

1 Challenges and Modernization

From a modern optics, the Political current Science postulates several minima so that a nation could go reaching to be located in the concert of political modernized, democratic, responsive and participatory systems. For the young countries as Venezuela, this implies to travel a process that is not simple, but very complex. A process that is not in a line, but discontinue. A process that is not always successful, but rather it lives with uncertainty and moments of relapses. A process that is not static and definitive in their achievements, but rather it is in fact affirmed in the change, as it goes facing the challenges that are presented. The resultant is not to arrive to the perfection, but advancing in an unfinished process of going giving answer, with its own forces, to the calls "*syndromes of the modernization* (Pye)."

We could call this process 'modernization' or 'institutionalization' or 'political development'. Anyway, it is necessary to relate it with three big dimensions that are including of other many aspects in detail.

1. The civic EQUALITY and the popular PARTICIPATION.
2. The CAPACITY of effective ANSWER that he has to give the political system in front of the challenges and demands that it makes him the civil society.
3. The rational DIFFERENTIATION and the SPECIALIZATION of the structures, institutions and government offices that they assist to the population's functional requirements.

Four types of problems or challenges

Inside this modern conception, four are the types of problems or challenges that, in all contemporary society, they think about to the political system. Of its adult or smaller capacity to give solution to them, it depends its adult or smaller modernization grade, of maturity, of political development.

1° The Construction of the Nation (Nation building)

The Nation has to be integrated, in all its components. If it already exists an united, compact system, without serious breaches neither fissures that it works organically, one can speak of a modern system that has certain political development. This it is not measured by the approach of economic simple development, but for the approach of Integration, with all that implies it in several areas.

2°. The construction of the State (State building)

It is the structural problem of bottom. The political system should be able to integrate the Nation, of penetrating her in its territory and in its social layers, and of giving satisfactory answer to its basic many demands. Here they count the modernization of the system, the rationalization and differentiation of their structures, the capacity of adaptation of the institutions to the demands of change and the new challenges. In this whole process, besides the institutions, they play important role the elites or directing categories with enough vision, reception of the popular necessities and capacity of leadership. And they favor this modernization and political development the instruments of changes, like they can be the economic and educational subsystems, those of communication, those of social mobilization.

3°. The participation

It is the functional most important problem, to which today is given due importance. It is considered that a political system is not modern neither developed if it doesn't give answer, for several channels, to the demand that all the groups make of being able to intervene in the selection of their rulers or political bosses (at all level), and in the taking of decisions that affect the handling of the public thing. A country that maybe has economic a lot of development, but it doesn't have guaranteed indeed the periodic (with universal, free, direct character) elections and/or it doesn't allow the public debate and/or it doesn't allow the free game of parties, of intermediate bodies, of groups of pressure and/or it has not institutionalized new beds of civic participation, it doesn't have democratic development or it has it clipped and of low level.

4° The distribution

It is another important factor that measures the effectiveness of the system and has to do with the Justice. The political system should be able to give satisfactory answer to the demands of well-being (welfare), in basic areas as health, housing, work, education, sport, distraction. The fair distribution of the national income and of the opportunities defines the political system as modern, as well developed, or little or anything. Countries of high income per layer (GNP) - as it is Venezuela inside the American subcontinent- but of very unjust distribution, they can for this aspect shortcomings to be.

Challenges at Latin American level

The Summit of America, taken place in Miami in December of 1994, already showed an unique and novel situation in the continent: the 34 assisting countries could exhibit for the first time governments democratically elects (with the one exception of Cuba) and all concerned for the processes of external opening and modernization. The CEPAL comes this picking up for some years. And ILPES (Latin American Institute and of Caribbean of Economic and Social Planning) proposes, in consequence, reforms and modernization of the State as the spine of its tasks.

The countries of Latin America and of Caribbean, assumed globally, and each one in particular, they face two big challenges. On one hand, to consolidate the political democratic order, with more and more representative and participatory institutions. And for the other one, to advance in modernization, with a government effective and efficient action. Everywhere the birdcall exists of reconciling the efficiency with the democracy. It is necessary to achieve a good combination of democratic elements and of administrative efficiency in the government action, what should redound in a bigger stability, genuineness and governance of the political régime adopted by each country.

The above-mentioned is equal to request for our countries modernization and genuineness. A government effective and efficient action is required to carry out a

suitable and a sustained development of the national economy. And a political democratic order is required to guarantee the representation and the participation.

It is required: 1°) that the State recovers the monopoly of the law, of the tribute and of the force and 2°) that said monopoly is consented, that is to say, legitimate. It is not enough the political simple stability of the system. It is required that the processes of social change and of control of the economy they are framed by a purpose of democracy that allows most of the population to participate of the resulting benefits of those processes.

In this form, economic restructuring and democratic consolidation they outline the challenge mother of transforming the state structure, making it governable.

There is who observe that the democracy and the governance are inherently goals of entrance antagonistic. But the thesis continues in foot. In their 20 sociopolitical theses, Calderon and Dos Santos verify that the historical new cycle in Latin America is characterized by the conjugation of a process of democratization of the political régime that spreads to be politically including and a process of economic modernization of the State that it spreads to be socially excluding (Thesis 4). If one gives democratization without modernization, non governance will be generated. If the economic modernization is privileged, it is denaturalized the democratic régime (Thesis 5). "If a democratization is propitiated without modernization of the State, the result is the non governance. If a modernization of the State is privileged without political inclusion, the result is the dismantle of the democratic régime".

