[16]. We have seen these ethnic type of men among the Khen. Physical characteristics of the Coch people are almost same with the khen[17].

From our study in kurigram district, we can say that, physical similarity of khen are very near to Bodo, Coch and Mech people. A notable number of Khen and Mech were inhabited in ancient Prag-Joytishpur' (Assam) state.The admixture of Khen and Mech was an important factor to making a new sub-race.It causes for origin of Khen people.

In Cochbihar district of India, at present time Khen are mostly introducing themselves as ÔRajbansis' and have exchanged their title[18]. In kurigram district of Bangladesh, Khen people choosen their title like ÔModak' ÔMandal' ÔKhen' ÔSen' ÔKundu' ÔDas' ÔRoy' ÔBarman'ÔAdhikary' ÔKaibarlo' etc.Otherside, the Muslim uses ÔNatso sheikh' title.It is to be said here that the muslim Khen do not aware about there title, they uses only a common name.

With this study, we may come to this dissission that, in ancient time the Coch, Meeh, Tharu, Rajbansi and khen people settled in Jalpaiguri and Cochbihar in North Bengal of India and at the same time, they also migrated in greater Rangpur and Dinajpur District of Bangladesh. After residing for a long time as neighour, these people received same racial and physical characteristics.

The Bodo and Mech people migrated from Prag-Jyotishpur and the Khen people also came from same region.This migration have been completed before establishing coch dynesty in 16th century. In khens blood and physical structure there had a great admixture with Bodo, Coch and Mech people. Religious, ritual, cultural and folk-beliefs were same or very close among these people.

III. The Khen Dynesty

The ancient Prag-Joytishpur and Kamrup-Kamta Kingdom were spreated from north Darjeeling of India to south-east Mymensing of Bangladesh and plan land of Assam. These territory was dominated by three dynesty till 16th century, those were-`The Narok dynesty' ÔThe Palas dynesty' and'The Khen dynesty'[19].

Nildhoj was the first king of khen dynesty.He was probably a provincial emperor ÔBhuiyan'.His period was from 1440 to 1460 A.D.His title was ÔKhen' or ÔKhan'[23]. According to Kamrupburunjee, Nildhoj was a coch-ancestor and he established independent Kamta state.He was a great follower of Goddes ÔKamda'.Nildhoj introduced the name ÔKamta' state and capital ÔKamtapur' aceording to his ÔKamda' Goddes[20].

Another source said that, Nildhoj defeated a king of Palas of kamrup and established kamta state.He exchanged his capital from Guahati of Assam to Gosanimari (Kamtapur) of Cochbihar. King Nildhoj made opportunity for a big number of ÔBrahman' from Mithila to his state by inhabiting them in his capital.He upgreated Khen caste from lower class to high level and made his religious identity as real Hinduism[21]. Nildhoj constructed a big Fort at his capital kamtapur.The fort situated 22 k.m South west from modern cochbihar district town.Nildhoj established historic Kamteshwary temple in the fort.This fort was familier as one of the great fort in north-east India[22].

Second Khen king Chakradhoj ruled kamtapur state from 1460 to 1480.He made his state secured from the attaced of ÔGaura kings'.[23]

Nilambar, the third king of Khen dynesty was greatest king among the khen kings.He built many roads and forts in his kingdom.Nilambar widen his state from west of Jalpaiguri to Borak river velly of Assam.All of the territory of Rangpur was occopied by him[24].At last, in 1498-99, the muslim king of Gaura Hussain Shah defeated king Nilambar and occopied kamrup-kamta state[25].

IV. Social Status

Society: There are no separate administration or social structur in Khens community like tribal or indigenous people. They takes shelter or seek administrative help for any family trouble or social crime or complexity to local member and chaiman.If local administration failed to solve problem, then they goes to lower court but khen people usually do not create any abnormal or criminal situation and most of them do not try to relate with unlawfull activities. They like to live peaceful and unitedly.The khen leads Patrilineal family structure.In early days, they leaded joint family but presently lives in

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a single unit.But they keeps their father and mother with them.The khens do not take part directly in local politics, yet they closely take part in local election and offen they win.

There can be many differences in socio-economic context between cochbihar's khen with Kurigram and Dinajpur district's khen in Bangladesh but their physical and racial structure are same.After dividation of India in 1947.so many khen people crossed the Bangladesh border and went to cochbihar of India. At the same time, so many Khen came to Kurigram and Dinajpur in Bangladesh.The dividation of India created a great change in their caste and social system. In India, they used prestigious title ÔPatranabish' `khandakar' `Pramanik' `Chowdhuri' etc.But at present these are treated as a simple clarity.These titles are not uses among the khens of Bangladesh. Tthe muslim title ÔNatso Shekh' are not found today in Kurigram or Dinajpur.

Mr. Protul Chandra Sen, a khen leader of kurigram, said to us, before independence of India, the khens were used title `Sen khastriya'.He shown us a registered deed of land where we saw this title, We collected series of informations about khen community from 62 years old school teacher Dhireadranath Sen, 60 years old khagendranath Sirker and others of Phulbari upozila in Kurigram[26]. Among the people we found 2 with Ôsen' one Ôsirker' and other 5 with `Barman' title. Many of khens of our survey area told us that, although they follows all religious, ritual and social customs of ÔRajbansi khastriya' but they do not uses Rajbansi title.

In India, the khen uses both- ÔKhen' or ÔSen' title but Bangladeshi khens uses the tittes, like Sen, Sirkar, Roy, Barman and Mandal. Another worthmentioning point is that, yet the khen feels similarity with Rajbansis but Rajbansis do not agree them as their own people.

The khens are more undeveloped community than other local people, even about literacy.In Bangladesh, Ministry of Education introduced many schoarships and opportunities to increase Literacy rate for students. For this opportunities, khens also showing interest to take education in recent time. The ratio of education of khens almost 40 percent where as total country ratio is 90 percent.In middle and higher level, the ratio of education of khens is not more than 3 to 5 Percent[27].Juvenile crime, robbery, riot and ediction in khens community are very few.