Very well the authors say that "the processes of democratization and modernization in the outlying countries are strongly conditioned by the forms of making political in the central countries (concretely USA), in all according to the interests of these (Thesis 8)." Something pertinent when one attempts the analysis of a country like Venezuela.

It is also pertinent the observation on the eventual rol regulator of the Market in Latin America. "Although in the processes of adjustment of the outlying economies you transfer to the forces of the Market a playing the lead rol, in our countries the

market, for their insufficient dynamism, cannot be an effective one integrative social (Thesis 10)." In their final comment to this text, Fernando Henrique Cardoso (president of Brazil for 2 periods) points that "the State won't fade of the map, to be substituted by the forces of the market."

When speaking of 4 possible scenarios in Latin America, Calderon and Dos Santos suggest that the ideal scenario would be that where are conjugated the modernization and the social integration. That is to say, a State regulator, key of the development, but resting on a full democracy (Thesis 20). So to speak, the governance would come of more State and more Market simultaneously.

In kind of a Corollary, the authors observe that is not easy to combine economic growth with "social justness". And Cardoso adds very correctly that "the question is not the opposition versus Market, but rather how to reconcile the public thing and that deprived in the new relationships." And given that there are different countries and diverse roads, "each country of the region should follow its own road." Consequently, Venezuela his!

Modernization

In Latin America and Caribbean there is an important process of structural transformations of the society. This process that had their origin in the crisis of the years 80 and has been reinforced by the dramatic changes in the economic international structure and in the geopolitical atmosphere, it has been based on the consent - unparalleled in the region -, as for the biggest effectiveness in the market economy in the assignment of resources, and as for the necessity of consolidating the democratic system.

The modernization of the system and the structural reformation of the State is, hence, one of the most recurrent topics in the public speech in our Latin American atmospheres.

Following an idea of Touraine, the modernity is defined around the attributes that it should have a society (to think rational and rational organization). While the modernization refers to the political will, that is to say, to the mobilization directed from the State and for the State to achieve such attributes, of which independently the supports are in the society.

We observe that when speaking of modern, we assume a sociological meaning of the term, but based on the historical meaning - philosophical of the same one that is related with the thematic one more wide of "modern" and "postmodern." To be "modern" is simply to be open to the change, that is to say, to understand it and to accept it. That implies a flexible and malleable structure, and it demands a capacity to act in form consonant to build the future. There is a historical tradition that relates the modern thing with the Modern Age that began after the Renaissance (Burke 1993). Indeed, from the XVI century a structural irreversible change takes place in Europe north Western that is slow at the beginning, but that it will give place to that great expansion of the industrial capitalism. In the XVIII century the Europeans begin to take conscience of social this mutation. The philosophical expression and politics of that taking of conscience are the ideas that we know under the name of Illustration. That is in the same base of the philosophical concept of 'modernity' (Frisby 1992) and of the sociological concept of 'modernization' (Solé 1976). In narrow relationship, during the years eighty, put on in fashion the thematic of the modern (Berman 1988) and later on that of postmodern (Picó 1989; Beyme 1994).

In Latin America, the modernity inspires by the triple revolution that took place in the countries of north Atlantic among the years 1740 and 1880. We consider ourselves modern with reference to the group of structures, institutions, conceptions, visions and created feelings:

1°) for the Independence of the United States (the first revolution anti colonial and liberal of the modern history),

2°) for the French (that it destroyed the Old Régime and their State and it erected the Nation and the Citizenship Revolution; and finally

3°) for the Science and the Technology that were unchained as a Prometaeus, stealing the divine fires and applying them to the production and market of goods, in

what has called you the Industrial Revolution, begun in England and that we go trying us of incorporating.

The study of the historical origin of the political modernization (coming in their same root of modernity) shows that it is secured more concretely like a fight against the authoritarianism in all its forms and like a fight in favor of the rationality, in all its forms. A society that is modernized is, consequently, a society that looks for to take a step ahead in democratic maturity and a step in thinking rational and rational organization. That simple.

Modernization implies reformation of the State

With that said until here, it is clear that we are assuming modernization like the processes of change as a consequence of the historical construction (or reconstruction) of two institution-type, interdependent and related to each other, that is: the civil society (industrial capitalism of market) and the State (national democratic and social State of Right). Both institution-type should be modernized. The one without the other one leaves the process fifty-fifty or unconcluded. Placed on this plan of the modernization, there are 4 vectors that penetrate it. Both first, of more cultural nature, they condition the application of the other ones two, of more structural nature. They are the first ones: the scientific and technological revolution and the computational revolution. They are the seconds: the macroeconomic reformation and the political reformation. We will notice these especially two last, nail for the analysis that we will make of the Venezuelan situation. But we cannot forget that it is always required the active presence of the other two vectors.

* The *macroeconomic reformation* refers to the modernization of the State and the macroeconomic adjustment in the economic politics's square. It obeys two big forces: a) to the necessity to place the State function of back to the accumulation, to tone with their new modalities, derived - in turn - of the scientific and technological revolution. The State should evolve of a function of "producing" to a growing "regulator" function.

b) The necessity to achieve a social new contract between the State and the society civil, new leader agent of change and modernization in the Latin American renovated democracies.

*The *political reformation* should achieve two fundamental purposes:

a) to improve the governance of the political system.

b) to apply a new arrangement of responsibilities between the State and the civil society by means of the decentralization, qualified as one of the current "mega tendencies".

To designate a State with these characteristics, you use the concept of "intelligent State", a State whose spinning action would have many implications in terms of democratization and participation, and also of managerial efficiency, passing from a model of State "pyramid" to a model of State "net."