V. Professions

Cultivation is the main occupation of khen people.They depents mostly on agriculture but they have no sufficient land for agriculture like other local inhabitant. The number of landless khens were not so big before some decades but in present time, the ratio of landholder Khens not more than 10 percent, ofcourse, they have own small house only.so that, it was not possible to live only depends on cultivation. For that, some people takes land from local big farmer as lon in condition of that, khen people will give two-third portion of corn to land holder. This system also continued among other land[ess local people.

In very recent time, the local landholder introduced modern equipment to cultivation land.For this changing system, landless khen fermers lost opportunity to receive land as lon.Now they involved on fishing, farming, labouring in land, in industries, business place, farmhouse, horticulture, poltry-farm etc.A small number of middle and higher level educated Khen doing service in NGOs, Schools and working as medical representative. Some young people of khen earns mony by giving rent motor bike, some of them are rikshow-van puller.In recent present, a little number of young khen girls began working in Garments Industries. Recrntly,a few young khen boys going abroad as unskilled labour.

In another observation, we have seen that NGOs are working among khen people.Specially women khens are deeply associated with NGOs micro-credit programs. Khen people told us that, although they do not feeling much poverty but they could not earn suffient money for deposit.The khen women now a days almost self-dependent. They do not depend on their men for every crisis,They are almost on a same truck like their men.They recieving honour from their men like indigenous people. In fine, we may comment that, khen are strongly trying to overcome Poverty line.

VI. Rituals and Customs

Religious and social customs and rituals in khens community are tradional and successive.They shows respect on former customs and brings it on their every-day life very sincierly.

The khens practices many many rituals like Rajbamsis and other schedule caste not only on occasion or festive days but they followes it every moment in their life. The Gods and Goddes figure keeps at a small worship cottage (own temple) inside or near of their home.Some picture of deity Hanuman, kali, Parbati, Siva, Duraga, Lasmi, Ram-Sita-Lasman and Radha-Krishna obviously Kept on their thrashed wall.A small earthen figure of Hanuman or Lasmi or Siva Kept on a high place. All man and woman.specially women strats their days and at dawn with showing respect to them very humbly.Honuman is most preferable house-deity among other God and Goddes. They offer prayer upon related deity just after sunset.At this time they offer evening light (sandhabati) without fail. In every home has a separate but respectful small high place where they keeps a holly tree- ÔTulsi'.At sunset, they offer light (Prodip) under it.

In khens family, there must be a home-deity (griho-debota). They believe that, home deity is

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responsible for all welfare or bedness of their lives.They have many other Goddes like- Ôshitala' Ôsubachani' ÔBishohori', ÔMashan' ÔChauni' ÔKali' ÔHabangkali' ÔBhutkali'ÔShasthi'ÔShaitol'ÔMashan'ÔTistaburi'ÔMad anThakur'ÔMechenideo' ÔGanga devi ÔBuri Thakurari'etc.The khens offer workshop (Puja) on these women deity on the eve of related festive.They draws picture (alpona) on their floor with white colour and figure during offering puja.They draws mostly Impression of trees leaf and household things- like jar (kolosi),pot, even picture of animals. It indicates their minds are deeply close with natural beings.The khen women keeps fasting at that time.

Khen women follows a series of rituals during birth of a child, The pregnant women of khen community get extra fever and importance from her family and relatives.Her red-lead of forehead withdraws during pregnancy. Close ralatives feed her special food on 7th, 8th and 9th month of pregnancy.This called `Sadh Bhakshan' (expected fooding). The pregnant mother went to a newly built small and separate room only for her child delivery-called ÔAturghar'(child-birth room). Many many customs are follows in this small room for the time being.At present day, although this ÔAturghar' system does not continues commonly but khen women performed it in a short ways.Ofcourse they takes modern medical facilities but do not regret the customs.They also takes treatment from magician (ojha). After birth of a baby, they exercises other unavoidable rituals like ÔNari chedon' (dividation of vane from mother), worship of ÔNandimukh' ÔSholomatrika'(16 mothers puja).first feeding ceremony (Annaprashon), hair cutting (Mastak mundan) etc.

Khen men and women also perform so many rituals during marriage ceremony. Khens are followes two type of customs - religious and social.Some of the rituals are like that : turmeric ceremony, last un-married food (Aaiburo vat).water playing (Jalvaran),lighting five lamp (Panchapradip), Daraha (first seleetion), ÔKhudani'(blessing from bridal Party), exchanged of garland, bestowing of daughter (Kannadaan), welcoming son of law (Jamaibaran),taking oath with fire (ognishapoth), looking to the sun and make agree him to be a witeness of marriage.

In Khens marriage rituals, some natural things are uses as beliefs, like- banana, raw turmeric, rice grain, betel-leaf, fish, grass, stone, curds and milk, fried grain, virmilion, betel-nut, earthen water-jar, mango-leaf, cow-dug, flower, beam (cowrie), slice of iron, bronze coin etc. Khen people belive that, iron, stone and fire protect them from ominous and unfortune power, Rice, banana tree, mother fish, mango leaf are symbol of fertility and related to bride-grooms much Progeny.In khens marital rituals, there have a lot of magical and supernatural beliefs which derived from indigenous people. Caste system in khens marriage are followes.Although Rajbansi- Khen mixed marriage was not allowed in previous time but at present it is acceptable in their society. Widow re-marriage is a normal custom in khens community. ÔBride-price'and `dawry' system was followed in their community in past but at present it is not mandatory.

After death, Khen people are exercises many rituals.They performs funeral like Rajbansis.Their deadbody brings under a Ôtulshi' tree.Its head keeps north. Here it takes bath.Than,turmeric-mixed mustard oil-massage given to deadbody.Its eyes keep closes by tulshi leaf. After that, the deadbody covers with a white new cloth. Than it keeps on a bamboo cot. Here sandal paste (chandan) given on deadbody`s forehead.After that, relalives of deadbody takes it to the gravierd for burning.At that time and after burning the deadbody, many other rituals are exercises like obsequial. un-purity, un-oil boiled fooding etc.

Khen people celebrates ÔJonmastamy broto' (festive on birth of krishna) in September.`Durga puja' and `Lasmi puja' also celebrated in October with Hindu community.They performs `Dipannita' puja (happy light-night) in November.This is very important festive of the khens.They also exerises Ôshanti-shastayon' (peace desire). ÔBastu puja' (homested worship).`Home Jaggo' (fire ritual).`Guru mantra' (charms of pious man) etc.`Shitala'is very powerful and effective goddess of khen community.

Following the most popular goddess among the Khens: Mashan kali-Habang kali-Bhut kali (furious woman deity), ÔShosthi' ÔSubachani'(against illness) ÔTista buri'(godess for river) etc. `Charak', `Mecheni' and ÔBamboo worshop' are very desirable festive amog them. Goddess ÔShitala' `Subachani' and ÔBishohori'are the essential part of their everyday life. Khen people pray for help and family Peace from them against danger, illness and unfortunate situations.They offer ÔShaitol' puja for desire of a son, ÔBishohori' Puja performs for family welfaire.`Mashan' offering for facing troble.They offer Ô Bashanti' and `Chaity' puja for a happy new year.

It is worthmentiorable here that. almost all rituals and customs are prepared and performed by khen women,They uses some material for offering puja, such as:earthen or bronze pot and figure, green leaf of banana and mango tree,red lead, rice grain, raw betel-nut, oil, sieve etc. Betel-leaf and betel-nut is the main instrument during every offering and puja.

ÔMecheni' and `Hudma deo' ritual are the important customs for raining and fertility. In Mecheni khela, khen women goes to every houses of the village with an umbrella, a bronze pot with water, a winnowing-fan with some boiled rice grain. At a house, they stand by round and starts singing and dancing.They finish their performance with throwing rice-grain and water from pot. After that, they goes to another house by one straight line.

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The worship of `Hudma deo' (a dressless deity) is a very rare ritual for calling rain and fertility.Khen women only performs this ritual in deep nitght without having any dress or cloths . This causes, Hudma deo is a dressless deity, so that women also without having dress goes to a silent field where they performs dances and songs to Hudma. This ritual related with concept of sexual behavior of deities. Men are Keeps themselves in home during whole formalities.

VII. Everyday life of Khen People

Everyday life of khen people are very simple.They lives in a single home with their wife and children.They uses only one or two separate room but there must have a homestead deity room. Men wears dhuti, fatua, shirt and half guensey.In recent past khen, women were uses only one part of cloth upto breast-this called `Bukuri' and `Patani' and men were uses a very small part of cloth for covering only his middle part of body-this called `Nengti'-but at present these are not using. Women wears shari and men using pant, shirt, lungi.Khen people habituated to sleep on earthen floor generaly, although some of them slecps on bamboo-stool and a few are on cot. They uses a jute-made cloth, named `dhakora' as bed-sheet and for Protection from winter days.

VIII. Conclusion

In our survey.we found that, at present the khen are not an Indigennous group of people, not a tribal one, even they are not like traditional local Bengali people.Their social trends, rituals, customs, religion and beliefs almost similar with Rajbansi traditions, although they have clearly separate racial identity. The khens are gradually changing and developing their overall socio-economic conditions. We are sure that, there will not be any differences between Rajbansi and Khen People in near future.

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27. Percentage counted according to total population (2o Thausand).

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Review of Hemerijck, A. (2017). *The uses of Social Investment*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

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Introduction- Erosion of the golden era of the w elfare state has brought in different views of how it should be developed. Immediate neoliberal response appears to be still alive and present, not only in the academic debates but also in practice. However, there is a growing concern of the consequences of the neoliberal approach and especially after the economic crisis of 2008 and later. Social investment is an approach or set of policies that came into the focus of the attention in the 1990s but since then, the interest for it has only increased. The economic downturn propelled the question of inclusiveness, growth, employment and human capital, just to name a few, to be the major points of interest. There is now a surge of scientific articles on the topic and Hemerijck's volume is one of the most encompassing. Moreover, introduction of social investment in the European Union's social policy through the Social Investment Pact and OECD's stronger emphasis on it support the need of further debate. Hemerijck's edited book provides ample evidence for this thinking.

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Branko Boskovic

I. Introduction

Erosion of the golden era of the welfare state has brought in different views of how it should be developed. Immediate neoliberal response appears to be still alive and present, not only in the academic debates but also in practice. However, there is a growing concern of the consequences of the neoliberal approach and especially after the economic crisis of 2008 and later. Social investment is an approach or set of policies that came into the focus of the attention in the 1990s but since then, the interest for it has only increased. The economic downturn propelled the question of inclusiveness, growth, employment and human capital, just to name a few, to be the major points of interest. There is now a surge of scientific articles on the topic and Hemerijck's volume is one of the most encompassing. Moreover, introduction of social investment in the European Union's social policy through the Social Investment Pact and OECD's stronger emphasis on it support the need of further debate. Hemerijck's edited book provides ample evidence for this thinking.

"The Uses of Social Investment" is an edited book by Anton Hemerijck, which was a result of a workshop held in Amsterdam, the Netherlands, in 2015. It has 8 parts with 35 contributions in total, including introduction and conclusion. The objective of the volume was to provide a multilinear overview of social investment before and after the economic crisis, by answering questions of what social investment is, how to understand it, who supports it and how its governance is structured. On the overall, it can be stated that the volume delivers significant amount of differentiated views on the mentioned questions and despite differing views of authors who contributed, there is enough evidence that these questions had been answered. However, it does imply that the answers are self-sufficient but on the contrary, they have only opened a wider debate on the future of the welfare state, especially on the question if social investment is the future of the welfare state. Broadly put, authors agree it is, but their views on how to conceptualise it differ. Authors raise different issues, but there are 6 major points that the volume has put forward as the key issues concerning social investment. Also, the 6 issues can be understood as the connecting points of different views on social investment.

Firstly, authors question and discuss social investment from the methodological point of view. The major issue here is whether it is fully-fledged paradigm. It appears that, despite the strong support for it, an agreement of considering it as an emerging approach prevails. This does not mean that it is questioned, but rather, that differentiation between specific policy areas as well as policies does not allow having it considered as a unified whole. Authors rightly point to the fact that it is still an emerging paradigm as many of the specific policies are still being developed and means for implementing them differ greatly. On the other hand, social investment state cannot be identified with the welfare state, as will be explained in more detail later. Changing social circumstances and way of life contribute to the constant need of adaptation, further limiting thinking of the approach in the finalistic terms. The authors also confirm the use of Hemerijck's*stock*, *flows* and *buffers* as the accepted terms in theoretical thinking and discussing social investment in different terms became easier, due to commonality of the three policy functions.

Secondly, the question of the purpose of social investment is raised together with the aim of the approach. Although it might appear that there is even no need of raising these points, authors in the volume show how difficult it is to provide a fulfilling answer. Manifold policy areas, together with the new life-styles, question an ability of the approach to fulfil expectations. Consequently, there are differences in thinking how successful social investment is in combining family and work duties, women and men social position, solving problems of new family forms and finally, whether it is able to approach everyone, irrespective of their class position. Matthew effect is widely debated in the volume and empirical evidence shows that it is the middle classes that benefit the most. It is a crucial point in the debate and the authors cannot agree on the final response: who is social investment for? Having in mind rising inequality and poverty traps, it is a point of utmost

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interest and the greatest challenge for the future and sustainability of social investment. Therefore, raising this issue is one of the greatest contributions the volume has to offer, without undermining the approach as the whole. Thirdly, the volume has confirmed that social investment must go hand in hand with redistributive policies. In other words, third way thinking does not offer enough space for development of social investment approach. Redistributive policies should not be replaces with social investment. Different authors point to different ways to embrace this argument, but questioning the sole investing character of a specific policy can be considered as the most fruitful. Some forms of passive policies can have an investing character on the long run despite their passive orientation. Turn towards future oriented policies does not imply that current mischiefs would disappear and impaired living conditions of parts of the population emphasise the need of classic redistributive policies. It is a good point of the volume because it implies alienation from neoliberalism as the starting point of policy creation and offers hope of staying on the course of pro-equality orientation of social investment.

Fourthly, the Europocentric course of social investment is put into question. Despite historical closeness of the paradigm to Europe, especially Nordic countries, some of the authors show that investment policies are present in the rest of world as well. However, it is clear that its presence is regionalised and what is more important, policy focus is different. Consequently, it can be seen that social investment is understood in different terms across the world and objectives of policies differ, but some policies are present. Thinking in this way raises the issue of whether social investment can function on these principles at all and authors in the volume present difficulties for specifics regions, mainly Asia, Northern and Latin America. Lack of encompassing approach to social investment means that it is difficult to embrace it in the full manner, as has been done in Nordic countries in Europe. At the very end, there is even a contradiction in this way of thinking, as the next passage will show, because partial policy reforms may not result in desired outcomes. But even in Europe, social investment is not a leading paradigm in all countries, even in the European Union, but the policy orientation is accepted and confirmed.

Fifth, all of the previously stated means that no unification can be expected. Social investment functions as a set of policies in different policy areas but more importantly, it is happening in a specific social milieux. Authors in the volume rightly stress this and even in the European Union, no unification of policies can be observed and it is even not desired. Path dependency is identified as relevant factor for policy outcomes and especially for understanding some of the outcomes. Recalibration of the welfare state is happening but it is often the long history of certain nature of the system of social care that dictates possibilities for the reform. Considering the other countries where social investment is being developed, there is even less expectancy for moving towards policy unification. Conditional cash transfers which dominate in Latin America are perhaps the clearest example and authors who contributed on this type of policy point in the same direction. However, social investment depends on complementarity and it is a paradigmatic stance taken on the issue by majority of the authors. The whole volume can in this sense be considered as an effort to show how difficult it is to have a well-coordinated system of social care, which is based on the social investment approach.

Finally, just as Crouch stresses in the last contribution of the volume, there is a voice of the number of authors saying there should be no domination of the market, not even the labour market. An essential focus of social investment is human capital or more precisely, its development and sustainment. Consequently, authors in the volume are pushing for qualitative approach to work, saying that any job is not good but rather, it is a good job that everyone should have. But our life should not be just about work. There is family and care and constant insistence of social investment supporters on institutional development, especially in the area of early childhood education and care, completely ignores family. It is a good point, raised in the aim of presenting our lives as still having some of the traditional roles that are expected of us to do. On the other hand, can we really live with all the pressure towards constant development and improvement, knowing that we are dependent on the income we receive? Social investment neglects this issue, looking almost completely just into the formalised life, structured around labour market. The volume does not appear to provide a final answer to this question but raising this point is already its high achievement.

Edited volumes often lack a clear message and it is the same with Hemerijck's book. Differing focus and thinking of authors are hard to summarise but this review is an attempt to show connecting points of contributing authors. It is a reason why no final and unified view on the book can be taken. However, it is a good contribution to the contested debate, because it shows that an emerging paradigm, as social investment is, has a strong support both in theory and practice, but many unresolved issues hinder its full-time support. Austerity and fiscal consolidation measures, together with rising inequality pose a serious threat for social investment and its promises. According to this book, social investment is a future of the welfare state but how it will be achieved is a question that needs contextualisation, thinking ahead and careful planning.

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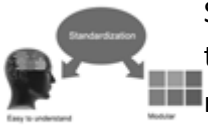

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d) An introduction, giving fundamental background objectives.
e) Resources and techniques with sufficient complete experimental details (wherever possible by reference) to permit repetition, sources of information must be given, and numerical methods must be specified by reference.
f) Results which should be presented concisely by well-designed tables and figures.
g) Suitable statistical data should also be given.
h) All data must have been gathered with attention to numerical detail in the planning stage.

Design has been recognized to be essential to experiments for a considerable time, and the editor has decided that any paper that appears not to have adequate numerical treatments of the data will be returned unrefereed.

i) Discussion should cover implications and consequences and not just recapitulate the results; conclusions should also be summarized.
j) There should be brief acknowledgments.
k) There ought to be references in the conventional format. Global Journals recommends APA format.

Authors should carefully consider the preparation of papers to ensure that they communicate effectively. Papers are much more likely to be accepted if they are carefully designed and laid out, contain few or no errors, are summarizing, and follow instructions. They will also be published with much fewer delays than those that require much technical and editorial correction.

The Editorial Board reserves the right to make literary corrections and suggestions to improve brevity.



Format Structure

It is necessary that authors take care in submitting a manuscript that is written in simple language and adheres to published guidelines.

All manuscripts submitted to Global Journals should include:

Title

The title page must carry an informative title that reflects the content, a running title (less than 45 characters together with spaces), names of the authors and co-authors, and the place(s) where the work was carried out.

Author details

The full postal address of any related author(s) must be specified.

Abstract

The abstract is the foundation of the research paper. It should be clear and concise and must contain the objective of the paper and inferences drawn. It is advised to not include big mathematical equations or complicated jargon.

Many researchers searching for information online will use search engines such as Google, Yahoo or others. By optimizing your paper for search engines, you will amplify the chance of someone finding it. In turn, this will make it more likely to be viewed and cited in further works. Global Journals has compiled these guidelines to facilitate you to maximize the web-friendliness of the most public part of your paper.

Keywords

A major lynchpin of research work for the writing of research papers is the keyword search, which one will employ to find both library and internet resources. Up to eleven keywords or very brief phrases have to be given to help data retrieval, mining, and indexing.

One must be persistent and creative in using keywords. An effective keyword search requires a strategy: planning of a list of possible keywords and phrases to try.

Choice of the main keywords is the first tool of writing a research paper. Research paper writing is an art. Keyword search should be as strategic as possible.

One should start brainstorming lists of potential keywords before even beginning searching. Think about the most important concepts related to research work. Ask, “What words would a source have to include to be truly valuable in a research paper?” Then consider synonyms for the important words.

It may take the discovery of only one important paper to steer in the right keyword direction because, in most databases, the keywords under which a research paper is abstracted are listed with the paper.

Numerical Methods

Numerical methods used should be transparent and, where appropriate, supported by references.

Abbreviations

Authors must list all the abbreviations used in the paper at the end of the paper or in a separate table before using them.

Formulas and equations

Authors are advised to submit any mathematical equation using either MathJax, KaTeX, or LaTeX, or in a very high-quality image.

Tables, Figures, and Figure Legends

Tables: Tables should be cautiously designed, uncrowned, and include only essential data. Each must have an Arabic number, e.g., Table 4, a self-explanatory caption, and be on a separate sheet. Authors must submit tables in an editable format and not as images. References to these tables (if any) must be mentioned accurately.

Figures

Figures are supposed to be submitted as separate files. Always include a citation in the text for each figure using Arabic numbers, e.g., Fig. 4. Artwork must be submitted online in vector electronic form or by emailing it.

Preparation of Eletronic Figures for Publication

Although low-quality images are sufficient for review purposes, print publication requires high-quality images to prevent the final product being blurred or fuzzy. Submit (possibly by e-mail) EPS (line art) or TIFF (halftone/ photographs) files only. MS PowerPoint and Word Graphics are unsuitable for printed pictures. Avoid using pixel-oriented software. Scans (TIFF only) should have a resolution of at least 350 dpi (halftone) or 700 to 1100 dpi (line drawings). Please give the data for figures in black and white or submit a Color Work Agreement form. EPS files must be saved with fonts embedded (and with a TIFF preview, if possible).

For scanned images, the scanning resolution at final image size ought to be as follows to ensure good reproduction: line art: >650 dpi; halftones (including gel photographs): >350 dpi; figures containing both halftone and line images: >650 dpi.

Color charges: Authors are advised to pay the full cost for the reproduction of their color artwork. Hence, please note that if there is color artwork in your manuscript when it is accepted for publication, we would require you to complete and return a Color Work Agreement form before your paper can be published. Also, you can email your editor to remove the color fee after acceptance of the paper.

Tips for writing a good quality Social Science Research Paper

Techniques for writing a good quality homan social science research paper:

1. Choosing the topic: In most cases, the topic is selected by the interests of the author, but it can also be suggested by the guides. You can have several topics, and then judge which you are most comfortable with. This may be done by asking several questions of yourself, like "Will I be able to carry out a search in this area? Will I find all necessary resources to accomplish the search? Will I be able to find all information in this field area?" If the answer to this type of question is "yes," then you ought to choose that topic. In most cases, you may have to conduct surveys and visit several places. Also, you might have to do a lot of work to find all the rises and falls of the various data on that subject. Sometimes, detailed information plays a vital role, instead of short information. Evaluators are human: The first thing to remember is that evaluators are also human beings. They are not only meant for rejecting a paper. They are here to evaluate your paper. So present your best aspect.

2. Think like evaluators: If you are in confusion or getting demotivated because your paper may not be accepted by the evaluators, then think, and try to evaluate your paper like an evaluator. Try to understand what an evaluator wants in your research paper, and you will automatically have your answer. Make blueprints of paper: The outline is the plan or framework that will help you to arrange your thoughts. It will make your paper logical. But remember that all points of your outline must be related to the topic you have chosen.

3. Ask your guides: If you are having any difficulty with your research, then do not hesitate to share your difficulty with your guide (if you have one). They will surely help you out and resolve your doubts. If you can't clarify what exactly you require for your work, then ask your supervisor to help you with an alternative. He or she might also provide you with a list of essential readings.

4. Use of computer is recommended: As you are doing research in the field of homan social science then this point is quite obvious. Use right software: Always use good quality software packages. If you are not capable of judging good software, then you can lose the quality of your paper unknowingly. There are various programs available to help you which you can get through the internet.

5. Use the internet for help: An excellent start for your paper is using Google. It is a wondrous search engine, where you can have your doubts resolved. You may also read some answers for the frequent question of how to write your research paper or find a model research paper. You can download books from the internet. If you have all the required books, place importance on reading, selecting, and analyzing the specified information. Then sketch out your research paper. Use big pictures: You may use encyclopedias like Wikipedia to get pictures with the best resolution. At Global Journals, you should strictly follow here.



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6. Bookmarks are useful: When you read any book or magazine, you generally use bookmarks, right? It is a good habit which helps to not lose your continuity. You should always use bookmarks while searching on the internet also, which will make your search easier.

7. Revise what you wrote: When you write anything, always read it, summarize it, and then finalize it.

8. Make every effort: Make every effort to mention what you are going to write in your paper. That means always have a good start. Try to mention everything in the introduction—what is the need for a particular research paper. Polish your work with good writing skills and always give an evaluator what he wants. Make backups: When you are going to do any important thing like making a research paper, you should always have backup copies of it either on your computer or on paper. This protects you from losing any portion of your important data.

9. Produce good diagrams of your own: Always try to include good charts or diagrams in your paper to improve quality. Using several unnecessary diagrams will degrade the quality of your paper by creating a hodgepodge. So always try to include diagrams which were made by you to improve the readability of your paper. Use of direct quotes: When you do research relevant to literature, history, or current affairs, then use of quotes becomes essential, but if the study is relevant to science, use of quotes is not preferable.

10. Use proper verb tense: Use proper verb tenses in your paper. Use past tense to present those events that have happened. Use present tense to indicate events that are going on. Use future tense to indicate events that will happen in the future. Use of wrong tenses will confuse the evaluator. Avoid sentences that are incomplete.

11. Pick a good study spot: Always try to pick a spot for your research which is quiet. Not every spot is good for studying.

12. Know what you know: Always try to know what you know by making objectives, otherwise you will be confused and unable to achieve your target.

13. Use good grammar: Always use good grammar and words that will have a positive impact on the evaluator; use of good vocabulary does not mean using tough words which the evaluator has to find in a dictionary. Do not fragment sentences. Eliminate one-word sentences. Do not ever use a big word when a smaller one would suffice.

Verbs have to be in agreement with their subjects. In a research paper, do not start sentences with conjunctions or finish them with prepositions. When writing formally, it is advisable to never split an infinitive because someone will (wrongly) complain. Avoid clichés like a disease. Always shun irritating alliteration. Use language which is simple and straightforward. Put together a neat summary.

14. Arrangement of information: Each section of the main body should start with an opening sentence, and there should be a changeover at the end of the section. Give only valid and powerful arguments for your topic. You may also maintain your arguments with records.

15. Never start at the last minute: Always allow enough time for research work. Leaving everything to the last minute will degrade your paper and spoil your work.

16. Multitasking in research is not good: Doing several things at the same time is a bad habit in the case of research activity. Research is an area where everything has a particular time slot. Divide your research work into parts, and do a particular part in a particular time slot.

17. Never copy others' work: Never copy others' work and give it your name because if the evaluator has seen it anywhere, you will be in trouble. Take proper rest and food: No matter how many hours you spend on your research activity, if you are not taking care of your health, then all your efforts will have been in vain. For quality research, take proper rest and food.

18. Go to seminars: Attend seminars if the topic is relevant to your research area. Utilize all your resources.
Refresh your mind after intervals: Try to give your mind a rest by listening to soft music or sleeping in intervals. This will also improve your memory. Acquire colleagues: Always try to acquire colleagues. No matter how sharp you are, if you acquire colleagues, they can give you ideas which will be helpful to your research.

19. Think technically: Always think technically. If anything happens, search for its reasons, benefits, and demerits. Think and then print: When you go to print your paper, check that tables are not split, headings are not detached from their descriptions, and page sequence is maintained.

20. Adding unnecessary information: Do not add unnecessary information like "I have used MS Excel to draw graphs." Irrelevant and inappropriate material is superfluous. Foreign terminology and phrases are not apropos. One should never take a broad view. Analogy is like feathers on a snake. Use words properly, regardless of how others use them. Remove quotations. Puns are for kids, not grunt readers. Never oversimplify: When adding material to your research paper, never go for oversimplification; this will definitely irritate the evaluator. Be specific. Never use rhythmic redundancies. Contractions shouldn't be used in a research paper. Comparisons are as terrible as clichés. Give up ampersands, abbreviations, and so on. Remove commas that are not necessary. Parenthetical words should be between brackets or commas. Understatement is always the best way to put forward earth-shaking thoughts. Give a detailed literary review.

21. Report concluded results: Use concluded results. From raw data, filter the results, and then conclude your studies based on measurements and observations taken. An appropriate number of decimal places should be used. Parenthetical remarks are prohibited here. Proofread carefully at the final stage. At the end, give an outline to your arguments. Spot perspectives of further study of the subject. Justify your conclusion at the bottom sufficiently, which will probably include examples.

22. Upon conclusion: Once you have concluded your research, the next most important step is to present your findings. Presentation is extremely important as it is the definite medium though which your research is going to be in print for the rest of the crowd. Care should be taken to categorize your thoughts well and present them in a logical and neat manner. A good quality research paper format is essential because it serves to highlight your research paper and bring to light all necessary aspects of your research.

.

Informal Guidelines of Research Paper Writing

Key points to remember:

- Submit all work in its final form.
- Write your paper in the form which is presented in the guidelines using the template.
- Please note the criteria peer reviewers will use for grading the final paper.

Final points:

One purpose of organizing a research paper is to let people interpret your efforts selectively. The journal requires the following sections, submitted in the order listed, with each section starting on a new page:

The introduction: This will be compiled from reference matter and reflect the design processes or outline of basis that directed you to make a study. As you carry out the process of study, the method and process section will be constructed like that. The results segment will show related statistics in nearly sequential order and direct reviewers to similar intellectual paths throughout the data that you gathered to carry out your study.

The discussion section:

This will provide understanding of the data and projections as to the implications of the results. The use of good quality references throughout the paper will give the effort trustworthiness by representing an alertness to prior workings.

Writing a research paper is not an easy job, no matter how trouble-free the actual research or concept. Practice, excellent preparation, and controlled record-keeping are the only means to make straightforward progression.

General style:

Specific editorial column necessities for compliance of a manuscript will always take over from directions in these general guidelines.

To make a paper clear: Adhere to recommended page limits.



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Mistakes to avoid:

- Insertion of a title at the foot of a page with subsequent text on the next page.
- Separating a table, chart, or figure—confine each to a single page.
- Submitting a manuscript with pages out of sequence.
- In every section of your document, use standard writing style, including articles ("a" and "the").
- Keep paying attention to the topic of the paper.
- Use paragraphs to split each significant point (excluding the abstract).
- Align the primary line of each section.
- Present your points in sound order.
- Use present tense to report well-accepted matters.
- Use past tense to describe specific results.
- Do not use familiar wording; don't address the reviewer directly. Don't use slang or superlatives.
- Avoid use of extra pictures—include only those figures essential to presenting results.

Title page:

Choose a revealing title. It should be short and include the name(s) and address(es) of all authors. It should not have acronyms or abbreviations or exceed two printed lines.

Abstract: This summary should be two hundred words or less. It should clearly and briefly explain the key findings reported in the manuscript and must have precise statistics. It should not have acronyms or abbreviations. It should be logical in itself. Do not cite references at this point.

An abstract is a brief, distinct paragraph summary of finished work or work in development. In a minute or less, a reviewer can be taught the foundation behind the study, common approaches to the problem, relevant results, and significant conclusions or new questions.

Write your summary when your paper is completed because how can you write the summary of anything which is not yet written? Wealth of terminology is very essential in abstract. Use comprehensive sentences, and do not sacrifice readability for brevity; you can maintain it succinctly by phrasing sentences so that they provide more than a lone rationale. The author can at this moment go straight to shortening the outcome. Sum up the study with the subsequent elements in any summary. Try to limit the initial two items to no more than one line each.

Reason for writing the article—theory, overall issue, purpose.

- Fundamental goal.
- To-the-point depiction of the research.
- Consequences, including definite statistics—if the consequences are quantitative in nature, account for this; results of any numerical analysis should be reported. Significant conclusions or questions that emerge from the research.

Approach:

- Single section and succinct.
- An outline of the job done is always written in past tense.
- Concentrate on shortening results—limit background information to a verdict or two.
- Exact spelling, clarity of sentences and phrases, and appropriate reporting of quantities (proper units, important statistics) are just as significant in an abstract as they are anywhere else.

Introduction:

The introduction should "introduce" the manuscript. The reviewer should be presented with sufficient background information to be capable of comprehending and calculating the purpose of your study without having to refer to other works. The basis for the study should be offered. Give the most important references, but avoid making a comprehensive appraisal of the topic. Describe the problem visibly. If the problem is not acknowledged in a logical, reasonable way, the reviewer will give no attention to your results. Speak in common terms about techniques used to explain the problem, if needed, but do not present any particulars about the protocols here.

The following approach can create a valuable beginning:

- Explain the value (significance) of the study.
- Defend the model—why did you employ this particular system or method? What is its compensation? Remark upon its appropriateness from an abstract point of view as well as pointing out sensible reasons for using it.
- Present a justification. State your particular theory(-ies) or aim(s), and describe the logic that led you to choose them.
- Briefly explain the study's tentative purpose and how it meets the declared objectives.

Approach:

Use past tense except for when referring to recognized facts. After all, the manuscript will be submitted after the entire job is done. Sort out your thoughts; manufacture one key point for every section. If you make the four points listed above, you will need at least four paragraphs. Present surrounding information only when it is necessary to support a situation. The reviewer does not desire to read everything you know about a topic. Shape the theory specifically—do not take a broad view.

As always, give awareness to spelling, simplicity, and correctness of sentences and phrases.

Procedures (methods and materials):

This part is supposed to be the easiest to carve if you have good skills. A soundly written procedures segment allows a capable scientist to replicate your results. Present precise information about your supplies. The suppliers and clarity of reagents can be helpful bits of information. Present methods in sequential order, but linked methodologies can be grouped as a segment. Be concise when relating the protocols. Attempt to give the least amount of information that would permit another capable scientist to replicate your outcome, but be cautious that vital information is integrated. The use of subheadings is suggested and ought to be synchronized with the results section.

When a technique is used that has been well-described in another section, mention the specific item describing the way, but draw the basic principle while stating the situation. The purpose is to show all particular resources and broad procedures so that another person may use some or all of the methods in one more study or referee the scientific value of your work. It is not to be a step-by-step report of the whole thing you did, nor is a methods section a set of orders.

Materials:

Materials may be reported in part of a section or else they may be recognized along with your measures.

Methods:

- Report the method and not the particulars of each process that engaged the same methodology.
- Describe the method entirely.
- To be succinct, present methods under headings dedicated to specific dealings or groups of measures.
- Simplify—detail how procedures were completed, not how they were performed on a particular day.
- If well-known procedures were used, account for the procedure by name, possibly with a reference, and that's all.

Approach:

It is embarrassing to use vigorous voice when documenting methods without using first person, which would focus the reviewer's interest on the researcher rather than the job. As a result, when writing up the methods, most authors use third person passive voice.

Use standard style in this and every other part of the paper—avoid familiar lists, and use full sentences.

What to keep away from:

- Resources and methods are not a set of information.
- Skip all descriptive information and surroundings—save it for the argument.
- Leave out information that is immaterial to a third party.



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Results:

The principle of a results segment is to present and demonstrate your conclusion. Create this part as entirely objective details of the outcome, and save all understanding for the discussion.

The page length of this segment is set by the sum and types of data to be reported. Use statistics and tables, if suitable, to present consequences most efficiently.

You must clearly differentiate material which would usually be incorporated in a study editorial from any unprocessed data or additional appendix matter that would not be available. In fact, such matters should not be submitted at all except if requested by the instructor.

Content:

- Sum up your conclusions in text and demonstrate them, if suitable, with figures and tables.
- In the manuscript, explain each of your consequences, and point the reader to remarks that are most appropriate.
- Present a background, such as by describing the question that was addressed by creation of an exacting study.
- Explain results of control experiments and give remarks that are not accessible in a prescribed figure or table, if appropriate.
- Examine your data, then prepare the analyzed (transformed) data in the form of a figure (graph), table, or manuscript.

What to stay away from:

- Do not discuss or infer your outcome, report surrounding information, or try to explain anything.
- Do not include raw data or intermediate calculations in a research manuscript.
- Do not present similar data more than once.
- A manuscript should complement any figures or tables, not duplicate information.
- Never confuse figures with tables—there is a difference.

Approach:

As always, use past tense when you submit your results, and put the whole thing in a reasonable order.

Put figures and tables, appropriately numbered, in order at the end of the report.

If you desire, you may place your figures and tables properly within the text of your results section.

Figures and tables:

If you put figures and tables at the end of some details, make certain that they are visibly distinguished from any attached appendix materials, such as raw facts. Whatever the position, each table must be titled, numbered one after the other, and include a heading. All figures and tables must be divided from the text.

Discussion:

The discussion is expected to be the trickiest segment to write. A lot of papers submitted to the journal are discarded based on problems with the discussion. There is no rule for how long an argument should be.

Position your understanding of the outcome visibly to lead the reviewer through your conclusions, and then finish the paper with a summing up of the implications of the study. The purpose here is to offer an understanding of your results and support all of your conclusions, using facts from your research and generally accepted information, if suitable. The implication of results should be fully described.

Infer your data in the conversation in suitable depth. This means that when you clarify an observable fact, you must explain mechanisms that may account for the observation. If your results vary from your prospect, make clear why that may have happened. If your results agree, then explain the theory that the proof supported. It is never suitable to just state that the data approved the prospect, and let it drop at that. Make a decision as to whether each premise is supported or discarded or if you cannot make a conclusion with assurance. Do not just dismiss a study or part of a study as "uncertain."

Research papers are not acknowledged if the work is imperfect. Draw what conclusions you can based upon the results that you have, and take care of the study as a finished work.

- You may propose future guidelines, such as how an experiment might be personalized to accomplish a new idea.
- Give details of all of your remarks as much as possible, focusing on mechanisms.
- Make a decision as to whether the tentative design sufficiently addressed the theory and whether or not it was correctly restricted. Try to present substitute explanations if they are sensible alternatives.
- One piece of research will not counter an overall question, so maintain the large picture in mind. Where do you go next? The best studies unlock new avenues of study. What questions remain?
- Recommendations for detailed papers will offer supplementary suggestions.

Approach:

When you refer to information, differentiate data generated by your own studies from other available information. Present work done by specific persons (including you) in past tense.

Describe generally acknowledged facts and main beliefs in present tense.

The Administration Rules

Administration Rules to Be Strictly Followed before Submitting Your Research Paper to Global Journals Inc.

Please read the following rules and regulations carefully before submitting your research paper to Global Journals Inc. to avoid rejection.

Segment draft and final research paper: You have to strictly follow the template of a research paper, failing which your paper may get rejected. You are expected to write each part of the paper wholly on your own. The peer reviewers need to identify your own perspective of the concepts in your own terms. Please do not extract straight from any other source, and do not rephrase someone else's analysis. Do not allow anyone else to proofread your manuscript.

Written material: You may discuss this with your guides and key sources. Do not copy anyone else's paper, even if this is only imitation, otherwise it will be rejected on the grounds of plagiarism, which is illegal. Various methods to avoid plagiarism are strictly applied by us to every paper, and, if found guilty, you may be blacklisted, which could affect your career adversely. To guard yourself and others from possible illegal use, please do not permit anyone to use or even read your paper and file.

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Please note that following table is only a Grading of "Paper Compilation" and not on "Performed/Stated Research" whose grading solely depends on Individual Assigned Peer Reviewer and Editorial Board Member. These can be available only on request and after decision of Paper. This report will be the property of Global Journals

Topics	Grades		
	A-B	**C-D**	**E-F**
Abstract	Clear and concise with appropriate content, Correct format. 200 words or below	Unclear summary and no specific data, Incorrect form Above 200 words	No specific data with ambiguous information Above 250 words
Introduction	Containing all background details with clear goal and appropriate details, flow specification, no grammar and spelling mistake, well organized sentence and paragraph, reference cited	Unclear and confusing data, appropriate format, grammar and spelling errors with unorganized matter	Out of place depth and content, hazy format
Methods and Procedures	Clear and to the point with well arranged paragraph, precision and accuracy of facts and figures, well organized subheads	Difficult to comprehend with embarrassed text, too much explanation but completed	Incorrect and unorganized structure with hazy meaning
Result	Well organized, Clear and specific, Correct units with precision, correct data, well structuring of paragraph, no grammar and spelling mistake	Complete and embarrassed text, difficult to comprehend	Irregular format with wrong facts and figures
Discussion	Well organized, meaningful specification, sound conclusion, logical and concise explanation, highly structured paragraph reference cited	Wordy, unclear conclusion, spurious	Conclusion is not cited, unorganized, difficult to comprehend
References	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring

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